The Major Works of Sigmund Freud



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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

SIGMUND FREUD 1856–1939

FREUD was born May 6, 1856, at Freiberg in what is now Czechoslovakia. When he was four the family moved to Vienna, and his father continued his trade as a small merchant. While following the usual course of studies at the *Gymnasium* where for seven years he was first in his class, Freud was attracted by Darwin's theories to the study of science. Although he had no "particular predilection for the career of physician," Freud later noted that it was upon hearing Goethe's beautiful essay *On Nature* ... just before I left school that I decided to become a medical student. In 1873 he entered the University of Vienna where, he records in his autobiographical sketch, he experienced the effects of anti-Semitic prejudice.

While pursuing his medical studies Freud began experimental investigation by studying the nervous system of the fish in the physiological laboratory of Ernst Brücke. After taking his medical degree in 1881 financial reasons compelled him to become an interne at the General Hospital. With the little spare time he had as an interne he pursued research at the Institute of Cerebral Anatomy on the subject of nervous diseases. The publication of several monographs on cerebral paralysis in children won him the post of lecturer in neuropathology at the university, and in 1885 he was awarded a traveling fellowship to advance his studies. Having become interested the previous year in Breuer's treatment of hysteria by hypnosis, during which the patient was induced to recollect his past, Freud now chose to pursue such investigation under Charcot, the neurologist, at the Sorbonne. Freud studied with him several months and was strengthened in his determination to take the then revolutionary step of investigating hysteria from a psychological point of view. Before returning home in 1886 he spent a few months at a children's clinic in Berlin and made extensive observations of the nervous disorders of children.

Upon his return to Vienna, Freud married [illegible] suggestion. He resumed his friendship with Breuer and in collaboration with him published in 1895 the *Studies in Hysteria*. The partnership was dissolved after the book was completed, and soon afterwards Freud took the decisive step of replacing hypnotism by the method of "free association." Largely as a result of his extensive clinical practice he turned to the analysis of dreams, and in 1900 provided the first statement of his doctrine in *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

Except for his brief collaboration with Breuer Freud for more than a decade "stood completely isolated" from the medical world, and his theories when not completely ignored, were the object of ridicule. It was not until 1902 that several young doctors began to gather around him with the intention of learning and practicing psycho-analysis, and from this group grew the Viennese Psycho-Analytic Society. Although his *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1904) received more favorable public notice, the opposition to his theories increased as soon as he began publishing his views on the sexual life of children. His work, however, soon began to receive international attention from the medical profession. The Burghölzli Clinic in Zurich, in 1906, was the first institution outside of Austria to adopt the method of psycho-analysis. By 1908 Freud had colleagues throughout Europe, including Adler, Brill, Ferenczi, Ernest Jones, Jung, Sadger, and Stekel, and in that year the first International Congress of Psycho-Analysis was held at Salzburg. In the following year at the invitation of Clark University Freud visited the United States and gave five lectures on his discoveries which were later published as the *Origin and Development of Psycho-Analysis*. With the establishment of the International Psycho-Analytic Association in 1910 Freud devoted his efforts with increasing success to the development of the psycho-analytic movement. Disagreement later led to a severance of relations between Freud and several of his closest associates, including Adler, Stekel, Rank, and Jung, but Freud was the acknowledged founder of psycho-analysis and the leader of the movement.

After 1912 Freud gave most of his time to directing the Psycho Analytic Society editing its various journals and writing many mono graphs Although his clinical practice was not as extensive as in previous years he still re mained active as an analyst and his records of the case histories of his patients cover almost fifty years At the University of Vienna during the two winter sessions between 1915 and 1917 he again explained his theories before a general public as he had in the United States in lec tures afterwards published as the *General In troduction to Psycho Analysis*

Until the end of the first World War Freud was mainly occupied with special problems concerning the unconscious and it was not until 1920 that he began to deal with the more general problems raised by his studies par ticularly with the factors making for what he called repression In 19 0 he published *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* and three years later the *Ego and the Id* As early as 1913 Freud had attempted in *Totem and Taboo* to make use of the newly discovered findings of analysis in order to investigate the origin of religions and morality He now returned to the cultural problems which had fascinated me long before and published *The Future of an Illusion* (19 7) *Civili ation and its Discontents* (19 9) and *Moses and Monotheism* (1939) which was his last book

With the award of the Goethe Prize in 1930 when he was also given the freedom of the city of Vienna Freud reached what he described as the climax of my life as a citizen But soon afterwards Freud notes the boundaries of our country narrowed and the nation would know of us no more Upon the Nazi invasion of Austria in 1938 Freud s books were burned the *Psychoanalytische Verlag* directed by his son was destroyed and his passport con fiscated For years Freud had lived in virtual seclusion largely because of the development of a cancer of the mouth which cau ed him great pain He was finally allowed to leave Austria in 1938 after the payment of a large ransom With his wife a nephew and hi daughter Anna he went to England where another of his sons lived He died on September 23 1939 in Hampstead London

General Contents

The Origin and Development of Psycho-Analysis

FIRST LECTURE[1]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN It is a new and some what mbarras ing experience f r me to appear a lecture before students of the New World. I a..me that I we this ho our to the association o m name with the theme f psycho-analysis and consequently t is of psycho-analysis that I s..all am t speak. I shall attempt to give you in very brief form ..n historical survey of the ori gin a..d further development of this new method of resea ch and cur

Grant d that it s a merit to ha e created psy cho-a..al sis t is n t my merit. I was a student busy with th passing of my last examinations when anoth r physician of V enna Dr Joseph Breuer made the first applicatio of this method to the case f an hysterical girl (1880-82) W must now examine the history of this case a..d ts treatment, which can be found in detail in *Studie ber Hysterie* later published by Dr Breuer and myself

But first one word. I ha e noticed, with con siderab..e satisfacti that the majority of my hearers do not bel ng t the medi al p fes.. n Now do t fea that a medical ed cation is nec essary to follow what I shall have t say We shall now cc mpany the doctors a little way but soon we shall take lea e of them and fol low Dr Breuer on a way which is quite his own

Dr B euer's patient was a girl of twenty-one of a high degree of intelligence She had devel oped in th course of h r two years illness se ries of phys cal and ment l disturba es which well deserved to be taken seriously She had a seve e paralysis of both right ext emities with anaesthesia, and t times th same affectu n f the members f th l ft side of the body dis turban e f eye mo ements d much impai ment f vis on difficulty in maintain g the po s tion of th head an intense *Tussis n rr sa* nausea when sh attempted to take no n..h ment and at on time f r everal w eks a loss f th pow to drink, in p t f t rmenting thirst Her power of peech was also dimini hed and this progres..ed so f r that she could ne ther speak nor understand her mother tongue and finally she was subject to states of absence of confusion delirium alteration of her whole per onality These states will later claim our at te tion

Wh o e hears of such a ca e one does not need to be a physician to incline to the op nion that we re concerned h re with a serious injury us however that in one type of cases w th just as unf ourable sympt ms an ther far more favourable opinion is justified. When one finds such a series of symptoms in the case of a young girl whose vital organs (heart, kid eys) are sh wn by objective tests to be normal but who has suff red from stro g emotional disturb ances and when the symptoms differ in certain fine characteristics from what ne m ght logi cally expect, *in a case like this the doctors* are not too much disturbed. They consider that there is present no organic les on of th brain but that enigm t cal state known since the time of the G eek phys cians as hysteria which can *simulate a whole series of symptoms of arious* diseases They cons der in uch a ca..e that the life of the patient is not in danger and that a res toration to health will probably c me abo t f t..elf The differentiation of such an hysteria from a severe rganic lesion is not always very easy B t we d not need to know how a differ ential diagnosis of this kind is made you may be u that the case of B eue s pat ent was such that no skillful physician could f il t diag nose an hyst ria W may also add a wo d here from th history f th case. The illness first ap peared while the patient was caring f her fa th wh m she *tend rly lo* ed during the evere illn ss which led to hi d th a task which he was compelled to aband n because she herself fell ill.

So f t has eemed best to go with the doc tors but we shall soon part company with them

[1] These lectures were delivered Cla k University in 909

powerless but also in the case of hysterical af fections the doctor can do nothing He must leave it to benign nature when and how his hopeful prognosis will be realized [1] Accordingly with the recognition of the disease as hysteria little is changed in the situation of the patient but there is a great change in the attitude of the doctor We can observe that he acts quite dif ferently toward hystericals than toward patients suffering from organic diseases He will not bring the same interest to the former as to the latter since their suffering is much less serious and yet seems to set up the claim to be valued *just as seriously*

But there is another motive in this action The physician who through his studies has learned so much that is hidden from the laity can realize in his thought the causes and altera tions of the brain disorders in patients suffering from apoplexy or dementia a representation which must be right up to a certain point for by it he is enabled to understand the nature of each symptom But before the details of hyster ical symptoms all his knowledge his anatomi cal physiological and pathological education desert him He cannot understand hysteria He is in the same position before it as the layman And that is not agreeable to any one who is in the habit of setting such a high valuation upon his knowledge Hystericals accordingly tend to lose his sympathy he considers them persons who overstep the laws of his science as the or thodox regard heretics he ascribes to them all possible evils blames them for exaggeration and intentional deceit simulation and he punish es them by withdrawing his interest

Now Dr Breuer did not deserve this reproach in this case he gave his patient sympathy and interest although at first he did not understand how to help her Probably this was easier for him on account of those superior qualities of the patient s mind and character to which he bears witness in his account of the case

His sympathetic observation soon found the means which made the first help possible It had been noticed that the patient in her states of absence of psychic alteration usually mum bled over several word to herself These seemed to spring from associations with which her thoughts were busy The doctor who was able to get these words put her in a sort of hypnosis and repeated them to her over and over in order to bring up any associations that they might have The patient yielded to his suggestion and reproduced for him those psychic creations which controlled her thoughts durin, her ab sences and which betrayed themselves in the e single spoken words These were fancies deep ly sad often poetically beautiful day dreams we might call them which commonly took as their starting point the situation of a girl beside the sick bed of her father Whenever she had re lated a number of such fancies she was as it were freed and restored to her normal mental life This state of health would last for several hours and then give place on the next day to a new absence which was removed in the same way by relating the newly created fancies It was impossible not to get the impression that the psychic alteration which was expressed in the absence was a consequence of the excita tions originating from these intensely emotion al fancy images The patient herself who at this time of her illness strangely enou^h understood and spoke only English gave this new kind of treatment the name talking cure or jokingly designated it as chimney sweeping

The doctor soon hit upon the fact that through such cleansing of the soul more could be accomplished than a temporary removal of the constantly recurring mental clouds Symp toms of the disease would disappear when in hypnosis the patient could be made to remem ber the situation and the associative connexions under which they first appeared provided free vent was given to the emotions which they aroused There was in the summer a time of in tense heat and the patient had suffered very much from thirst for without any apparent reason she had suddenly become unable to drink She would take a glass of water in her hand but as soon as it touched her lips she would push it away as though suffering from hy drophobia Obviously for these few seconds she was in her absent state She ate only fruit mel ons and the like in order to relieve this torment ing thirst When this had been going on about six weeks she was talking one day in hypnosis about her English governess whom she disliked and finally told with every sign of disgust how she had come into the room of the governess and how that lady s little dog that she abhorred had drunk out of a glass Out of respect for the

[1] I k w that this w no l ger h lds tod y b t th l t I tak my lf d my h rs b k t th t m bef re 188 If th gs h bec m d ff t si th t t m t h bee l g ly d t th w k th h t ry of wh ch I m sk tch g

conventions the patient had remained silent Now after she had gi en energetic exp es o to her restrained anger he ked for a dri k drank a large quantity of water without trouble and woke f om hypnosis with the glass at her lips The symptom thereupon vanished perma nently

Permit me to dwell f r a moment on this ex perience. No one had ev cu ed an hysterical

hard to suppress her tears so that the sick man might not see them

All the pathogenic impressions sprang from the time when she shared in the care of her s ck father Once she was watching at night in the greatest anxiety for the patient, who was in a high fe er and in suspense for a surgeon was expected from V enna to operate on the pa tient Her mother had gone out for a little while and Anna sat by the sick bed her right arm

t symptoms originated in this way an to d be removed by the same method Breuer spared no pains to nce himself of this and in esti gated the pathogenesis of the other more erious symptoms in a more o de ly way Such was in deed the case almost all the symptoms origi nated in exactly this way as remnants as pre cipitates, if you like of aff ct ely to ed expe rien es which for that rea on we later called *psych c traum ta* The natu e of the symptoms became clear through their relation to the scene which caus d them They were to use the tech nical term *d term ned* (*determiniert*) by the scene whose memory traces they embodied and so could no longer be d cribed as arbitrary or enigmatical functions of the neurosis

Only one variation from what might be ex pected must be mentioned It was not always a single experience which occas oned the symp tom but usually several perhaps many similar repeated traumata cooperat d in this effect It was necessary to repeat the whole series of path ogenic memori s in chro ological equence and of course, in reverse o der the last first and the first last It was quit impossible to reach th first and often most essential trauma directly without first clearing away those coming later

You will, of course want to hea me speak of th r examples f the causation f hysterical symptoms beside this of inab lity *to dri k on* account of the disgust caused by th dog drink ing from th glass I must h wever f I hold to my p ogram limit myself to v ry few examples. Breuer relates fo instance that his pati t s visual disturbances could be traced back t ex ternal causes in the f llowing way "The pa t ent w h

meadow behind the house that she had already been frightened by them a d that these former experiences furnished the material for the hallu cination) She tried to dri e off the creature but was as though paralyzed. Her right arm which was hanging o er the back of the chair had gone to sleep become anaesthetic and paret c a d as she was looking at it, the fingers changed into little snakes with deaths heads (The nails) Probably she attempted to drive away the snake with her paralyzed right hand and so the anaesthesia and paralys s of this member f rmed associations with the sn ke hal lucinati When this had an shed she tried in her anguish to speak but could not. She could not express herself in any language until finally she thought f the words of an English nursery

ment ended.

When a number of years later I began to use Bre er s resea ches and treatment on my own pati t my experie ces completely coincided with his In the c e of a woman of about forty *there was a tic peculiar smacking* noise which manifested it elf whenever he was labouring under any exc tement without any obvious ca se It had its rigin in two experiences which had this common element that she attempted to make n n se b t that by a sort of counter will thi no se broke the stillness On the fi st occas o he had finally after much trouble put her s ck child to sleep and she tried to be very quiet s a not to awaken it On the s cond oc cas on during a ride with both her children in a thunderst rm the h rses took fright and he

Studien ber Hy terie d ed. p 6

Ibid p 3
Ibid p 3 [see Lo p 5 below]

You must not think that the outlook of a patient with regard to medical aid is essentially bettered when the diagnosis points to hysteria rather than to organic disease of the brain Against the serious brain diseases medical skill is in most cases powerless but also in the case of hysterical affections the doctor can do nothing He must leave it to benign nature when and how his hopeful prognosis will be realized [1] Accordingly with the recognition of the disease as hysteria little is changed in the situation of the patient but there is a great change in the attitude of the doctor We can observe that he acts quite differently toward hystericals than toward patients suffering from organic diseases He will not bring the ame interest to the former as to the latter since their suffering is much less serious and yet seems to set up the claim to be valued *just as seriously*

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the phys cal symptoms of the case e e coined the name *hysterical convers on* for the latter p oce s Part of our me tal ene gy is un w of

stream flows n two ch els n o erflow of one will take place as soo as the current in the other m ts w th n obst cle

Yo e that we are in a fair way to arrive at a *pu ely psycholog cal theory of hysteri* in which we ass gn th fi st ra k to the affective p o esses A s cond ob rv tion of Bre er com pels us to ascr be to the alte ed conditio f con c o ess a great part i determ n ng the characteristics of the di as His pat e t show d m y so ts of mental tates c ndit ons of absence c fu on a d alter tion of char a ter bes d s her ormal state In her n rm l state she was entirely igno ant of the pathogen c sce s and of the connecti with her symp toms She h d *forgotten th se sc nes* r at any rate had dis ociated them from the path genic connect on Whe the pati t w s hyp otized t was poss ble afte co s d rable difficulty to e c ll th s enes to her memory a d by this means f e all the symptoms were removed It ld have bee extremely perplexing to know how t interpret thi fact if hypnot c pract e and experiments had not po ted out the way Th gh th tudy of hypn tic phenomena the co ceptio st ge though t was t first has be me f milia that in o e a d the same i di vidual eve l ment l gr p gs a e po ble hi h m y main elati ely independent f ea h oth *k w tl* g of each other nd h h m y ause a plitting of co sciousnes al ng li es which they l y d wn Ca es of s h a s rt kn wn *d bl pe sonal ty* (*double consc en e*) ccas nally appea spo ta eously

If such a div sion of per onality conscious h one of *us men* In the ost hyp given in te as

symptoms originated in such peculiar mental states which he called *hypnoidal states* (*hypno de Zustande*) Experiences of an emotional nature which occur during such hypnoidal states easily become pathogenic since such states do not present the conditions for a normal drai ng off of the emotion of the exciting proc esses And as a re ult there arises a peculiar product of this exciting process that is the

orig ated

I am fra d that this portion of my treatment will not seem very clear but you must remem ber th t we are deal ng here with new a d diff cult v ws wh ch perhaps could not be made much cle rer This all goes to show that our knowledge in this field is not yet very far ad vanced *Breue s idea of the hypno dal states* has mor over been shown to be superfluous and a h d a ce to further investigat on and

wh ch B eue limited the caus l moment

Y u ha e probably lso felt a d rightly that B euer s i vestigat ons gave you nly a very inc mplete theory a d insuffic ent explanat on of the phe omena which w have observed But c mplete theories d ot fall f om Heaven a d

of an unp ejud ced i e t g t o of the facts

carefully avoided any noise for fear of frighten ing them still more [1] I give this example instead of many others which are cited in the *Studien uber Hysterie*

Ladies and gentlemen if you will permit me to generalize as is indispensable in so brief a presentation we may express our results up to this point in the formula *Our hysterical pa tients suffer from reminiscences* Their symptoms are the remnants and the memory symbols of certain (traumatic) experiences

A comparison with other memory symbols from other sources will perh ps enable us better to understand this symbolism The memorials and monuments with which we adorn our great cities are also such memory symbols If you walk through London you will find before one of the greatest railway stations of the city a richly decorated Gothic pillar—Charing Cross One of

of this ad journey [2] In another part of the city you will see a high pillar of more modern con *struction which is merely called* the Monu ment This is in memory of the great fire which broke out in the neighborhood in the year 1666 and destroyed a great part of the city These monuments are memory symbols like the hys

the funeral of Queen Eleanor instead of going

er who before the Monument bemoaned the burning of his loved native city which long since has arisen again so much more splendid than before?

Now hystericals and all neurotics behave like these two unpractical Londoners not only in that they remember the painful experiences of the distant past but because they are still strongly affected by them They cannot escape from the past and neglect present *reality in its* favour This fixation of the mental life on the

pathogenic traumata is an essential and prac tically a most significant characteristic of the neurosis I will willingly concede the objection which you are probably formulating as you think over the history of Breuer s patient All her traumata originated at the time when she was caring for her sick father and her symp toms could only be regarded as memory sym bols of his sickness and death They corre pond to mourning and a fixation on thoughts of the dead so short a time after death is certainly not pathological but rather corresponds to normal emotional behavior I concede this there is nothing abnormal in the fixation of feeling on the trauma shown by Breuer s patient But in other cases like that of the tic that I have men tioned the occasions for which lay ten and fif teen years back the characteristic of this ab normal clinging to the past is very clear and Breuer s patient would probably have developed it if she had not come under the cathartic treatment such a short time after the trauma tic experiences and the beginning of the disease

We have so far only explained the relation of the hysterical symptoms to the life history of the patient now by considering two further factors which Breuer observed we may get a *hint as to the processes of the beginning of the* illness and those of the cure With regard to the first it is especially to be noted that Breuer s patient in almost all pathogenic situations had to suppress a strong excitement instead of giv ing vent to it by appropriate words and deeds In the little experience with her governess dog she suppressed through regard for the conven tions all manifestations of her very intense dis gust While she was seated by her father s sick bed she was careful to betray nothing of her anxiety and her painful depression to the pa tient When later she reproduced the same scene before the physician the emotion which she had suppressed on the occurrence of the scene burst out with especial strength as though it had been pent up all along The symptom which had been caused by that scene reached its greatest intensity while the doctor was striv ing to revive the memory of the scene and van ished after it had been fully laid bare On the

some peculiar chance there is no development of emotion It is apparently these emotional processes upon which the illness of the patient and the restoration to health are dependent We feel justified in regarding *emotion* as a quantity

which may become increased d n ed and d s pa ed S we are f ced to the conclusion that the patient fell ill becau.e the emotio d el oped in the pathogenic situation was pre ented from e.cap g normally and that the essence of t.e sickness lies in the f ct that these *mprıs ord (engeklemmt)* em tio s undergo a series of abnormal changes. I part they are preserved as a lasting charge and as a source of constant d. urbance in psychical life in part they under go a change into unusual bodily innervations a.d i.hibitions which present themselves as t.e phys cal sympt ms of the case We ha e coi.ed the name *hysterical conv sion* for the la t r process Part of our mental energy is un der rmal conditions co ducted ff by way of ph s cal innervati n and g es what we call *the exp e sion of em t ons* Hysterical convers on exag sates this part of the course of a mental process which is emotionally col ured it corre sponds to a f r m e intense em t onal expres sion, which finds utlet by new paths If a s ream flows in two channels an erflow of o e will take pla as soon as the curre t in the oth meets with an bstacle

Yo see that we are in a fair way to arri e at a purely psychological theory of hy teria in which we as gn th first rank to the affecti e processes. A second bservation of Breuer c m pe.s us to ascribe to the altered condition of consciousness a great part in determining the ch.racteristics of the disease His pati nt i.owed m

had dissocia ed them from thei pathogenic connection. When the patient was hypnotized, it was possible, after considerabl difficulty to e call those cenes to her memory and by this means of recall, th symptoms were removed. It would ha been extremely perplexing to kn w how t interpret this f ct if hypnotic practice a.d experiments had not pointed out the way Through the study f hypnotic phenomena, the conception, s.ra... though t was at first, has becom familar that in one and the sam indi vidual several mental groupings are possible w...ch may remain relatively independent of each oth know nothing of each other and w..ich may caus a splitting f consciousness along lines which th y lay down. Cases of su h a sort k own as *d bl per onal ty (double con sc ne*) o asionally appear spontaneously If in such a division of personal ty consci us- ne s remains con tantly bound up with o e of the two states this is called the *conscious* men tal state and the other the *unconscious* In the

though by an imperative suggest o we have an excellent basis for understanding how the un conscious state can influe ce the conscious al though the latter is ignorant of the existence of the former In the same way it is quite possible to explain the facts in hysterical cases. Breuer came to the conclusion that the hysterical symptoms originated in such peculiar mental states which he called *hypn idal states (hyp noide Zust nde)* Experiences of an emotional nature which occur during such hypno dal tates e sily become path genic since such states do not present the conditions for a normal draining off of the emotion of the exciting proc es es And as a result there ari.es a peculiar p oduct of this exciting process, that is the symptom and this is projected like a foreign body int the normal state The latter has, then no conception of the s gnificance of the hyp- no dal pathogenic situation Where a symptom ari.es we al.o find an amnesia a memory gap and the filling of this gap includes the removal of the conditions under which the symptom originat d.

I am afraid that this portion of my treatment will not seem very clea but you must remem ber that we are dealing here with new and diffi

vanced Breuer s idea of the hypno dal states has mo eo er been shown to be superfl ous and a hindrance to further investigation a d has been dropped from present co ceptions of psycho-analysis. Later I shall at least suggest what ther influences and p oces.es ha e been disclo ed besides that of the hypno dal states to whi h B eue limited the causal moment.

Yo ha e p obably also felt, and rightly that B euer' investigations gave you only a very incompl te theory and insufficient explanati n of the phen mena which we have observed. But complete theories d not fall f m Hea en, and yo would have had still greate reason to be distrustful, had any one ffered yo at th be- ginning f his bservations a well rounded the ory without any gaps such a theory could only be the child f his specu.ati ns d n t th fruit of an unprejudi ed investiga.ion of the f cts

SECOND LECTURE

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN At about the same time that Breuer was using the talking cure *with his patient M Charcot began in Paris* with the hystericals of the Salpetrière those researches which were to lead to a new understanding of the disease These results were however not yet known in Vienna But when about ten years later Breuer and I published our preliminary communication on the psychic mechanism of hysterical phenomena which grew out of the cathartic treatment of Breuer s first patient we were both of us under the spell of Charcot s investigations We made the pathogenic experiences of our patients which acted as psychic traumata equivalent to those physi*cal traumata whose influence on hysterical pa*ralyses Charcot had determined and Breuer s hypothesis of hypnoidal states is itself only an echo of the fact that Charcot had artificially reproduced those traumatic paralyses in hypnosis

The great French observer whose student I was during the years 1885–86 had no natural bent for creating psychological theories His student *P Janet was the first to attempt to* penetrate more deeply into the psychic processes of hysteria and we followed his example when we made the mental splitting and the dissociation of personality the central points of our theory Janet propounds a theory of hysteria which draws upon the principal theories of heredity and degeneration which are current in France According to his view hysteria is a

[illegible]

hysterical patient is from the start incapable of *correlating and unifying the manifold of his* mental processes and so there arises the tendency to mental dissociation If you will permit me to use a banal but clear *illustration Janet s* hysterical reminds one of a weak woman who has been shopping and is now on her way home laden with packages and bundles of every description She cannot manage the whole lot with her two arms and her ten fingers and soon she drops one When she stoops to pick this up another breaks loose and so it goes on

Now it does not *agree very well with* this assumed mental weakness of hystericals that there can be observed in hysterical cases besides the phenomena of lessened functioning examples of a partial increase of functional capacity as a sort of compensation At the time when Breuer s patient had forgotten her moth

er tongue and all other languages save En lish her control of English attained such a level that if a German book was put before her she could give a fluent perfect translation of its contents at *sight When later I undertook* to continue on my own account the investigations begun by Breuer I soon came to another view of the origin of hysterical dissociation (or splitting of consciousness) It was inevitable that my views should diverge widely *and radically for my* point of departure was not like that of Janet laboratory researches but attempts at therapy Above everything else it was practical needs that urged me on The cathartic treatment as Breuer had made use of it presupposed that the patient should be put in deep hypnosis for only in hypnosis was available the knowled e of his *patho enic associations which were unknown* to him in his normal state Now hypnosis as a fanciful and so to speak mystical aid I soon came to dislike and when I discovered that in spite of all my efforts I could not hypnotize by any means all of my patients I resolved to give up hypnotism and to make the cathartic method independent of it

Since I could not alter the psychic state of most of my patients at my wish I directed my efforts to working with them in their normal state This seems at first sight to be a particularly senseless and aimless undertaking The problem was this to find out something from the patient that the doctor did not know and the patient himself did not know How could *one hope to make such a method succeed? The* memory of a very noteworthy and instructive proceeding came to my aid which I had seen

[illegible]

periences had only apparently lost the memory of those somnambulic experiences and that *their memory of them could be awakened even* in the normal state If he asked them about their experiences during somnambulism they said at first that they did not remember but if he persisted urged assured them that they did know then every time the forgotten memory came back

Accordingly I did this with my patients When I had reached in my procedure with them a point at which they declared that they knew nothing more I would assure them that they *did know that they must just tell it out and* I would venture the assertion that the memory which would emerge at the moment that I laid my hand on the patient s *forehead would be the*

right one In this way I ucceeded with ut hypnos.s in learning from the patient all that was ecessary for a con truction of the connection between the f rg tten pathogenic scenes and the sym oms which they had left behind. This was a tro blesome and in its length an exhaustin proceeding a d did not lend itself to a fin hed techn que B t I did not gi e t up without drawing definit conclusions from the data which I had gained. I had ubstantiated the fact that the f rgotten memories w re not lost. They were in the po essi n of the patient ready to emerge and form as ciations with his other men al con ent but hindered from becoming consci us and for ed to remain in the uncon ci us by som sort of a force. The existence of this f rce could be assumed with certainty for in ttempting to drag up th unconscious mem ories into the consciousness of the patient in opposition to this force one got the sensation of his own personal effort stri ing to overcome it. On could get an dea f this force which main tained the pathological situati n, from the re si tance of th patient.

... that I based my

ess, mu t themselves ha e caused the forg t ting and repressed from onsciousnes the pathogenic experiences I called this hypothet cal process *ep ssion* (*Verd a gung*) and co side ed that it was pro ed by the undeni ble ex istence f esistance

But now the question arose what were tho e f ces and what were the co diti ns of this re pression, in which we were now ble to rec gnize the pa hogenic mechanism f hysteria? A com parati e tudy of the pathogenic situations which th cathartic treatment has m d possi bl llows us t answer this quest on. In ll those experiences t had happened that a wish

tient pers nality The had been h rt con fl t and th end f this inn truggle was th repression of the de which present d t elf t con cio ess as the bearer of this irreconcil able wi h. This was the ep essed f om n sc ousness and forgotten. The incompatibility of the idea in question with the *ego* of the pa tient was the mot e of the repression the eth cal and other preten ions of the indi dual were the repre sing forces. The presence of the in compatible wi h or the duration of the confl ct, had gi en ri e to a high degree of mental pain this pain was a o ded by the repres ion This latter process is ev dently in such a case a d vice for the protection of the personality

I will not multiply examples but will gi e you th hi tory of a ingle one of my cases in which

ca a d omit many valuable in erat o s It is that of a young gi l who was deeply attached to her father who had died a hort time bef re and in whose care she had sh red—a ituation analogous to that of Breu er s patient. When her older sister married the girl grew to feel a peculiar sympathy for her new brother in law which easily passed with he f r family tenderness. This sister soon fell ill and d ed, while the patient and her mother were away The absent ones were hastil re called without being told fully of the pa ful

... by the beds de of her

me We may be sure that this dea which betrayed to h r consciousness her intense love for her brothe in law of which she had not been consci us was the next moment consigned to repress on by her revolted feelings The girl fell ill with severe hysterical symptoms and when I came to treat the ca e it appeared that she had entirely forgotten that scene at her s ter s bed de and the unn tural egoistic desire wh ch had arisen in he She remembered t durin the treatment, reproduced the pathogenic mome t with every sign f intense emotional excitement and was cured by this treatment.

Pe haps I can m ke the process of repression and its necessary elation to the resistance f the patient m re co crete by a rough llu tra tion which I will derive f m ou present s tua tion

distracts my ttention from my task. I explain

See *Selected P per on Hy teria* p 53 below

that I cannot go on with my lecture under these conditions and thereupon several stron men among you get up and after a short struggle eject the disturber of the peace from the hall He is now *repressed* and I can continue my lecture But in order that the disturbance may not be repeated in case the man who has just been thrown out attempts to force his way back into the room the gentlemen who have executed my suggestion take their chairs to the door and establish themselves there as a *resistance* to keep up the repression Now if you transfer both locations to the psyche calling this *consciousness* and the outside the *unconscious* you have a tolerably good illustration of the process of repression

We can see now the difference between our theory and that of Janet We do not derive the psychic fission from a congenital lack of capacity on the part of the mental apparatus to synthesize its experiences but we explain it dynamically by the conflict of opposing mental forces we recognize in it the result of an active striving of each mental complex against the other

New questions at once arise in great number from our theory The situation of psychic conflict is a very frequent one an attempt of the ego to defend itself from painful memories can be observed everywhere and yet the result is not a mental fission We cannot avoid the assumption that still other conditions are necessary if the conflict is to result in dissociation I willingly concede that with the assumption of *repression* we stand not at the end but at the very beginning of a psychological theory But we can advance only one step at a time and the completion of our knowledge must await further and more thorough work

Now do not attempt to bring the case of Breuer s patient under the point of view of repression This history cannot be subjected to such an attempt for it was gained with the help of hypnotic influence Only when hypnosis is excluded can you see the resistances and repressions and get a correct idea of the pathogenic process Hypnosis conceals the resistances and so makes a certain part of the mental field freely accessible By this same process the resistances on the borders of this field are heaped up into a rampart which makes all beyond inaccessible

The most valuable things that we have learned from Breuer s observations were his conclusions as to the connection of the symptoms with the pathogenic experiences or psychic traumata and we must not neglect to evaluate this result properly from the standpoint of the repression theory It is not at first evident how we can get from the repression to the creation of the symptoms Instead of giving a complicated theoretical derivation I will return at this point to the illustration which I used to typify repression

Remember that with the ejection of the rowdy and the establishment of the watchers before the door the affair is not necessarily ended It may very well happen that the ejected man now embittered and quite careless of consequences gives us more to do He is no longer among us we are free from his presence his scornful laugh his half audible remarks but in a certain sense the repression has miscarried for he makes a terrible uproar outside and by his outcries and by hammering on the door with his fists interferes with my lecture more than before Under these circumstances it would be hailed with delight if possibly our honoured president Dr Stanley Hall should take upon himself the role of peacemaker and mediator He would peak with the rowdy on the outside and then turn to us with the recommendation that we let him in again provided he would guarantee to behave himself better On Dr Hall s authority we decide to stop the repression and now quiet and peace reign again This is in fact a fairly good presentation of the task devolving upon the physician in the psycho analytic therapy of neuroses To say the same thing more directly we come to the conclusion from working with hysterical patients and other neurotics that they have not fully succeeded in repressing the idea to which the incompatible wish is attached They have indeed driven it out of consciousness and out of memory and apparently saved themselves a great amount of psychic pain *but in the unconscious the suppressed wish still exists* only waiting for its chance to become active and finally succeeds in sending into consciousness instead of the repressed idea a disguised and unrecognizable surrogate creation (*Ersat bildung*) to which the same painful sensations associate themselves that the patient thought he was rid of through his repression This surrogate of the suppressed idea—the symptom—is secure against further attacks from the defenses of the ego and instead of a short conflict there originates now a permanent suffering We can observe in the symptom besides the tokens of its disguise a remnant of traceable similarity with the originally repressed idea the way in which the surrogate is built up can be discovered during the psycho analytic treatment of the patient and for his cure the symptom must

be traced back over the same route to the re pre sed idea If this repressed material is once more mad part of the conscious mental func t ns— process which suppo es the overcom ing of considerable resi ta ce—the psychic con flict which then arises the same which the pa tient wished to a o d is made capable of a happier termin tion under the guidance of the phy sician than is off red by represst n There are several pos ble suitable decis ons which can bring onflict and n u osis to a happy end in particula ca es the attempt m y be made to combine everal of these E ther the personal ty of the patient may be co vinced that he has been wrong in rej ctin the pathogenic wish d h may be mad t accept it either wholly or in part or this wi h may itself be directed to a higher goal which is f ee from object on by

tal faculties one s ce ds in ma tering his w hes by co cious thought

F rg e me if I ha e not been able to present mo e clea ly these main points f the t eatment which is tod y known as *psycho-analysis* The difficulties d not lie m ely in the newness of the bje t

R g ding the natu e of the unacceptable ishes whi h s eed n making the r influence f it out of th unc sci us in sp te of repres- s and regarding the question of what subjec t e and c tit t onal factors must be p esent fo h fa lur of ep ession a d ch a sur rogate or sympt m creat on to take place we will speak in later rem ks

THIRD LECTURE

LADIES AND GENTLEME It s not always easy to tell th truth e pec ally when o e must be b ef d so today I m t c rrect an incorrect tatement that I mad in my l st lecture

I t ld yo h w when I ga e up using hypnosis I p e sed my patients to tell me what came into th r m ds that had t d with the p oblem we w w ki g on I t ld them that they would remember what they had appa ently forg tten a d that th thought whi h rrupted into c n sci usness (*Einfall*) w uld ly embody the memory for wh ch we w re se king I claimed that I b tanti ted the fact that the first idea of my patients b ought the right clew and could be h wn t be the forgotte o ti ati of the mem ry Now this is not always s I ep esent ed it as being so s mple only for purposes of abbreviation In fact it would only happen the fi st time that the right forg tten material would emerge through simple pressure on my part. If the experience was continued, deas emerged in every case which *could not be the right ones* for they were not to the purpose and the patients themselves rejected them as incorrect Pres ure was of no further serv ce here and one could only egret again havi g given up hypnosis In this state of perplexity I clung to a prejudice which years later was proved by my frie d C G Jung of the University of Zurich and his pupils

latter could be satisfactorily explained by the hypothet cal psychological situatio In the pa

a d on the other hand the resistance which we have seen which set tself against the emer gence of the suppressed idea or ts associates in to co sciousness In case this resistance was

the greater the resistance to the emergence of the idea Thoughts which broke into the pa

c mpletely di gu sed under the influ ce of the resistances These surrogates must howeve show a certain similarity with the ideas which a e the object of our search by virtue of the r nature as symptoms and when the resistance is not too intensi e it is possible from the nature of these irruptions to di cove the hidd n bject of our sea ch. Th s mu t be el ted to the re p essed thought as a sort of allus as a state me t of the same thing in *direct terms*

We know cases in normal psy h logy in which an logou s t t s to the one which we h e assum d gi e rise to simila experiences Such

a case is that of wit By my study of psycho analytic technique I was necessarily led to a consideration of the problem of the nature of wit I will give one example of this sort which too is a story that originally appeared in English

The anecdote runs [1] Two unscrupulous business men had succeeded by fortunate speculations in accumulating a large fortune and then directed their efforts to breaking into good society Among other means they thought it would be of advantage to be painted by the most famous and expensive artist of the city a man whose paintings were considered as events The costly paintings were first shown at a great soirée and both hosts led the most influential connoisseur and art critic to the wall of the salon on *which the portraits were hung to elicit his admiring* judgment The critic looked for a long time looked about as though in search of something and then merely asked pointing out the vacant space between the two pictures And where is the Saviour?

I see that you are all laughing over this good example of wit which we will now attempt to analyse We understand that the critic means to say You are a couple of malefactors like those between whom the Saviour was crucified But he does not say this he expresses himself instead in a way that at first seems not to the purpose and not related to the matter in hand but which at the next moment we recognize as an *allusion* to the insult at which he aims and as a perfect surrogate for it We cannot expect to find in the case of wit all those relations that our theory supposes for the origin of the irruptive ideas of our patients but *it is my desire to lay stress* on the similar motivation of wit and irruptive idea Why does not the critic say directly what he has to say to the two rogues? Because in addition to his desire to say it straight out he is actuated by strong opposite motives It is a proceeding which is liable to be dangerous to offend people who are one s hosts and

duces the irruptive idea as a surrogate for the forgotten idea which is the object of the quest

Ladies and gentlemen it is very useful to designate a group of ideas which belong together and have a common emotive tone according to the custom of the Zurich school (Bleuler Jung and others) as a *complex* So we can say that if we set out from the last memories of the patient to look for a repressed complex that we have every prospect of discovering it if only the patient will communicate to us a sufficient number of the ideas which come into his head So we let the patient speak along any line that he desires and cling to the hypothesis that nothing can occur to him except what has some indirect bearing on the complex that we are seeking If this method of discovering the repressed complexes seems too circumstantial I can at least assure you that it is the only available one

In practising this technique one is further bothered by the fact that the patient often stops is at a standstill and considers that he has nothing to say nothing occurs to him If this were really the case and the patient were right our procedure would again be proven inapplicable Closer observation shows that such an absence of ideas never really occurs and that it only appears to when the patient holds back or rejects the idea which he perceives under the influence of the resistance which disguises itself as critical judgment of the value of the idea The patient can be protected from this if he is warned in advance of this circumstance and told to take no account of the critical attitude He must say anything that comes into his mind fully laying aside such critical choice even though he may think it unessential irrelevant nonsensical especially when the idea is one *which is unpleasant to dwell on By following* this prescription we secure the material which sets us on the track of the repressed complex

These irruptive ideas which the patient himself values little if he is under the influence of the resistance and not that of the physician are for the psychologist like the ore which by simple methods of interpretation he reduces from its crude state to valuable metal If one desires to gain in a short time a preliminary knowledge of the patient s repressed complexes without going into the question of their arrangement and associations this examination may be conducted with *the help of the association* experiments as Jung[2] and his pupils have perfected

[1] See also *Wit d Its Relat o to the U co s o*

[2] Ju g C G *D g o t he As t st die* vol 1 9 6

tients but is indispensable in the investigations of the psychoses which have been begun by the Zurich school with such valuable results

This method of work with whatever comes into the patient's head when he submits to psy ... v ... hn cal ... e

serve the same purpose ... if his dreams and the evaluation of acts which he bungles or does without intending it (*Fehl und Z... handlungen*)

I might say, esteemed hearers, that for a long time I hesitated whether instead of this hurried survey of the whole field of psycho-analysis I should not rather offer you a thorough consideration of the analysis of dreams ... purely subjective and apparently secondary motive decided me against this. It seemed rather an impropriety ... devoted to practical ... rns ... n.

In erp tation of dreams is in fact the ... ra re pa t the interpretation of the unconscious the surest ground of psycho-analysis and a field in which every worker must win his convictions and gain his education. If I were asked how one could become a psycho-analyst, I should answer through the study of his own dreams. With great tact all opponents of the psycho-analytic theory have so far either evaded any criticism of *The Interpretation of Dreams* or have attempted to pass over it with the most superficial objections. If ... the contrary you will undertake the solution of the problems of dream life, the novelties which psycho-analysis present to your thoughts will no longer be difficulties.

ful health during waking life. It does not sound at all absurd to say that whoever regards these normal sense illusions these delusions and alterations of character as matter for amazement instead of understanding has not the least prospect of understanding the abnormal creations of diseased mental states in any other than the lay sense. You may with confidence place in this lay group all the psychiatrists of today. Follow me now on a brief excursion through the field of dream problems.

In our waking state we usually treat dreams with as little consideration as the patient treats the irruptive ideas which the psycho-analyst demands from him. It is evident that we reject them, for we forget them quickly and completely. The slight valuation which we place on them is based, with those dreams that are not confused and nonsensical, on the feeling that they are foreign to our personality, and, with other dreams, on their evident absurdity and senselessness. Our rejection derives support from the unrestrained shamelessness and the immoral longings which are obvious in many dreams. Antiquity, as we know, did not share this light valuation of dreams. The lower classes of our people today stick close to the value which they set on dreams; they, however, expect from them, as did the ancients, the revelation of the future. I confess that I see no need to adopt mystical hypotheses to fill out the gaps in our present knowledge, and so I have never been able to find anything that supported the hypothesis of the prophetic nature of dreams. Many other things, which are wonderful enough, can be said about them.

And first, not all dreams are so foreign to the d... re in... comprehensible

ple and easy to interpret. The young child always dreams of the fulfilment of wishes which were aroused in him the day before and were not satisfied. You need no art of interpretation to discover this simple solution, you only need to inquire into the experiences of the child on the day before ("the dream day"). Now it ... f ... ctory solution

analysis of the dream.

these dreams have undergone a process of disguise; the psychic content which underlies them was originally meant for quite different verbal expression. You must differentiate between the *manifest dream-content* which we remember in the morning only confusedly and with difficulty clothe in words which seem arbitrary, and the *latent dream-thoughts*, whose presence in the unconscious we must assume. This distortion of the dream (*Traumentstellung*) is the same proc

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[2] J g C G D g t ch A t t d ol 1 9 6

psycho-analytic treatment of neuroses. From what has been said, you can easily understand how the interpretation of dreams, if it is not made too difficult by the resistance of the patient, can lead to a knowledge of the patient's secreted and repressed wishes and the complexes which he is nourishing. I may now pass to that group of everyday mental phenomena whose study has become a technical help for psycho-analysis.

These are the bungling of acts (*Fehlhandlungen*) among normal men as well as among neurotics, to which no significance is ordinarily attached; the forgetting of things which one is supposed to know and at other times really does know (...

reading (*Verlesen*), the automatic execution of purposive acts in wrong situations (*Vergreifen*) and the loss or breaking of objects, etc. These are trifles, for which no one has ever sought a psychological determination, which have passed unchallenged as chance experiences, as consequences of absent-mindedness, inattention and similar conditions. Here, too, are included the acts and gestures executed without being noticed by the subject, to say nothing of the fact that he attaches no psychic importance to them; as playing and trifling with objects, humming melodies, handling one's person and clothing, and the like.

These little things, the bungling of acts, like the symptomatic and chance acts (*Symptom- und Zufallshandlungen*) are not so entirely without meaning as is generally supposed by a sort of tacit agreement. They have a meaning, generally easy and sure to interpret from the situation in which they occur, and it can be demonstrated that they either express impulses and purposes which are repressed, hidden if possible from the consciousness of the individual, or that they spring from exactly the same sort of repressed wishes and complexes which we have learned to know already as the creators of symptoms and dreams.

It follows that they deserve the rank of symptoms, and their observation, like that of dreams, can lead to the discovery of the hidden complexes of the psychic life. With their help one will usually betray the most intimate of his secrets. If these occur so easily and commonly among people in health, with whom repression has on the whole succeeded fairly well, this is due to their insignificance and their inconspicuous nature. But they can lay claim to high theoretic value, for they prove the existence of repression and surrogate creations even under the conditions ...

... arbitrary and lawless, he expects everywhere a ... whose causal need is satisfied with a single psychic cause.

Now, keeping in mind the means which we possess for the discovery of the hidden, forgotten, repressed things in the soul life, the study of the irrupting ideas called up by free association, the patient's dreams, and his bungled and symptomatic acts; and adding to these the evaluation of other phenomena which emerge during the psycho-analytic treatment, on which I shall later make a few remarks under the heading of *transfer* (*Übertragung*), you will come with me to the conclusion that our technique is already sufficiently efficacious for the solution of the problem of how to introduce the pathogenic psychic material into consciousness, and so to do away with the suffering brought on by the creation of surrogate symptoms.

The fact that by such therapeutic endeavours our knowledge of the mental life of the normal and the abnormal is widened and deepened can, of course, only be regarded as an especial attraction and superiority of this method.

I do not know whether you have gained the impression that the technique through whose arsenal I have led you is a peculiarly difficult one. I consider that, on the contrary, for one who has mastered it, it is quite adapted for use. But so much is sure, that it is not obvious, that it must be learned no less than the histological or the surgical technique.

You may be surprised to learn that in Europe we have heard very frequently judgments passed on psycho-analysis by persons who knew nothing of its technique and had never practised it, but who demanded scornfully that we show the correctness of our results. There are among these people some who are not in other things unacquainted with scientific methods of thought, who, for example, would not reject the result of a microscopical research because it cannot be

This subject is ... treated in *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*.

ess which has been revealed to you in the inves tigations of the creations (*symptoms*) of hys terical subjects it points to the fact that the same opposition of psychic forces has its share in the creation of dreams as in the creation of symptoms

The manifest dream content is the disguised surrogate for the unconscious dream thou hts and this disguising is the work of the defensive forces of the ego of the resistances These pre vent the repressed wishes from entering con sciousness during the waking life and even in the relaxation of sleep they are still strong enough to force them to hide themselves by a sort of masquerading The dreamer then knows just as little the sense of his dream as the hys terical knows the relation and significance of his symptoms That there are latent dream thoughts and that between them and the manifest dream content there exists the relation just described —of this you may convince your elves by the analysis of dreams a procedure the technique of which is exactly that of psycho analysis You must abstract entirely from the apparent con nection of the elements in the manifest dream and seek for the irruptive ideas which arise through free association according to the psy cho analytic laws from each separate dream element From this material the latent dream thoughts may be discovered exactly as one di vines the concealed complexes of the patient from the fancies connected with his symptoms and memories From the latent dream thoughts which you will find in this way you will see at once how thoroughly justified one is in inter preting the dreams of adults by the same rubrics as those of children What is now subtituted for the manifest dream content is the real sense of the dream is always clearly comprehensible as ociated with the impressions of the day before and appears as the fulfilling of an unsatisfied wish The manifest dream which we remember after waking may then be described as a *dis*

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thoughts as the manifest dream content We call this process *dream work* (*Traumarbeit*) This de erves our fullest theoretical interest since here as nowhere else we can study the un suspected psychic processes which are existent in the unconscious or to express it more exact ly *between* two such separate systems as the conscious and the unconscious Among these newly discovered psychic processes two con densation *(Verdichtung)* and displacement or transvaluation change of psychic accent (*Verschiebung)* stand out most prominently Dream work is a special case of the reaction of different mental groupings on each other and as such is the consequence of psychic fission In all essen tial points it seems identical with the work of disguise which changes the repres ed complex in the case of failing repression into symptoms

You will furthermore discover by the analysis of dreams most convincingly your own the un suspected importance of the role which impres sions and experiences from early childhood exert on the development of men In the dream life the child as it were continues his existence in the man with a retention of all his traits and wishes including those which he was obliged to allow to fall into disuse in his later years With irresisti ble might it will be impressed on you by what processes of development of repression sub limation and reaction there arises out of the child with its peculiar gifts and tendencies the so called normal man the bearer and partly the victim of our painfully acquired civilization I will also direct your attention to the fact that we have discovered from the analysis of dreams that the unconscious makes use of a sort of sym bolism especially in the pre entation of exual complexes This symbolism in part varies with the individual but in part is of a typical nature and seems to be identical with the symbolism which we suppose to lie behind our myths and legends It is not impossible that these latter creations of the people may find their explana tion from the study of dreams

Finally I must remind you that you must not be led astray by the objection that the occur rence of anxiety dreams *(Angsttraume)* con tradicts our idea of the dream as a wish fulfil ment Apart from the consideration that anxiety dreams also require interpretation before judg ment can be passed on them one can sav quite generally that the anxiety does not depend in such a simple way on the dream content as one might suppose without more knowledge of the facts and more attention to the conditions of neurotic anxiety Anxiety is one of the ways in which the ego relieves itself of repressed wishes which have become too strong and so is easy to explain in the dream if the dream has gone too *far towards the fulfillin of the objectionable* wish

You see that the investigation of dreams was justified by the conclusions which it has gi en us concerning things otherw se hard to under stand But we came to it in connection with the

ecly when these memory traces which almost always are forgotten are discovered and made conscious is the power developed to banish the symptoms. We arrive here at the same conclusion as in the investigation of dreams—that it is the incompatible repressed wishes of childhood which lend their power to the creation of symptoms. Without these the reactions upon later traumata discharge normally. But we must consider these mighty wishes of childhood very generally as sexual in nature.

Now I can at any rate be sure of your astonishment. Is there an infantile sexuality you will ask. Is childhood not rather that period of life which is distinguished by the lack of the sexual impulse. No gentlemen it is not at all true that the sexual impulse enters into the child at puberty as the devils in the gospel entered into the swine. The child has his sexual impulses and activities from the beginning, he brings them with him into the world and from these the so-called normal sexuality of adults emerges by a significant development through manifold

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whose walls we now stand. In this ... es titled A Preliminary Study of the Emotion of Love between the Sexes, which appeared three years before my *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* the author says just what I have been saying to you "The emotion of sex love does not make its appearance for the first time at the period of adolescence as has been thought. He has as we should say in European work ... by the American method and has gathered not less than 2500 positive observations in the course of fifteen years among them 800 of his own. He says of the signs by which this amorous condition manifest itself. The unprejudiced mind in observing these manifestations in hundreds of couples of children cannot escape referring them to sex origin. The most exacting mind ... satisfied when to these observations are added the confessions of those who have as children experienced the emotion to a marked degree of intensity and whose memories of childhood are relatively distinct. Those of you who are unwilling to believe in infantile sexuality will be most astonished to hear that among those children who fell in love so early not a few are of the tender ages of three, four and five years.

It would not be surprising if you should believe the observations of a fellow-countryman ... short time

ago in this room an observation ... er girl who from the same cause as my patient —the birth of a little child in the family—be... almost the same secret excite... ngly ... end ... that was so strange at first. I might also ... the remarkable example of the Zurich psychiatrist E. Bleuler who said a few years ago openly that he faced my sexual theories incredulous and bewildered and since that time by his own observations had substantiated them in their whole scope. If it is true that most men medical observers and others do not want to know anything about the sexual life of the child, the fact is capable of explanation only too easily. They have forgotten their own infantile sexual activity under the pressure of education for civil...

sis-analysis by an interpretation of your own childhood memories.

Lay aside your doubt and let us evaluate the infantile sexuality of the earliest years. The sexual impulse of the child manifests itself as a very complex one, it permits of an analysis into many components which spring from different sources. It is entirely disconnected from the function of reproduction which it is later to serve. It permits the child to gain different sorts of pleasure sensations which we include by the anal gues and connections which they show under the term sexual pleasures. The great source

Compare *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*.

Coll... d P... per ... III; Bleuler, Sexuelle Abnormitäten der Kinder ... IX, 98 ... *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*.

confirmed with the naked eye in anatomical preparations and who would not pass judgment until they had used the microscope But in matters of psycho analysis circumstances are really more unfavourable for gaining recognition Psycho analysis will bring the repressed in mental life to conscious acknowledgment and every one who judges it is himself a man who has such repressions perhaps maintained only with difficulty It will consequently call forth the same resistances from him as from the patient and this resistance can easily succeed in di guising itself as intellectual rejection and bring forward arguments similar to those from which we protect our patients by the basic principles of psycho analysis It is not difficult to substantiate *in our opponents the same impairment of in*telligence produced by emotivity which we may observe every day with our patients The arrogance of consciousness which for example rejects dreams so lightly belongs—quite generally—to the strongest protective apparatus which guards us against the breaking through of the unconscious complexes and as a result it is hard to convince people of the reality of the unconscious and to teach them anew what their conscious *knowledge contradicts*

FOURTH LECTURE

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN At this point you will be asking what the technique which I have described has taught us of the nature of the pathogenic complexes and repressed wishes of neurotics

One thing in particular psycho analytic in

ponents (*Triebkomponente*) and necessitate the assumption that to disturbances of the erotic sphere must be ascribed the greatest significance among the aetiological factors of the disease This holds of both sexes

think that I overestimate the aetiological share of the sexual moments They ask me why other *mental excitations* should not lead to the phenomena of repression and surrogate creation which I have described I can give them this answer that I do not know why they should not do this I have no objection to their doing it but experience shows that they do not possess such a significance and that they merely support the effect of the sexual moments without being able to supplant them This conclusion was not a theoretical postulate in the *Studien uber Hysterie* published *in 1895* with Dr Breuer I did not stand on this ground I was converted to it when my experience was richer and had led me deeper into the nature of the case Gentlemen there are among you some of my closest friends and adherents who have travelled to Worcester with me Ask them and they will tell you that they all were at first completely skeptical of the assertion of the determinative significance of the exual aetiology until they were compelled by their own analytic labors to come to the same conclusion

The conduct of the patients does not make it *any easier to convince one s self of the correct*ness of the view which I have expressed Instead of willingly giving us information concerning their sexual life they try to conceal it by every means in their power Men generally are not candid in sexual matters They do not show their sexuality freely but they wear a thick overcoat —a fabric of lies—to conceal it as though it were bad weather in the world of sex And they

erotic life to his neighbor But when your patients see that in your treatment they may disregard the conventional restraints they lay aside this veil of lies and then only are you in a position to formulate a judgment on the question in dispute Unfortunately physicians are not favoured above the rest of the children of

ness which determines the behavior of most *Kulturmenschen* in affairs of sex

Now to proceed with the communication of our results It is true that in another series of ca es psycho analysis at first traces the symp

ough explanation and complete cure of a case of sickness does not stop in any case with the experience of the time of onset of the disease but in every case it goes back to the adolescence and the early childhood of the patient Here only do we hit upon the impressions and circumstances which *determine the later sickness Only* the childhood experiences can give the explanation for the sensitivity to later traumata and

mother way from an injury to the development of the sex life. The neuroses are related to the perversions as the negative to the positive. In them we find the same impulse-components as in perversions, as bearers of the complexes and as creators of the symptoms, but here they work out from the unconscious. They have undergone a repression, but in spite of this they maintain themselves in the unconscious. Psycho-analysis teaches us that ... strong expression of the impulse in very early life leads to a sort of fixation (*Fixierung*), which then offers a weak point in the articulation of the sexual function. If the exercise of the normal sexual function meets with hindrances in later life, this repression, dating from the time of development, is broken through at just that point at which the infantile fixation took place.

You will now perhaps make the objection: "But all that is not sexuality." I have used the word in a very much wider sense than you are accustomed to understand it. This I willingly concede. But it is a question whether you do not rather use the word in much too narrow a sense when you restrict it to the realm of procreation. You sacrifice by that the understanding of perversions, of the connection between perversion, neurosis, and normal sexual life, and have no means of recognizing in its true significance, the easily observable beginnings of the somatic and mental sexual life of the child. But however you decide about the use of the word, remember that the psycho-analyst understands sexuality in that full sense to which he is led by the evaluation of infantile sexuality.

Now we turn again to the sexual development of the child. We still have much to say here, since we have given more attention to the somatic than to the mental expressions of the sexual life. The primitive object-choice of the child, which is derived from his need of help, demands our further interest. It first attaches to all persons to whom he is accustomed, but soon these give way in favor of his parents. The relation of the child to his parents is, as both direct ... on, he wishes himself in the place of his father, as daughter in the place of the mother. The feelings awakened in these relations between parents and children, and, as a resultant of them, those among the children in relation to each other, are not only positively of a tender ... negatively of an inimical sort. The complex ... much repress... effect ... the ... resents ... and so we are prepared to ... less effectual way in the other fields of mental life. The myth of King Œdipus, who kills his father and wins his mother as a wife is only the slightly altered presentation of the infantile wish, re... by the opposing barriers of incest. ... by the still unrepressed nuclear complex ... begins a very significant part of his mental activity which serves sexual interest. He begins to investigate the question of where children come from and guesses more than adults imagine of the true relations by deduction from the signs ... in this ... ture in him he arrives at a number ... sexual theories, as that the same male genitals belong to both sexes, that children are conceived by eating and born through the opening of the intestine, and that sexual intercourse is to be regarded as an inimical act, a sort of overpowering.

But just the unfinished nature of his sexual constitution and the gaps in his knowledge brought about by the hidden condition of the feminine sexual canal, cause the infant investigator to discontinue his work as a failure. The facts of this childish investigation itself as well as the infantile sex theories created by it are of determinative significance in the building of the child's character, and in the content of his later neuroses.

... normal that the ...

must take them merely as a prototype and transfer from these to other persons in the time of definite object-choice. The breaking loose (*Ablösung*) of the child from his parents is thus

of infantile sexual pleasure is the auto excitation of certain particularly sensitive parts of the body besides the genitals are included the rectum and the opening of the urinary canal and also the skin and other sensory surfaces Since in this first phase of child sexual life the satisfaction is found on the child s own body and has nothing to do with any other object we call this phase after a word coined by Havelock Ellis that of *auto eroticism* The parts of the body significant in giving sexual pleasure we call *erogenous ones* The thumb sucking (*Ludeln*) or passionate sucking (*Wonnesaugen*) of very young children is a good example of such an auto erotic satisfaction of an erogenous zone The first scientific observer of this phenomenon a specialist in children s diseases in Budapest by the name of Lindner interpreted these rightly as sexual satisfaction and described exhaustively their transformation into other and higher forms of sexual gratification[1] Another sexual satisfaction of this time of life is the excitation of the genitals by masturbation which has such a great significance for later life and in the case of many individuals is never fully overcome Besides this and other auto erotic manifestations we see very early in the child the impulse components of *sexual pleasure* or as we may say of the *libido* which presupposes a second person as its object These impulses appear in opposed pairs as active and passive The most important representatives of this group are the pleasure in inflicting pain (sadism) with its passive opposite (masochism) and active and passive exhibition pleasure (*Schaulust*) From the first of these later pairs splits off the curiosity for knowledge as from the latter the impulse toward artistic and theatrical representation Other sexual manifestations of the child can already be regarded from the viewpoint of object choice in which the second person plays the prominent part The significance of this was primarily based upon motives of the impulse of self preservation The difference between the sexes plays however in the child no very great role

[illegible]

ated in which each single impulse goes about the business of arousing pleasure independently of every other is later correlated and organized in two general directions so that by the close of pubert [illegible] he in dividu [illegible] The single [illegible] o the overlordship of the genital zone so that the whole sexual life is taken over into the service of procreation and their gratification is now significant only so far as they help to prepare and promote the true sexual act On the other hand object choice prevails over auto eroticism so that now in the sexual life all components of the sexual impulse are satisfied in the loved person But not all the original impulse components are given a share in the final shaping of the sexual life Even before the advent of puberty certain impulses have undergone the most energetic repression under the impulse of education and mental forces like shame disgust and morality are developed which like sentinels keep the repressed wishes in subjection When there comes in puberty the high tide of sexual desire it finds dams in this creation of reactions and resistances These guide the outflow into the so called normal channels and make it impossible to revivify the impulses which have undergone repression

The most important of these repressed impulses are coprophilism that is the pleasure in children connected with the excrements and further the tendencies attaching themselves to the persons of the primitive object choice

Gentlemen a sentence of general pathology says that every process of development brings with it the germ of pathological dispositions in so far as it may be inhibited delayed or incompletely carried out This holds for the development of the sexual function with its many complications It is not smoothly completed in all individual and may leave behind either abnormalities or disposition to later diseases by the way of later falling back or *regression* It may happen that not all the partial impulses subordinate themselves to the rule of the genital zone Such an impulse which has remained disconnected brings about what we call a perversion which may replace the normal sexual goal by one of its own It may happen as has been said before that the auto eroticism is not fully overcome as many sorts of disturbances testify The originally equal value of both sexes as sexual objects may be maintained and an inclination to homosexual activities in adult life result from this which under suitable conditions rises to the level of exclusive homosexuality This series of disturbances corresponds to the direct inhibition of development of the sexual function it includes the perversions and the general *infantilism* of the sex life that are not seldom met with

The disposition to neuroses is to be derived in

[1] *Jah b ch f K nde l lk nde* 879

Jung has expressed neurotics fall ill of the same complexes with which we sound people struggle. It depends on quantitative relationships, on the relations of the forces wrestling with each other whether the struggle leads to health, to neurosis or to compensatory over functioning (*Überleistung*)

Ladies and gentlemen I have still withheld most remarkable experience which

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ours in him the so-called ... s fer (*Übertragung*) that is, he applies to the person of the physician great amount of tender emotion, often mixed with enmity which has no foundation in any real relation and must be derived in every respect from the old wish fancies of the patient, which have become unconscious. Every fragment of his emotive life which can ... reco d-

existence and the power of these ... s sexual excitations The symptoms which to use a simile from chemistry are the precipitates of earlier love experiences (in the widest sense) can only be dissolved in the higher temperature of the experience of transfer and transformed into other psychic products The physician plays in this reaction to use an excellent expression of S Ferenczi the rôle of a *catalytic ferment* which temporarily attracts to itself the affection which has become free in the course of the process

The study of transfer can also give you the key to the understanding of hypnotic suggestion, which we at first used with our patients as technical means of investigation of the unconscious Hypnosis showed itself at that time to be therapeutic help but a hindrance to the scientific knowledge of the real nature of the case since it cleared away the psychic resistances ...

arises spontaneously in all human relations and in the relations of the patient to the physician It is everywhere the especial bearer of therapeutic influences and the ... ks the ... stronger th

less one knows of its presence. Accordingly psycho-analysis does not create it, it merely discloses it to consciousness and avails itself of it in order to direct the psychic processes to the ... I But I cannot leave the theme of

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know that all my audience ... d of the correctness of my views through their experience with transfer and I can very well conceive that one may not win such a surety of judgment so long as he makes no psycho-analysis, and so has not himself observed the effects of transfer

Ladies and gentlemen I am of the opinion that there are on the intellectual side two hindrances to acknowledging the value of the psycho-analytic viewpoint first the fact that we are not accustomed to reckon with a strict de ... without

mental processes ... s ... ones with which we are familiar One of the most widespread resistances against the work of psycho-analysis with patients as with persons in health reduces to the latter of the two moments. One is afraid of doing harm by psycho-analysis, one is anxious about calling up into consciousness the repressed sexual impulses of the patient as though there were danger that they could overpower the higher ethical strivings and rob him of his cultural acquisitions. One can see

Of course, better not to touch diseased places when one can only cause pain But we know that the surgeon does not refrain from the investigation and examination of the seat of illness if his intervention has as its aim the restoration of lasting health Nobody thinks of blaming him for the unavoidable difficulties of the investigation or the phenomena of reaction from the operation if these only accomplish their purpose and gain for the patient final cure by temporarily making his condition worse The case is similar in psycho-analysis It can lay claim to the same things as surgery the increase of pain which takes place in the patient during the treatment is very much less than that which the ur ...

S Ferenczi, Introjektion und Übertragung, Jahrbuch f Psychoanal. u. Psychopath. Forschungen, Vol. I, No. ... 09

a problem impossible to escape if the social virtue of the young individual is not to be impaired During the time that the repressive activity is making its choice among the partial sexual impulses and later when the influence of the parents which in the most essential way has furnished the material for these repressions is lessened great problems fall to the work of education which at present certainly does not always solve them in the most intelligent and economic way

Gentlemen do not think that with these explanations of the sexual life and the sexual development of the child we have too far departed from psycho analysis and the cure of neurotic disturbances If you like you may regard the psycho analytic treatment only as a continued education for the overcoming of childhood remnants (*Kindheitsresten*)

FIFTH LECTURE

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN With the discovery of infantile sexuality and the tracing back of the neurotic symptoms to erotic impulse components we have arrived at several unexpected formulae for expressing the nature and tendencies of neurotic diseases We see that the individual falls ill when in consequence of outer hindrances or inner lack of adaptability the satisfaction of the erotic needs in the sphere of reality is denied We see that he then flees to sickness in order to find with its help a surrogate satisfaction for that denied him We recognize that the symptoms of illness contain fractions of the sexual activity of the individual or his whole sexual life and we find in the turning away from reality the chief tendency and also the chief injury of the sickness We may guess that the resistance of our patients against the cure is not a simple one but is composed of many motives Not only does the ego of the patient strive against the giving up of the repression by which it has changed itself from its original constitution into its present form but also the sexual *impulses may not renounce their surrogate satis*faction so long as it is not certain that they can be offered anything better in the sphere of reality

The flight from the unsatisfying reality into

tient takes place over the path of regression the return to earlier phases of the sexual life when satisfaction was not lacking This regression is seemingly a twofold one a *temporal* in so far as the *libido* or erotic need falls back to a temporally earlier stage of development and a *formal* since the original and primitive psychic means of expression are applied to the expression of this need Both sorts of regression focus in childhood and have their common point in the production of an infantile condition of sexual life

The deeper you penetrate into the pathogenic of neurotic diseases the more the connexion of *neuroses with other products of human mentality* even the most valuable will be revealed to you You will be reminded that we men with the high claims of our civilization and under the pressure of our repressions find reality generally quite unsatisfactory and so keep up a life of fancy in which we love to compensate for what is lacking in the sphere of reality by the production of wish fulfilments In these phantasies is often contained very much of the particular constitutional essence of personality and of its tendencies repressed in real life The energetic and successful man is he who succeeds by dint of labour in transforming his wish fancies into reality Where this is not successful in consequence of the resistance of the outer world and the weakness of the individual there begins the turning away from reality The individual takes refuge in his satisfying world of fancy Under certain favourable conditions it still remains possible for him to find another connecting link between these fancies and reality instead of permanently becoming a stranger to it through the regression into the infantile If the individual who is displeased with reality is in possession of that *artistic talent* which is still a psychological riddle he can transform his fancies into artistic creations So he escapes the fate of a neurosis and wins back his connection with reality by this roundabout way Where this opposition to the real world exists but this valuable talent fails or proves insufficient it is unavoidable that the *libido* following the origin of the fancies succeeds by means of regression in revivifying the infantile wishes and so producing a neurosis The neurosis takes in our time the place of the cloister in which were accustomed to take ref

rived by the psycho analytic investigation of neurotics namely that neuro es have no peculiar psychic content of their own which is not also to be found in healthy states or as C G

[1]*Cf* Ott R k *D* *K* *tler A* *t* *z* *S*
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Selected Papers on Hysteria

impulse which has been freed from repression is wholly impossible *In relation to this anxiety* we must consider what our experiences have taught us with certainty that the somatic and mental power of a wish if once its repression has not succeeded is incomparably stronger when it is unconscious than when it is con scious so that by being made conscious it can only be weakened The unconscious wish cannot be influenced is free from all strivings in the contrary direction while the conscious is inhibited by those wishes which *are also con* scious and which strive against it The work of psycho analysis accordingly presents a better substitute in the service of the highest and most valuable cultural strivings for the repression which has failed

Now what is the fate of the wishes which have become free by psycho analysis by what means shall they be made harmless for the life of the individual? There are several ways The general consequence is that the wish is consumed during the work by the correct mental activity of those

posal This is possible since for the most part we have to abolish only the effects of earlier de velopmental stages of the ego The individual for his part only repressed the useless impulse because at that time he was himself still incom pletely organized and weak in his present ma turity and strength he can perhaps conquer without injury to himself that which is inimical to him A second issue of the work of psycho analysis may be that the revealed unconscious impulses can now arrive at those useful applica tions which in the case of undisturbed develop ment they would have found earlier The extir pation of the infantile wishes is not at all the ideal aim of development The neurotic has lost by his repressions many sources of mental en ergy whose contingents would have been very valuable for his character building and his life activities We know a far more purposive proc ess of development the so called ***sublimation*** ***(Sublimirung)*** by which the energy of infantile wish excitations is not secluded but remains capable of application while for the particular excitations instead of becoming useless a high er eventually no longer sexual goal is set up The components of the sexual instinct are es pecially *distinguished* by such a capacity for the sublimation and exchange of their sexual goal for one more remote and socially more valuable To the contributions of the energy won in such a way for the functions of our mental life we *probably owe the highest cultural* consequences A repression taking place at an early period ex cludes the sublimation of the repressed impulse after the *removal of the repression the way to* sublimation is again free.

We must not neglect also to glance t the third of the possible issues A certain part of the suppressed libidinous excitation has a right to direct satisfaction and ought to find it in life The claims of our civilization make life too hard *for the greater part of humanity and so further* the aversion to reality and the origin of neuro ses without producing an excess of cultural gain by this excess of sexual repression We ought not to go so far as to fully neglect the original animal part of our nature we ought not to for get that the happiness of individuals cannot be dispensed with as one of the aims of our culture The plasticity of the sexual components mani fest in their capacity for sublimation may cause *a great temptation to accomplish greater* cul ture effects by a more and more far reaching sublimation But just as little as with our ma chines we expect to change more than a certain fraction of the applied heat into useful mechani cal work just as little ought we to strive to sep arate the sexual impulse in its whole extent of energy from its peculiar goal This cannot suc ceed and if the narrowing of sexuality is pushed too far it will have all the evil effects of a rob bery

I do not know whether you will regard the ex hortation with which I close as a presumptuous one I only venture the indirect presentation of my conviction if I relate an old tale whose ap plication you may make yourselves German lit erature knows a town called *Schilda* to whose inhabitants were attributed all sorts of clever pranks The wiseacres so the story goes had a horse with whose powers of work they were well satisfied and against whom they had only one grudge that he consumed so much expen

day until he had learned to do without them al together Things went finely for a while the

not understand why he had died We should be inclined to believe that the horse had starved and that without a certain ration of oats no work could be expected from an animal

Contents Selected Papers on Hysteria

Contents Selected Papers on Hysteria

Selected Papers on Hysteria

CHAPTER I

The Psychic Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena (Preliminary Communication)

Acte ted by a umbe of cidental observa tions, we have investigated over a period of years the different forms and symptoms of hysteria for the purpose of disco ering the cause and th process which first pro oked the phenomena in question and which in great many of our cases frequently ppeared years before. In the great majority of cases we did not succeed in el cidating this starting point from the mere history no matter how detailed it might have been partly because we had to deal with experiences about which discus on was disagreeable to th patie ts but mainly because they really could not recall anything Often they had no inkling of the causal connecti n between the traumatic process and th pathological phenomenon. It was generally necessary to hypnotize the patients and reawaken the memory of the time in which the ymptom first appeared but we thus succeeded in xposing that connec tion in a most precise and c ncing manner

This method f *examination in a great num*ber of cases has furnished us with results which seem t be f theoretical as well as of practical value.

It is f *theoretical value* because t has shown us that in the d termination of the path logy of h st ria, the accidental fact plays a m ch great part than is generally known and cog nized. It is quite ev dent that in *tr m t c* hysteria it is the accident which evokes the syn dr me. M reove in hyst rical crises if the pa tients ate that in each attack they hall cinate the sam process which ev ked the first ttack, here too th ausal connect on eems quite c ear B t the u iati n is more bscure in the other phen mena.

Our experiences have shown us *that th most v d symp oms which pass as s on aneous or as wer as idiopathic attainments f hysteria t nd t just as ringent connec ion with the causal t auma as th transparent phenomena mentioned* To such causal factors we are able to refer neuralgias as well as the different kind of anesthesias often of years duration contrac tures and paralyses hysterical attacks and epi leptif rm con ulsions which every ob erver has taken for real epileps *petit mal* and the like af fections persistent vomiting and anorexia even up to the refusal of nourishment all kinds of v recurring usual

the traumatic neurosis. Very oft n th a e periences of childhood which ha e establi hed m re o *less intensi e morbid* phenomena for all ucceeding years

Th connecti n is often so clear that it is per fectly manifest how the causal event produced just this and no othe phenomenon It is quite clearly determined by the cause. Thus l t us take the most banal example if a painful af fect originates while eating and is repressed it m y produce na sea and vomiting and then co inue f r months as an hysterical symptom. Th f llowing examples will illustra e what we mean

A very distressed young girl, while anxiously watching at s ck bed, fell into a dream tate had t rrifying hallucinations and he right arm which was at the time hangi o er the back of the chair became numb This resulted in a pa ral s co tracture and anaesthesia of that arm. She wanted to pra but c uld find n words but finally ucceeded in uttering an English childre s praye Lat r on deve oping a very gra e and most complicated hysteria he spoke wrot and understood only English whe eas her native to gu was in omprehen ble to her f a ear and half

A ery k h ld fi ally fell a leep The m her exerted all her will power t make no no se t awaken it, but because h resol ed to do be em tted a clickin sound with her to gue (h ste ical counte w ll) Th w s la er repeated on a oth cas on when she wi hed to be bsol ly qu and developed in t a t c wh h in th form of t ngue clicking accompanied every excitement for years.

W tten in collabora w th Joseph Breuer Vorle ke Zentr l tt s 3 Nos. and later published in Studien über Hysterie 895

in some way even after years, not indirectly by means of a chain of causal links but directly as provoking cause, just perhaps as in the wakeful consciousness where the memory of a psychic pain may later call forth tears. In other words: *The hysteric suffers mostly from reminiscences.*

II

It would seem at first rather strange that long forgotten experiences should exert so intensive an influence, and that their recollection should not be subject to the decay into which all our memories sink. We will perhaps gain some understanding of these facts by the following examinations.

The blurring or loss of an affect of memory depends on a great many factors. In the first place it is of great consequence whether there was an energetic reaction to the affectful experience or not. By reaction we here understand a whole series of voluntary or involuntary reflexes ranging from crying to an act of revenge, through which, according to experience, affects are discharged. If the success of this reaction is of sufficient strength, it results in the disappearance of a great part of the affect. Language attests this fact of daily observation in such expressions as "to give vent to one's feeling," to be "relieved by weeping," etc. If the reaction is suppressed, the affect remains united with the memory. An insult retaliated, be it only in words, is differently recalled than one that had to be taken in silence. Language also recognizes this distinction between the psychic and physical results, and designates most characteristically the silently endured suffering as *grievance*. The reaction of an injured person to a trauma has really only then a perfect cathartic effect if it is expressed in an adequate reaction like revenge. But man finds a substitute for this action in speech through which help the affect can well nigh be ab-reacted ("abreagirt"). In other cases, talking in the form of deploring and giving vent to the torments of the secret (confession) is in itself an adequate reflex. If such reaction does not result through deeds, words, or in the most elementary case through weeping, the memory of the occurrence retains above all an affective accentuation.

The ab-reaction, however, is not the only form of discharge at the disposal of the normal psychic mechanism of the healthy person who has experienced a psychic trauma. The memory of the trauma, even where it has not been ab-reacted, enters into the great complex of the associations. It joins the other experiences which [illegible]

[illegible] ger and [illegible] is accompanied by the recollection of the further course, the rescue and the consciousness of present security. The memory of a grievance may be corrected by a rectification of the state of affairs, by reflecting upon one's own dignity and similar things. A normal person is in this way capable of dissipating the accompanying affect by means of association.

In addition, there appears that general blurring of impressions, that fading of memories which we call *forgetting* and which above all wears out the affective ideas no longer active.

It follows from our observations that those memories which become the causes of hysterical phenomena have been preserved for a long time with wonderful freshness and with their perfect emotional tone. As a further striking and a later realizable fact, we have to mention that the patients do not perhaps have the same control of these as of their other memories of life. On the contrary *these experiences are either completely lacking from the memory of the patient in their usual psychic state or are present in greatly abridged form*. Only after the patients are questioned in the hypnotic state do these memories appear with the undiminished vividness of fresh occurrences.

Thus one of our patients in a hypnotic state reproduced with hallucinatory vividness throughout half a year everything that excited her during an acute hysteria on the same days of the preceding year. Her mother's diary which was unknown to the patient proved the faultless accuracy of the reproductions. Partly in hypnosis and partly in spontaneous attacks, another patient lived through with hallucinatory distinctness all experiences of a hysterical psychosis which she went through ten years be-

We are unable to distinguish in this preliminary communication what there is new in this concept, and what can be found in such other authors as Moebius and Strümpell, who present similar views on hysteria. The greatest similarity to our theoretic and therapeutic accomplishments we accidentally found in some published observations of Benedikt, which we shall discuss later on.

The German "abreagiren" has no exact English equivalent. It will therefore be rendered throughout the text by ab-react. The literal meaning is [illegible] or to act off. It is the act of giving vent in speech and action to repressed experiences, and thereby discharging [illegible]. It has different shades of meaning, from [illegible], which can be discerned from the context.—T.

A very intelligent man was present while his brother was anaesthetized and his ankylosed hip stretched At the moment when the joint yielded and crackled he perceived severe pain in his own hip which continued for almost a year

In other cases the connection is not so simple there being only as it were a symbolic relation between the cause and the patholo ical phenomenon just as in the normal dream Thus psychic pain may result in neuralgia or the affect of moral di gust may cause vomiting We have studied patients who were wont to make the most prolific use of such symbolization In still other cases such a determination is at first sight incomprehensible yet in this group we find the typical hysterical symptoms such as hemianaesthesia contraction of the visual field epileptiform convulsions and similar symptoms The explanation of our views concerning this group must be deferred for a more detailed discussion of the subject

Such observations seem to demonstrate the pathogenic analogy between simple hysteria and traumatic neurosis and justify a broader conception of traumatic hysteria The active aetiological factor in traumatic neurosis is really not the insignificant bodily injury but the affect of the fright that is the *psychic trauma* In an analogous manner our investigations show that the causes of many if not of all cases of hysteria can be designated as psychic traumas Every experience which produces the painful affect of fear anxiety shame or of psychic pain may act as a trauma Whether an experience becomes of traumatic importance naturally depends on the person affected as well as on the condition which will be mentioned later In ordinary hysterias we frequently find instead of one large trauma many partial traumas grouped causes which can be of traumatic significance only when summarized and which belong together insofar as they form small frag

after its penetration must be considered as an agent of the present the proof of which we see in a most remarkable phenomenon which at the same time adds to our discoveries a distinctly practical interest

We found at first to our greatest surpri e that the *individual hysterical symptoms immediately disappeared without returning if we succeeded in thoroughly awakening the memories of the causal process with its accompanying affect and if the patient circumstantially discussed the process in the most detailed manner and gave verbal expression to the affect* Recollections without affects are almost utterly useless The psychic process which originally elapsed must be reproduced as vividly as possible so as to bring it back into the *statum nascendi* and then thoroughly talked out If it concerns such irritating manifestations as convulsions neuralgias and hallucinations they are once more brought to the surface with their full intensity and they then vanish forever Functional attacks like paralyses and anaesthesias likewise disappear but naturally without any appreciable distinctness of their momentary aggravation

It would be quite reasonable to suspect that one deals here with an unintentional suggestion. The patient expects to be relieved of his suffering and it is this expectation and not the discussion that is the effectual factor But this is not so The first observation of this kind in which a most complicated case of hysteria was analysed and the individual causal symptoms separately abrogated occurred *in the year* 1881 that is in a *pre suggestive* period It was brought about through a spontaneous auto hypnosis of the patient and caused the examiner the greatest surprise

In reversing the sentence *cessante causa cessat effectus* we may conclude from this observation that the causal process continues to act

eemingly indifferent situations to traumatic dignity which they would not have attained otherwise but which they retain ever after

But the causal connexion of the causative psychic trauma with the hysterical phenomena does not mean that the trauma as an *agent provocateur* would release the symptom which would then become independent and continue as such On the contrary we must maintain that the psychic trauma of the memory of the same acts like a foreign body which even long

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esses, as do the various states of hypnosis which range from light somnolence to somnambulism, and from perfect memory to absolute amnesia.

If such hypnoid states have already existed before the manifest disease they prepare the soil upon which the affect establishes the pathogenic memories with their resulting somatic manifestations. This behavior corresponds to hysteria, based on a predisposition. But our observations show that a severe trauma (like a traumatic neurosis) or a severe suppression (perhaps of sexual affect) may bring about a splitting of ideas even in persons without predispositions. This represents the mechanism of the psychically acquired hysteria. Between these two extremes we have a series in which the facility of dissociation in a particular individual and the magnitude of the affective trauma vary inversely.

We are unable to say anything new as to the determination of the predisposed hypnoid states. We presume that they often develop from reveries which are so frequent even in normal persons, for which, for example, feminine handwork offers so much opportunity. The questions why "the pathological associations formed in such states are so firm, and why they exert a stronger influence on the somatic processes than other ideas, are all indissolubly linked with the problem of the effectiveness of hypnotic suggestions in general. Our experiences in this matter do not show us any thing new. But they rather throw light on the contradiction between the statement, "Hysteria is a psychosis," and the fact that among hysterics one may meet persons of the clearest intellects, the strongest wills, greatest principles and of the subtlest minds. In these cases such characteristics hold true only in the person's waking thought; in his hypnotic state he is alienated just as we all are in our dreams. Yet whereas our dream psychoses do not influence our waking state, the products of hypnotic states are projected into the waking state as hysterical phenomena.

IV

Almost the same assertions that we have advanced about hysterical symptoms we may also repeat concerning hysterical attacks. As is known, we have Charcot's schematic description of the major hysterical attack, which in complete form shows four phases: (1) The epileptoid, (2) the major movements, (3) the *attitudes passionelles* (hallucinatory phase) and (4) the concluding delirium. By shortening or prolonging the attack, and by isolating the individual phases Charcot obtained all those forms of the hysterical attack which are really observed more frequently than the complete *grande attaque*.

Our tentative explanation refers to the third phase, the *attitudes passionelles*. Wherever it is prominent it contains the hallucinatory reproduction of a memory which was significant for the hysterical onset. It is the memory of a major trauma, the κατ' ἐξοχήν of the so-called traumatic hysteria, or of a series of partial traumas belonging together as they are found at the basis of the ordinary hysteria. Or finally the attack may bring back those occurrences which, because of their encounter with a factor of a special predisposition, have become raised to traumas.

But there are also other attacks which ostensibly consist only of motor phenomena and lack the *passionelle* phase. If it is possible during such an attack of general twitching, cataleptic rigidity or an *attaque de sommeil* to put oneself *en rapport* with the patient, or still better if one succeeds in evoking the attack in a hypnotic state, it will then be found that here too the root of it is the memory of a psychic trauma, or of a series of traumas which make themselves otherwise prominent in an hallucinatory phase. Thus a little girl had suffered for years from attacks of general convulsions, which could be and were taken for epilepsy. For differential diagnostic reasons she was hypnotized and she immediately lapsed into one of her attacks. On being asked what she saw she said, "The dog, the dog is coming," and it actually turned out that the first attack of this kind appeared after she was pursued by a mad dog. The success of the therapy then verified our diagnostic decision.

An official who became hysterical as a result of ill treatment by his employer suffered from attacks during which he fell to the floor raging furiously without uttering a word or displaying any hallucination. The attack was provoked in a state of hypnosis and he then stated that he lived through the scene during which his employer insulted him in the street and struck him with his cane. A few days later he came to me complaining that he had the same attack, but was shown in the hypnosis this time that he went through the scene which was really connected with the onset of his disease; it was the scene in the court room, when he was unable to

fore and for the greatest part of which she had been amnesic until its reappearance Also some individual memories of aetiological importance showed surprising integrity and sentient force of fifteen to twenty five years duration and on their return exerted the full affective force of new experiences

The reason for this we can seek only in the fact that these memories occupy an exceptional position in all the above mentioned relations as far as vividness is concerned For it *was really shown that these memories correspond to traumas which were not sufficiently ab reacted* and on closer investigation of the reasons for this hindrance we can find at least two series of determinants throu h which the reaction to the trauma was omitted

To the first group we add those cases in which the patient had not reacted to psychic traumas because the nature of the trauma precluded a reaction or because social relations made the reaction impossible or because it concerned things which the patient wished to forget and which he therefore intentionally inhibited and repressed from his conscious memory It is just such painful things which are found in the hypnotic state as the basis of hysterical phenomena (hysterical delirium of saints nuns abstinent women and well bred children)

The second series of determinants is not conditioned by the content of the memories but by the psychic states with which the corre ponding experiences in the patient have united As a cause of hysterical symptoms one finds in hypnosis even ideas which are insignificant in themselves but which owe their preservation to the fact that they originated during a evere paralyzing affect like fright or directly in abnormal psychic conditions as in the semi hypnotic twilight states of day dreaming in auto hypnosis and similar states Here it is the nature of these conditions which makes a reaction to the incident impossible

To be sure both determinants can naturally unite and as a matter of fact they often do This is the case when a trauma in itself effectual occurs in a state of a severely paralyzing affect or from a transformed consciousness But it may also happen that the psychic trauma evokes in many persons one of these abnormal states which in turn makes the reaction impossible

What is common to both groups of determinants is the fact that those psychic traumas which are not adjusted by reaction are also prevented from adju tment by associative elaboration In the first group it is the resolution of the patient which strives to forget the painful experiences and in this way if possible to exclude them from association in the second group the associative elaboration does not uc ceed because between the normal and pathological state of consciousness in which these ideas originated there is no productive associative relationship We shall soon have occasion to discuss more fully these relationships

Hence we can ay *that the reason why the pathogenically formed ideas retain their freshness and affective force is because they are not subject to the normal fading through ab reaction and through reproduction in states of uninhibited association*

III

When we discussed the conditions which according to our experience are decisive in the development of hysterical phenomena from psychic traumas we were forced to peak of abnormal states of consciousness in which such pathogenic ideas originate and we had to emphasize the fact that the recollection of the effectual psychic trauma is not to be found in the normal memory of the patient but in the hypnotized memory The more we occupied ourselves with these phenomena the more certain became our convictions *that the splitting of consciousness so striking in the familiar classical cases of double consciousness exists rudimentarily in every hysteria and that the tendency to this dissociation and with it the appearance of abnormal states of consciousness which we comprise as* hypnoid *is the basic phenomenon of this neurosis* In this view we agree *with Binet and Janet though we had no experi*ence with their remarkable findings in anaethetic patients

Hence to the often cited axiom 'Hypnosis is artificial hysteria we should like to add another The existence of hypnoid states is the basis and determination of hysteria The e hypnoid states agree *in all their diversities* among them elves and with hypnosis in the one point namely that the ideas arising in them are very intensive but are excluded from associative relations with the rest of the content of consciousness These hypnoid states are as ociable amon themselves and their ideation may thus attain various high degrees of psychic organization In other respects the nature of the e tates and the degree of their exclusiveness differ from the rest of the conscious proc

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Almost the same assertions that we have advanced about hysterical symptoms we may also repeat concerning hysterical attacks. As is known we have Charcot's schematic description of the *major* hysterical attack which in complete form shows four phases: (1) The epileptoid, (2) the major movements, (3) the *attitudes passionelles* (hallucinatory phase) and (4) the concluding delirium. By shortening or prolonging the attack, and by isolating the individual phases Charcot obtained all those forms of the hysterical attack, which are really observed more frequently than the complete *grande attaque*.

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get satisfaction for the ill treatment which he received etc

The memories which appear in hysterical attacks or which can be awakened in them correspond in all other respects to the causes which we have found as the basis of *continuous hysterical symptoms* Like these they refer to psychic traumas which were prevented from adjustment through ab reaction or through associative elaboration like these they were absent entirely or in their essential components in the total memory of normal consciousness and showed themselves as parts of the ideation content of hypnoid states of consciousness with restricted associations Finally they were also amenable to the therapeutic test Our observations have often taught us that a memory which has hitherto provoked attacks becomes incapable of it when it is brought to reaction and associative correction in a hypnotic state

The motor phenomena of the hysterical attack can *in part be interpreted as the memory* of general forms of reaction of the accompanying affect (like the fidgeting of the whole body to which the infant already resorts) in part as a direct motor expression of this memory and in other parts they like the hysterical stigmata in the permanent symptoms elude this explanation

A special estimation of the hysterical attack is obtained if one also takes into account the fact that in hysteria there are groups of ideas *which originated in hypnoid states which are* excluded from associative activity with the rest but are associable among themselves and thus represent a more or less highly organized rudimentary second consciousness a *condition seconde* A persistent hysterical symptom therefore corresponds to an impingement of this second state upon a bodily innervation otherwise controlled by the normal consciousness But an hysterical attack gives evidence of a higher organization of this second state and if *of recent origin signifies a moment in which* this hypnoid consciousness has gained control of the whole existence that is we have an acute hysteria but if it is a recurrent attack containing a memory we simply have a repetition of the same Charcot has already given utterance to the thought that the hysterical attack must be the rudiment of a *condition seconde* During the attack the control of the whole bodily innervation passes over to the hypnoid consciousness As familiar experiences show the normal consciousness is not always entirely repressed by it it may even perceive the motor phenomenon of the attack while the psychic processes of the same escape all knowledge of it

The typical course of a grave hysteria as is well known is as follows At first an ideation is *formed in the hypnoid state* which after sufficient growth gains control in a period of *acute hysteria* of the bodily innervation and the existence of the patient and creates permanent symptoms and attacks and with the exception of some residuum then ends in recovery If the normal personality can regain the upper hand all that has survived the hypnoid ideation content then returns in hysterical attacks and now and then it brings the person back into similar states which are again amenable to influences and eligible for traumas Frequently a sort of equilibrium is then established between the psychic groups which are united in the same person attack and normal life go hand in hand without influencing each other The attack *then comes spontaneously just as memories are* wont to come but just like memories it can also be provoked by the laws of association The provocation of the attack results either through stimulating a hysterogenic zone or through a new experience which by similarity recalls the pathogenic experience We hope to be able to show that there is no essential difference between the apparently two diverse determinants and that in both cases a hyperæsthetic memory is touched In other cases this equi*librium shows a marked lability the attack ap*pears as a manifestation of the hypnoidal remnant of consciousness as often as the normal person becomes exhausted and functionally incapacitated We cannot disregard the fact that in such cases the attack becomes stripped of its original significance and may return as a contentless motor reaction

It remains a task for future investigation to discover what conditions are decisive in determining whether an hysterical individuality *should manifest itself in* attacks in persistent symptoms or in a mingling of both

V

We can now understand in what manner the psycho therapeutic method propounded by us exerts its curative effect *It abrogates the efficacy of the original non-ab reacted ideas by affording an outlet to their strangulated affects through speech It brings them to associative correction by drawing them into normal consciousness (in mild hypnosis) or by eliminating them through medical suggestion in the same*

... as ... hallucinations of hysteria.

We maintain that the therapeutic gain obtained by applying this process is quite considerable. To be sure, we do not cure the hysteria so far as it represents a predisposition, for we surely do not block the way for the recurrence of hypnoid states. Nor is our procedure capable of preventing the replacement of the laboriously abrogated phenomena by new ones. But once this acute stage has run its course and its remnants continue as permanent hysterical symptoms and attacks, our radical method can frequently remove them forever, and herein it seems to surpass the efficacy of direct suggestion, as practised at present by psycho-therapists.

In thus disclosing the psychic mechanisms of hysterical phenomena, we have taken a step forward on the path so successfully started by Charcot with his explanation and experimental imitation of hystero-traumatic paralyses, we are well aware that in so doing we have only advanced our knowledge in the mechanisms of hysterical symptoms and not in the subjective causes of hysteria. We have grazed only the aetiology of hysteria, and can only throw light on the causes of the acquired forms, i.e. on the significance of the accidental factors of the process.

CHAPTER 2

CASE HISTORY OF MISS LUCY R.

Towards the end of 1892 a friendly colleague recommended to me a young lady whom he had been treating for chronic recurrent purulent rhinitis. It was later found that the obstinacy of her trouble was caused by a caries of the ethmoid. She finally complained of new symptoms which this experienced physician could no longer refer to local affections. She had lost all perception of smell and was almost constantly bothered by one or two subjective sensations of smell. This she found very irksome. In addition to this she was depressed in spirits, weak, and complained of a heavy head, loss of appetite, and an incapacity for work.

This young lady visited me from time to time during my office hours—she was governess in the family of a factory superintendent living in the suburbs of Vienna. She was an English lady of rather delicate constitution, anemic, and, with the exception of her nasal trouble, was in good health. Her first statements concerned with those of her physician.

Breuer & Freud, Studies on Hysteria (1895) Case III.

She suffered from mild depression and lassitude and was tormented by subjective sensations of smell. Of hysterical signs, she showed a quite distinct general analgesia without tactile impairment, the fields of vision showed no narrowing on coarse testing with the hand. The nasal mucous membrane was totally analgesic and reflexless. Tactile sensation was absent, and the perception of this sense organ was abolished for specific as well as for other stimuli, such as ammonia or acetic acid. The purulent nasal catarrh was just then in a period of improvement.

On first attempting to understand this case we felt the subjective sensations of smell must represent recurrent hallucinations interpreting persistent hysterical symptoms that the mild depression was perhaps the affect belonging to the trauma, and that there must have been an episode during which the present subjective sensations were objective. This episode must have been the trauma, the symbols of which recurred in her memory as sensations of smell. Perhaps it would have been more correct to consider the recurring hallucinations of smell with the accompanying depression as equivalents of hysterical attacks. For the nature of recurrent hallucinations really makes them unsuitable for the role of chronic symptoms, which was hardly the question in this rudimentary case. But it was absolutely necessary that the subjective sensations of smell should show a specialization that could correspond to a very definite and real objective origin.

This expectation was soon fulfilled, for on being asked what odour troubled her most she stated that it was an odour of burned pastry. I could then assume that the odour of burned pastry really occurred in the traumatic event. It is quite unusual to select sensations of smell as memory symbols of traumas but it is quite obvious why these were here selected. She was afflicted with purulent rhinitis, hence the nose and its perception were in the foreground of her attention. All I knew about the life of the patient was that she took care of two children whose mother died a few years ago from a grave and acute disease.

As a starting point of the analysis I decided to use the odour of burned pastry. I will now relate the history of this analysis. It could have occurred under more favourable conditions, but, as a matter of fact, what should have taken place in one session was extended over a number of them. She could only visit me during my office hours during which I

get satisfaction for the ill treatment which he received etc

The memories which appear in hysterical at tacks or which can be awakened in them cor respond in all other respects to the causes which we have found as the basis of continuous hys terical symptoms Like these they refer to psychic traumas which were prevented from ad justment through ab reaction or through asso ciative elaboration like these they were ab *sent entirely or in their essential components* in the total memory of normal consciousness and showed themselves as parts of the ideation content of hypnoid states of consciousness with restricted associations Finally they were also amenable to the therapeutic test Our obser vations have often taught us that a memory which has hitherto provoked attacks becomes incapable of it when it is brought to reaction *and associative correction in a hypnotic state*

The motor phenomena of the hysterical at tack can in part be interpreted as the memory of general forms of reaction of the accompany ing affect (like the fidgeting of the whole body to which the infant already resorts) in part as a direct motor expression of this memory and in other parts they like the hysterical stigmata in the permanent symptoms elude this expla nation

A special estimation of the hysterical attack is obtained if one also takes into account the *fact that in hysteria there are groups of ideas* which originated in hypnoid states which are

mentary second consciousness a *condition se conde A persistent hysterical symptom* there fore corresponds to an impingement of this second state upon a bodily innervation other wi e controlled by the normal consciousness But an hysterical attack gives evidence of a higher organization of this second state and if *of recent origin* signifies a moment in which this hypnoid consciousness has gained control of the whole existence that is we have an acute hysteria but if it is a recurrent attack containing a memory we simply have a repe tition of the same Charcot has already given utterance to the thought that the hysterical at tack must be the rudiment of a *condition se conde* During the attack the control of the whole bodily innervation passes over to the hypnoid consciousness *As familiar experiences* show the normal consciou ness is not always entirely repressed by it it may even perceive *the motor phenomenon of the attack while the* psychic processes of the same escape all knowl edge of it

The typical course of a grave hysteria as is well known is as follows At first an ideation is formed in the hypnoid state which after suffi cient growth gains control in a period of *acute hysteria of the bodily innervation and the ex* istence of the patient and creates permanent symptoms and attacks and with the exception of some residuum then ends in recovery If the normal personality can regain the upper hand all that has survived the hypnoid ideation con tent then returns in hysterical attacks and now and then it brings the person back into similar states which are again amenable to influences and eligible for traumas Frequently a sort of equilibrium is then established between the psychic groups which are united in the same per *son attack and normal life go hand in hand* without influencing each other The attack then comes spontaneously just as memories are wont to come but just like memories it can also be provoked by the laws of association The provocation of the attack results either through stimulating a hysterogenic zone or through a new experience which by similarity recalls the pathogenic experience We hope to be able to show that there is no essential differ ence between the apparently two diverse deter minants and that in both cas s a hyperæsthetic *memory is touched In other cases this equi* librium shows a marked lability the attack ap pears as a manifestation of the hypnoidal rem nant of consciousness as often as the normal person becomes exhausted and functionally in capacitated *We cannot disregard the fact that in such cases the attack becomes stripped of its* original significance and may return as a con tentless motor reaction

It remains a task for future investigation to discover what conditions are decisive in deter mining whether an hysterical individuality should manifest itself in attacks in persistent symptoms or in a mingling of both

V

We can now understand in what manner the psycho therapeutic method propounded by us exerts its curative effect *It abrogates the effi cacy of the original non-ab reacted ideas by af fording an outlet to their st angulated affects through speech It brings them to associative correction by drawing them into normal con sciousness (in mild hypnosis) or by el minating them through medical suggestion in the same*

This astonishing and instructive experiment was my model. I decided to proceed on the supposition that my patients knew everything that was of any pathogenic significance and that all that was necessary was to force them to impart it. Whenever I reached a point where to my questions, "Since when have you had this symptom?" or "Where does it come from?" I received the answer "I really don't know this," I proceeded as follows: I placed my hand on the patient's forehead or took her head between my hands and said, "Through the pressure of my hands it will come to your mind; the moment that I stop the pressure you will see something before you, or something will flash through your mind which you must note, it is that which we are seeking. Well, what have you seen or what came into your mind?"

On applying this method for the first time (it was not in the case of Miss Lucie R.) I was surprised to find just what I wanted, and I may say that it has since hardly ever failed me; it always showed me how to proceed in my investigations and enabled me to do all such — — Gradually I

mind, I insisted that it was impossible, that he probably had the right thought, but that he did not believe it and repudiated it, that I would repeat the procedure as often as he wished, and that every time he would see the same thing. Indeed I was always right; the patients had not as yet learned to let their criticism rest. They repudiated the emerging recollection or fancy because they considered it as a useless intruding disturbance, but after they imparted it, it was always shown that it was the right one. Occasionally after forcing, by pressing the head three or four times I got such an answer as "Yes I was aware of it the first time, but did not wish to say it," or "I hoped that it would not be this."

By this method it was far more laborious to broaden the alleged narrowed consciousness than by investigating in the somnambulic state, but it made me independent of somnambulism and afforded me an insight into the motives which are frequently decisive for the "forgetting" of recollections. I am in a position to assert that this forgetting is often intentional and desired, but it is always only *manifestly* successful.

It appeared to me even more remarkable that apparently long forgotten numbers and dates can be reproduced by a similar process, thus demonstrating an unexpected faithfulness of memory.

The insignificant choice which one has in searching for numbers and dates especially allows us to take to our aid the familiar axiom of the theory of aphasia, namely, that recognition is a lesser accomplishment of memory than spontaneous recollection.

Hence, to a patient who is unable to recall in what year, month, or day a certain event took place, enumerate the years during which it might have occurred as well as the names of the twelve months and the thirty-one days of the month, and assure him that at the right number or name his eyes will open themselves or that he will feel which number is the correct one. In most cases the patients really decide on a definite date, and frequently enough (as in the — — — could be ascertained — date — and in — connection of the recollected facts that the dates thus found were incontestable. A patient, for instance, after a date was found by enumerating for her the dates remarked, "This is my father's birthday," and added, "Of course, I expected this episode (about which we spoke) because it was my father's birthday."

I can only lightly touch upon this theme. The conclusion which I wish to draw from all these experiences is that the pathogenic important experiences with all their concomitant circumstances are faithfully retained in memory, even where they seem forgotten, as when the patient seems unable to recall them.

As a sample of the technique mentioned above, that is, of investigating in the non-somnambulic state or where consciousness is not broadened, I will relate — — —

— — — he

— which you — which made an impression on you. — But I do not know it — two-one years. — This does not matter, you will recall it. I

could devote to her but little of my time One single conversation had to be extended for over a week as her duties did not permit her to come to me often from such a distance so that the conversation was frequently broken off and resumed at the next session

On attempting to hypnotize Miss Lucie R she did not lapse into the somnambulic state I therefore was obliged to forego somnambulism and the analysis was made while she was in a state which did not perhaps differ much from the normal

I feel obliged to express myself more fully about the point of the technique of my procedure While visiting the Nancy clinics in 1889 I heard Dr Liebault the old master of hypnotism say Yes if we had the means to put everybody into the somnambulic state hypnotism would then be the most powerful therapeutic agent In Bernheim s clinic it almost seemed that such an art really existed and that it could be learned from Bernheim But as soon as I tried to practise it on my own patients I noticed that at least my powers were quite limited in this respect Whenever a patient did not sink into the somnambulic state after one or two attempts I possessed no means to force him into it However the percentage of somnambulists in my experience was far below that claimed by Bernheim

Thus I had the choice either to refrain from using the cathartic method in most of the cases suitable for it or to venture the attempt without somnambulism by using hypnotic influence in light or even doubtful cases It made no difference of what degree (following the accepted scales of hypnotism) the hypnotism was which did not correspond to somnambulism for every line of suggestibility is independent of the other and nothing prejudices the evocation of catalepsy automatic movements and similar phenomena for the purpose of facilitating the awakening of forgotten recollections I soon relinquished the habit of deciding the degree of hypnotism as in a great number of cases it incited the patient s resistance and clouded the confidence which I needed for the more important psychic work Moreover in mild grades of hypnotism I soon tired of hearing after the assurance and command You will sleep sleep now! such protests as But Doctor I am not sleeping I was forced to bring in the very delicate distinction saying I do not mean the usual sleep I mean the hypnotic—you see you are hypnotized you cannot open your eyes or I really don t want you to sleep I am convinced that many of my colleagues who use psycho therapy know how to get out of such difficulties more skilfully than I they can therefore act differently I however believe that if through the use of a word one can so frequently become embarrassed it is better to avoid the word and the embarrassment Wherever the first attempt did not produce either somnambulism or a degree of hypnotism with pronounced bodily changes I dropped the hypnosis and demanded only concentration I ordered the patient to lie on his back and close his eyes as a means of attaining this concentration With little effort I obtained as profound a degree of hypnotism as was possible

But as I gave up the use of somnambulism I perhaps deprived myself of that prerequisite without which the cathartic method seemed inapplicable For the latter is based on the assumption that in the altered state of consciousness the patients have at their disposal recollections and associations which do not apparently exist in their normal conscious state and that wherever there is no somnambulic broadening of consciousness it must also be impossible to bring about those causal relations which the patient gives the doctor as something unknown to him that is those pathogenic recollections 'which are lacking from the memory of the patients in their usual psychic states or only exist in a most condensed state (Preliminary Communication)

My memory helped me out of this embarrassment I myself saw Bernheim demonstrate that the recollections of somnambulism are only manifestly forgotten in the waking state and can be readily reproduced by some urging accompanied by hand pressure which is supposed to mark another conscious state He for instance imparted to a somnambulist the negative hallucination that he was no longer present and then attempted to make himself noticeable to her by the most manifold and inconsiderate attacks but was unsuccessful After the patient was awakened he asked her what he did to her during the time that she thought he was not there She replied very much astonished that she knew nothing but he did not stop there he insisted that she would recall everything and placed his hand on her forehead so that she should recall things and behold she finally related all that she did not apparently perceive in the somnambulic state and about which she ostensibly knew nothing in the waking state

indecision that the incident occurred. I thou ht that I would lea e the house but ha e re mained. — Aside from the attachment of the children, is there anything particular which at tracts you t them? —"Yes my mother is dis- l related to their mother and when the

The analysis of the subjecti e sensation sm ll seemed compl t It was once bjective a d intimately onnected w th an experience a small scene in which contrary affects con flicted, sorrow at f rsaking the children, and the mortificat whi h despite all urged her to this decision. Her mother's letter naturally re called the moti es f this d cisi n because the thought of eturning to her mother The conflict f the aff cts raised this fact r to a trauma, and the sensati of smell, which was connected with it rem ined a its symbol The only thing to be explained was the fact that out of all the sensory perceptions of that cene the perception of smell was selected as the symbol but I was already prepared to use the chronic nasal affliction as an explanation On being directly questioned he tated that just at that time he uff red from severe coryza and ould scarcely m ll anything but in her excitement she perce ed the od ur f burned pastry it penetrated the organically motivated anosmia.

themsel es instead f the sensations conn cted with them which he preferred symbols for he c llection? Such quest ons might seem superflu u and irr levant when dealing w th old h sterics in whom the me hanism of con vers o is hab tual but thi girl acquired hys- teria f th first t me th ugh thi trauma, at lea t through this light dist es

F om the analysis f mila cases I lready knew that the pr es f h st rical dev lop- m t one psy hi d t rm nant is indi pe sabl namel that som dea must *tentionally be pre d f m ons iousne s* and ex l ded f om associati laboration.

In this int ti nal repres. I also find the reason for th convers on f the sum of excite ment be t partial o total. The sum of e cite ment which is not to enter into psychic asso- ciation more readily f nds the wrong road to bodily innervat on The reason for the repres- sion itself could only be a disagreeable feeling the inc mpat bility of o e of the repress ble ideas with the ruling ideational mass of the ego The repressed idea then avenges itself by becoming pathogenic.

From th s I concluded that Miss Lucie R had lapsed nto that moment of hysterical con vers on which must ha e been one of the pre requis tes of that trauma which she intent on ally w hed to leave in the dark, and which she took pains to forget. On considering her attach ment for the children and her sensit veness to- wards the other persons of the household there remai ed but one interpretation which I was bold enough to impart to her I told her that I did not believe that all these things were simply du to her affect o for the ch ldren but that I thought that he was rather in love with her master perhaps unwitt gly that she really nurtured the hope of tak ng the place of the moth r and it was for that reaso that she be came so se it e towards the servants with whom he had li ed peacefully for years She feared lest they would notice someth ng of her hope and s off at her

She answered in her laconic manner "Yes I knew h you

out of my mind neve to I a e I ha e been ccessf l."

"Why did you not wish to adm t it to your self? Were you hamed because you lo ed a man? — Oh, no I am not unrea o bly prud ish o e is certainly not respon ble for one s own feelings. I only felt chagrined because it

An ther od bette descripti f this peculia tate in which one knows something nd the same me does t k ow it, I ould ev obta n. I ca p- parently be understood nly f one ha found himself in such ate I have t my disposal very r ki recollectio f this kind which I can vi idly see If I mak the ort to recall ha passed through my mind t tha time my outpu seems very poo I saw tha time something which was t t ll pproprı te to my xpecta ns nd I was ot in he least d verted from my definite purpose by hat I saw when matter I fact, th perception should have d flected me from my purpose. I did no become con- sci f this co tradict on no d d I tice yth g f the ffect f th repuls on which was ndoub edly responsible f the fact tha this percep on d d ta psychic validi y I wa ruck with that bl dness see ng eyes which ne dm es so much in mothers t wards the da ghters, in husbands o- wards their w ves and in rul rs towa ds the fa our ites.

After this long but unavoidable digression I now return to the history of Miss Lucie R As aforesaid she did not sink into somnambulism *when an attempt was made to hypnotize her*

w ll e e t some pressure on yo r head a d whe I t p t y u w ll the th k of o see someth g wh ch I wa t yo to t ll me I went thro gh th s p d b t he em ed q t — Well h s th g c me to yo r m d? — I tho ght of s m th g but th t can h n to w th t — Just s y it — I thought of a you g g rl who is d d but she d ed

ball wh le sh l y d d but I t p t d s m h pl s e at the b ll d was s p d w th th i t ti n th t I d d ot w sh t th k f th s d e e t (Not ce h e th t t al rep f om co sc o ss wh ch c d th m s f he f e d t bec me pathog c)

The att k was now m pl d b t I st ll ed d th occas o l f t wh ch just tl p o v k d th llect o a d d tally I f m d a h ppy s pp t abo t t — C y u r ll th gh wh h st et y p d at th t t me? — S ly the m st c t w th t ld hou I an see t o — *A d wh d d y r fre d I ? — I th me*

wh d th t m th y u had y r m se — Sh be am d gn t D y xpect m t k w th t? I o ly k w th t I h d th m v ry a ly d gul rly Wh I w se t I ly h d th m ce — Well I t u um t th d ys m th t o a to fi d wh t d —Sh d d d d w d h wee tw

wh n I h a g
t t a b ll th t I h d ed

l ad ng ide
f gott expe ces aft r tw ty-o y s
skept cal d ally awake d p t e t But th e ry
th g coi c d d

but lay calmly in a degree of mild suggestibility her eyes constantly closed the features immobile the limbs without motion I asked her whether she remembered on what occasion the smell perception of burned pastry originated — Oh yes I know it well It was about two months ago two days before my birthday I was with the children (two girls) in the schoolroom playing and teaching them to cook when a letter just left by the letter carrier was brou ht in *From its postmark and handwriting* I recognized it as one sent to me by my mother from Glasgow and I wished to open it and read it The children then came running over pulled the letter out of my hand and exclaimed No you must not read it now it is probably a congratulatory letter for your birthday and we will keep it for you until then While the children were thus playing there was a sudden diffusion of an intense odour The children forgot the pastry which they were *cooking and it burned Since then* I have been troubled by this odour it is really always present but is more marked during emotional excitement

Do you see this scene distinctly before you? — As clearly as I experienced it — What was there in it that so excited you? — I was touched by the affection which the children displayed towards me — But weren t they always so affectionate? — Yes but I ju t got the letter from my mother — I can t understand in what way the affection of the little ones and the letter from the mother contrasted a thing which you appear to intimate — I had the intention of going to my mother and my *heart became heavy at the thought of leavin* those dear children — What was the matter with your mother? Was she lonesome that she wanted you or was she sick just then and you expected some news? — No she is delicate but not really sick and has a companion with her — Why then were you obliged to leave the children? — This house had become unbearable to me The housekeeper the cook and the French maid seemed to be under the impression that I was too proud for my position They united in intriguing against me and told the grandfather of the children all sorts of things about me and when I complained to both gentlemen I did not receive the support which I expected I then tendered my resignation to the master (father of the children) but he was very friendly asking me to reconsider it for two weeks before taking any definite steps It was while I was in that state of

scene which acted as a trauma, and left the memory symbol. But why was this scene so effective? I then asked her which scene happened first, this one or the one of the burned pastry?—"The last scene happened first by almost two months."—"Why did you feel the pinch at the father's interference? The reproof was not meant for you."—"It was really not right to rebuke an old man in such a manner who was a dear friend and a guest. It could have been said more calmly."—"Then you were really affected by your master's rudeness? Were you perhaps ashamed of him, or did you think, 'If he could become so impetuous toward an old friend and guest over such a trifle, how would he act towards me if I were his wife'?"—"No, that is not it."—"But still it was about his impetuosity?"—"Yes, about the kissing of the children, he never liked that." Under the pressure of my hands there emerged a still older scene which was the real effective trauma and which bestowed on the scene of the chief accountant the traumatic affectivity.

A few months before a lady friend visited the house and on leaving kissed both children on the lips. The father who was present controlled himself and said nothing to the lady, but when she left he was very angry at the unfortunate governess. He said that he held her responsible for this kissing, that it was her duty not to tolerate it, that she was neglecting her duties in allowing such things, and that, if it ever happened again, he would entrust the education of his children to someone else. This occurred while she believed herself loved, and waited for a repetition of that serious and friendly talk. This episode shattered all her hopes. She thought: "If he can upbraid and threaten me on account of such a trifle of which I am entirely innocent, I must have been mistaken, he never entertained any tenderer feelings towards me, else he would have been more considerate."—It was evidently this painful scene that came to her as the father reprimanded the chief accountant for attempting to kiss the children.

On being visited by Miss Lucie R. two days after the last analysis, I had to ask her what pleasant things happened to her. She looked as though transformed, she smiled, and held her head aloft. For a moment I thought that after all I probably mistook the situations, and that the governess of the children had now become the bride of her master. But she soon dispelled all my suppositions by saying, "Nothing new has happened. You really do not know me. You have always seen me while I was sick and depressed. Usually I am always cheerful. On awaking yesterday morning, my burden was gone, and since then I have felt well."—"What do you think of your chances in the house?"—"I am perfectly clear about that. I know that I have none, and I am not going to be unhappy about it."—"Will you now be able to get along with the others in the house?"—"I believe so, because most of the trouble was due to my sensitiveness."—"Do you still love the master?"—"Certainly I love him, but that does not bother me much. One can think and feel as one wishes."

I now examined her nose and found that the pain and the reflex sensations had almost completely disappeared. She could distinguish odours, but she was uncertain when they were very intense. What part the nasal trouble played in the anosmia, I must leave undecided.

The whole treatment extended over a period of nine weeks. Four months later I accidentally met the patient at one of our summer resorts—she was cheerful and stated that her health continued to be good.

EPICRISIS

I would not like to underestimate the aforesaid case even though it only represents a minor and light hysteria with but few symptoms. On the contrary, it seems to me instructive that even such a slight neurotic affection should require so many psychic determinants, and, on more exhaustive consideration of this history, I am tempted to put it down as an illustration of that form of hysteria which even persons not burdened by heredity may acquire if they have the suitable experiences for it. It should be well noted that I do not speak of a hysteria which may be independent of all predisposition; such form probably does not exist, but we speak of such a predisposition only after the person became hysterical, as nothing pointed to it before. A neuropathic disposition as commonly understood is something different. It is determined even before the disease by a number of hereditary burdens, or by a sum of individual psychic abnormalities. As far as I know none of these two factors could be demonstrated in the case of Miss Lucie R. Her hysteria may therefore, be called acquired, and by and large presupposes nothing more than a very marked susceptibility to acquire hysteria, a characteristic about which we know scarcely anything. In such cases the greatest emphasis

was my employer in whose service I was and in whose house I lived and toward whom I could not feel as independent as towards another What is more I am a poor girl and he is a rich man of a prominent family and if anybody should have had any inkling about my feelings *they would have ridiculed me*

After this I encountered no resistances in elucidating the origin of this affection She told me that the first years of her life in that house were passed *uneventfully* She *fulfilled* her duties without thinking about unrealizable wishes One day however the serious and very busy and hitherto very reserved master engaged her in conversation about the exigencies of rearing the children He became milder and more cordial than usual he told her how much he counted on her in the bringing up of his orphaned children and looked at her rather peculiarly It was in this moment that she began to love him and gladly occupied herself with the pleasing hopes which she conceived during that conversation However as this was not followed by anything else and despite her waiting and persevering no other confidential heart to heart talk followed she decided to *crowd it out of her mind She quite agreed* with me that the look which she noticed during the conversation was probably intended for the memory of his deceased wife She was also perfectly convinced that her love was hopeless

After this conversation I expected a decided change in her condition but for a time it did not take place She continued depressed and moody—a course of hydrotherapy which I prescribed for her at the same time refreshed her somewhat in the morning The odour of *burned pastry did not entirely disappear* though it became rarer and feebler it appeared as she said only when she was very much excited

The continuation of this memory symbol led me to believe that besides the principal scene it also represented many smaller side traumas and I therefore investigated everything that might have been in any way connected with the scene of the burned pastry We thus passed through the theme of family friction the behaviour of the grandfather and others and with that the sensation of burned odour gradually disappeared Just then there was a lengthy interruption occasioned by a new nasal affliction which led to the discovery of the caries of the ethmoid

On her return she informed me that she received many Christmas presents from both gentlemen as well as from the household servants as if they were trying to appease her and wipe away the recollection of the conflicts of the last months These frank advances made no impression on her

On questioning her on another occasion about the odour of burned pastry she stated that it had entirely disappeared but instead she was now bothered by another and similar odour like the smoke of a cigar This odour really existed before it was only concealed by the odour of the pastry but now it appeared as such

I was not very much plea ed with the success of my treatment What occurred here is what a mere symptomatic treatment is generally blamed for namely that it removes one symptom only to make room for another Nevertheless I immediately set forth to remove this new memory symbol by analysis

This time I did not know whence this subjective sensation of smell originated nor on what important occasion it was objective On being questioned she said They constantly smoke at home I really don t know whether the smell which I feel has any particular significance I then proposed that she should try *to recall things under the pressure of my hands* I have already mentioned that her recollections were plastically vivid that she was of the visual type Indeed under the pressure of my hand a picture came into her mind—at first only slowly and fragmentarily It was the dining room in which she waited with the children for the arrival of the gentlemen from the factory for dinner— Now we are all at the table the gentlemen the French maid the housekeeper the children and I It is the same *as usual — Just keep on looking at that picture* It will soon become developed and specialized — Yes there is a guest the chief accountant an old gentleman who loves the children like his own grandchildren but he dines with us so frequently that it is nothing unusual — Just have patience keep on looking at the picture something will certainly happen — Nothing happens We leave the table the children take leave and go with us to the *second floor as usual — Well? —* There really is something unusual here I now recognize the scene As the children leave the chief accountant attempts to kiss them but my master jumps up nd shouts at him Don t kiss the children! I then experienced a stitch in the heart and as the gentlemen were smoking this odour remained in my memory

This therefore was the second deeper seated

the last few years had brought them much misfortune and little pleasure. First the patient's father died, then the mother underwent a serious operation on her eyes and soon thereafter a married sister succumbed to a chronic cardiac affection following childbirth. Our patient had taken an active part in all the afflictions especially in the nursing of the sick.

I made no further progress in the case after I had seen the twenty-four-year-old patient for the first time. She seemed intelligent and psychically normal, and bore her affliction with a cheerful mien, thus ... dly recalling the *belle indifférence* of hysterics. She walked with the upper part of her body bent forward but without any support; her walk did not correspond to any known pathological gait, and it was in no way strikingly bad. She complained only of severe pains and of early fatigue in walking as well as standing, so that after a brief period she had to seek rest in which the pains diminished, but by no means disappeared. The pain was of an indefinite nature—one could assume it to be a painful fatigue. The seat of the pain was quite extensive, but definitely circumscribed on the superficial surface of the right thigh. It was from this area that the pains radiated and were of the greatest intensity. Here too the skin and muscles were especially sensitive to pressure and pinching, while needle pricks were rather indifferently perceived. The same hyperalgesia of the skin and muscles was demonstrable not only in this area but over almost the entire ... of both legs. The muscles were perhaps more painful than the skin, but both kinds of pains were unmistakably most pronounced over the thighs. The motor power of the legs was not diminished, the reflexes were of average intensity ... d, as all other symptoms were lacking there was no basis for the assumption of a serious organic affection. The disease developed gradually during two years and changed considerably in its intensity.

I did not find it easy to determine the diagnosis, but for two reasons I concluded to agree with my colleague. First because it was rather strange that such a highly intelligent patient should not be able to give anything definite about the character of her pains. A patient suffering from an organic pain, if it is not accompanied by any nervousness, will be able to describe it definitely and calmly; it may perhaps be lancinating, appear at certain intervals and extend from this to that location, or in his opinion it may be evoked by this or that influence. The neurasthenic in describing his pain gives the impression as being occupied with some difficult mental problem, something far beyond his powers. His features are tense and distorted as though under the domination of a painful affect; his voice becomes shriller, he struggles for expression, he rejects all designations that the physician makes for his pains even though they are undoubtedly afterwards found to be correct. He is ostensibly of the opinion that language is too poor to give expression to his feelings. These sensations are something unique; they never existed before so that they cannot be exhaustively described. It is for this reason that he never tires of constantly adding new details, and when he has to stop he is distinctly controlled by the impression that he was unsuccessful in making himself

the opposite behaviour, and we had to conclude from this that she attributed sufficient significance to the pain, but that her attention was concentrated on something else of which the pains were only the accompanying phenomena, perhaps on thoughts and sensations which were connected with pain.

A still greater determination for the conception of the pain must however be found in a second factor. If we irritate a painful area in a patient suffering from an organic disease or neurasthenia, his physiognomy will show a definite expression of discomfort or of physical pain, the patient winces, refuses to be examined, and assumes a defensive attitude. But if anyone pinched or pressed Miss von R.'s hyperalgesic skin or muscles of her legs, her face assumed a peculiar expression approaching nearer pleasure than pain; she cried out and—I had to think of a perhaps pleasurable tickling—her face reddened, she threw her head

teria and that the irritation touched a hysterogenic zone.

Her mien was not adequate to the pain which the pinching of the muscles and skin were supposed to excite. It probably harmonized better with the contents of the thoughts which were behind the pain and which were evoked in the patient through a stimulation of those parts of

—[1] A hypochondriac afflicted with anxiety neurosis.

lies in the nature of the trauma and naturally in connection with the reaction of the person to the trauma It is an indispensable condition

ego and an idea [illegible]

I hope to be able to show in another place how a variety of neurotic disturbances originate from the different procedures which the *ego* pursues in order to free itself from that incompatibility *The hysterical form of defence for which a special adaptation is required* consists in a conversion of the excitement into physical innervation The gain brought about by this process consists in the crowding out of the unbearable idea from the ego consciousness which then contains instead the physical reminiscences *produced by conversion—in our case* the subjective sensation of smell—and suffers from the affect which more or less distinctly connects itself with these reminiscences The situation thus produced can no longer be changed for the resistance which would have striven for the adjustment of the affect was *eliminated through repression and conversion* Thus the mechanism producing hysteria corresponds on the one hand to an act of moral faintheartedness on the other hand it presents itself as a protective process at the command of the ego There are many cases in which it must be admitted that the defence against the increased excitement through the production of hysteria may actually have been most expedient but more frequently one will naturally come to the conclusion that a greater measure of moral courage would have been of more advantage to the individual

Accordingly the real traumatic moment is that in which the conflict thrusts itself upon the ego and the latter decides to banish the incompatible idea Such banishment does not annihilate the opposing idea but merely crowds it into the unconscious *When this process occurs for the first time* it forms a nucleus or a point of crystallization for the formation of a new psychic group separated from the ego around which in the course of time everythin collects which is in accord with the opposing idea *The splitting of consciousness in such* cases of acquired hysteria is thus desired and intentional and is often initiated by at least one arbitrary act But as a matter of fact something different happens than the individual expects he would like to *eliminate an idea as though it never came to pass* but he only succeeds in isolating it psychically

The traumatic factor in the history of our patient corresponds to the scene created by her master on account of the kissing of the children For the time being this scene remained *without any palpable effects* perhaps it initiated the depression and sensitiveness but I leave this open the hysterical symptoms however commenced later in moments which can be designated as *auxiliary* and which may be characterized by the fact that in them there was a simultaneous inter fusion of both separated *groups just as in the broadened som*nambulic consciousness The first of these factors in which the conversion took place in Miss Lucie R was the scene at the table when the chief accountant attempted to kiss the children The traumatic memory helped along and she acted as though she had not entirely banished *her attachment for her master* In other cases we find that these different factors coalesce and the conversion occurs directly under the influence of the trauma

The second auxiliary factor repeated almost precisely the mechanism of the first A strong *impression transitorily re established the unity* of consciousness and the conversion took the same route that was opened to it the first time It is interesting to note that the symptom which occurred second concealed the first so that the latter could not be distinctly perceived until *the former was eliminated The reversal of the succession of events to which also the analysis* had to be adapted seemed quite remarkable In a whole series of cases I found that the symptoms which came later covered the first and only the last thing in the analysis con*tained the key to the whole*

The therapy here consisted in forcing the union of the dissociated psychic groups with the ego consciousness It is remarkable that the success did not run parallel with the accomplished work the cure resulted suddenly only *after the last part was accomplished.*

CHAPTER 3

CASE HISTORY OF MISS ELISABETH VON R

IN the fall of 1892 I was requested by a friend*ly colleague to examine a young lady who had* been suffering from pains in her legs for over two years so that she walked badly He also added to his request that he had diagnosed the case as hysteria though none of the usual symptoms of the neurosis could be found He stated that he knew very little of the family but that

B *Fre d Stud b Hyster* (1895) Cas V

ment. It thus happened that she became especially and devotedly attached to her jovial and broadminded father who was wont to say that his daughter took the place of both a son and friend with whom he could exchange thoughts. As much as the girl gained in mental stimulation in consequence of this intercourse it did not escape the father that her psychic constitution deviated from that ideal which one so much desires to see in a girl. Jocosely he called her "pert and disputatious." He warned her against being too confident in her judgments against her tendencies to tell the truth regardless of everybody and expressed his opinion that she would find it difficult to get a husband. As a matter of fact she was very discontented with her girlhood. She was filled with ambitious plans. She wished to study or to obtain a musical education and revolted at the thought of being forced to give up her ambition and sacrifice her freedom of judgment for the sake of marriage. Meanwhile, she was proud of her father, of the regard and social position of her family and jealously guarded everything connected with these matters. The indifference with which she treated her mother and older sisters as will be shown was considered by her parents to be due to the blunter side of her character.

The age of the girls impelled the family to move into the metropolis, where for a time Elisabeth enjoyed a richer and gayer social life. But then came the calamity which destroyed the happiness of the home. The father either concealed or overlooked a chronic cardiac affection, and one day he was brought home in an unconscious state after the first attack of oedema of the lungs. This was followed by an illness of one and a half years during which Elisabeth took the most prominent part in nursing him. She slept in her father's room, awoke at night at his call watched over him faithfully during the day and forced herself to appear cheerful while he went through a hopeless condition with amiable resignation. The beginning of her affection must have been connected with this period of her nursing, for she could recall that during the last half year of this care she had to remain in bed on one occasion for a day and a half on account of severe pain in her right leg. She maintained, however, that these pains soon passed away and excited neither worry nor attention. As a matter of fact, it was about two years after the death of her father that she began to feel sick and unable to walk on account of pain.

The void which her father left in the life of this family consisting of four women, the social solitude, the cessation of so many relations which promised stimulation and pleasure, the increased infirmity of the mother, all these beclouded the patient's emotional attitude, but simultaneously aroused a warm desire that the family might soon find a substitute for the lost happiness, and impelled her to concentrate her entire devotion and care on the surviving mother. At the end of the year of mourning the eldest sister married a talented and ambitious man of notable position who seemed to have been destined for a great future by virtue of his mentality but who however soon developed a morbid sensitiveness and egotistic perseveration of moods, and dared to show his disregard for the old lady in the family circle. That was more than Elisabeth could endure. She felt it her duty to take up the cudgels against her brother-in-law whenever he gave occasion for it, whereas the other women took lightly the outburst of his excited temperament. She felt it a painful disillusionment that the reconstruction of the old family happiness could be impeded by such a disturbance, and she could not forgive her married sister because, due to feminine docility, the latter firmly avoided espousing either cause. Thus a whole series of scenes remained in Elisabeth's memory which were connected with a number of partially unuttered grievances against her first brother-in-law. But her greatest grievance against him was the fact that for the sake of a prospective promotion he moved his small family to a distant city in Austria and thus helped to increase her mother's isolation. On this occasion Elisabeth distinctly felt her inability and helplessness to afford her mother a substitute for her lost happiness as well as the impossibility of following out the resolution she made on the occasion of her father's death.

The marriage of the second sister seemed more promising for the future welfare of the family. The second brother-in-law, although not of the same mental calibre as the first, was a man after the heart of delicate ladies and his behaviour reconciled Elisabeth to the institution of marriage and to the sacrifice it entailed. What is more, the second couple remained near her mother and the child of this brother-in-law and the second sister became Elisabeth's pet. Unfortunately, the year during which the child was born was clouded by another event. The visual affliction of the mother demanded many weeks treatment in a dark room in which Elisabeth participated. Follow

the body associated with them I have repeated ly observed similar significant expression from stimulation of hyperalgesic zones in unmistak able cases of hysteria The other gestures evi dently corresponded to the slightest suggestion of an hysterical attack

We could not at that time find any explana tion for the unusual localization of the hyster o enic zone That the hyperalgesia chiefly con cerned the muscles gave material for reflection The most frequent affliction which could pro duce diffuse and local pressure sensitiveness of the muscles is rheumatic infiltration or com mon chronic muscular rheumati m of its apti tude to mask nervous ailments I have spoken The consistency of the painful muscles in Miss von R did not contradict this assumption as there were many hard cords in the muscle mas ses which seemed to be especially sensitive There was probably also an organic change in the muscles in the assumed sense upon which the neurosis leaned and the significance of which was markedly exa gerated by the neu rosis

The therapeutic procedure was therefore based on the assumption of a mixed affection We recommended systematic massage and faradization of the sensitive muscles regardless of the pain it produced and in order to remain in contact with the patient I treated her legs by means of strong Franklin sparks To her question whether she should force herself to walk we answered decidedly in the affirmative

We thus attained a slight improvement She particularly liked the painful shocks of the in fluence machine and the stronger they were the more they seemed to remove her pains My colleague meanwhile prepared the soil for the psychic treatment and when after four weeks of this sham treatment I proposed it and explained to the patient the procedures and its effects I found a ready understanding and only a slight resistance

The work which I then began turned out to be the most arduous undertaking that ever fell to my lot and the difficulty of giving an ac count of this work ranks well with the obstacles that had to be overcome For a long time too I did not understand the connection between the history of the disease and the affliction which should really have been cau ed and de termined by this series of events

When one undertakes a cathartic treatment he at first asks himself whether the patient understands the origin and cause of her suffer ing If that is so one does not need any spe cial technique to cause her to reproduce the history of her ailment The interest shown in her the understanding which we foreshadow the hope of recovery extended to her all these induce the patient to give up her secrets In the case of Miss Elisabeth it seemed probably right from the very beginning that she was conscious of the reasons for her suffering that she had only a secret but no foreign body in consciousness On looking at her one had to think of the poet s words That mask indicates a hidden meaning

At first I could therefore dispense with hyp nosis reserving it however for future use should conditions arise in the course of the confession for which explanation the memory would not suffice Thus in this first complete analysis of an hysteria which I had under taken I attained a process of treatment which I later raised to a method and intentionally used as a process of clearing stratum by stra tum the pathogenic psychic material which we were pleased to compare with the technique of excavating a buried city At first I let the patient relate what was known to her paying careful attention wherever a connection re mained enigmatic or where a link in the chain of causation seemed to be lacking Later I penetrated into the deeper strata of memory by using for those locations hypnotic investiga tions or a similar technique The presupposi tion of the whole work was naturally based on the expectation that a perfect and sufficient determination could be demonstrated The methods of the deeper investigation will soon be discussed

The history which Miss Elisabeth gave was quite dull and was woven of manifold painful experiences During this recital she was not in a hypnotic state I merely asked her to lie down and keep her eyes closed I however made no objection if from time to time she opened her eyes changed her position or sat up Whenever she entered more deeply into a part of her his tory she seemed to lapse spontaneously into a condition resembling a hypnotic state She then remained motionless and kept her eyes firmly closed

I shall now reproduce the results of the most superficial stratum of her memory As the youngest of three daughters she spent her youth with her parents to whom she was devotedly attached on their estate in Hungary Her moth er s health was frequently disturbed by an af fliction of the eyes as well as by a nervous ail

It w ll be h w th t I was ne rtheless mistak n.

t na m quest on We c uld perhaps assume that th patie t had formed an association between her psychically pai f l mpress o s a d bod ly which he acc dentally perce ed sim lta

ma ed ume pu questio s whose nature was n t hitherto fa miliar to phy cians For it was customary to that the

This c fessio ffered eve l ss i t tie e planat o tha for the tre tment of the case On ould ot co ce e what beneficial nflu ce Miss El sabeth c uld deri e from recount ing ad familiar family exper ences of the past years to a trange who could gi e her in re turn nly mod rate sympathy nor could one bserve any impro eme t after the confess on. D ring the first period of th tre tme t the pat ent ever fa l d to epeat to her phy cian I ntin e to feel ill I ha e the same pai s as before and when he accompan ed th s by a fty and mal c ous glanc I could perhaps recall the words wh h old Mr von R was w t to say about hi f o rite daughter She s frequently pert nd disp tat ous b t after all I h d to co fess that he was right

Had I gi e up the pat t at th stage of th psy hic treatment the ase of M ss Elisa

determ t n of the hysterical ymptoms could be g in d from the deepe str t of c cou n ss

I the f e decid d to put the di e t q s t n t th b d ed co s sness of th pa t t as t wh t psychic mp e io was c n ected w th the rig f the pa n th l g F r thi purpose the pat t should ha be put int d ep hyp os s B t f t ately I was fo ed t ealize th t ll my proced re in that d ect n ld t put th pat ent n any th r stat f c nscious s than th t which h ga m her c fes on Still I was ery ple sed that thi t m he ab tained from tri mphantly m strat with th wo d Y u se I really d ot sleep I ca t be hyp ti ed I ch despa I d the dea f m king use of the trick f p essing the h ad

the orig n of which I ha e thoroughly dis cussed in the preced n ob ervation of Miss Luc e This was done by requesting the patient unfail ngly to inform me of whatever appea ed before her mind s eye or flashed through her memory at the moment of the pressure She was silent for a long time and then admitted that on my pressure he thought of an e e ing

With this first i e u new shaft was opened the c ntent of which I then gradu lly brought out We dealt here rather w th a ecret for with the except on of a mutual friend no one knew anything of the relat o ship and the hopes connected w th it. It concerned the son of an old fr endly family who formerly li ed in the neighbourhood

The you g man be ng an orphan attached himself w th great devoti to her father who guided him in his career and this veneration f r the father w s naturally extended to the l dies of the family Numerous reminiscences of joint readi gs exchange of views and remarks which had been repeated to her marked th gradual growth of her convict on that he loved and understood her and that a marriage with him would not impose upon her the sacr fice that she feared U happ ly he was only slightly lder tha she and as yet far from independ ent She however firmly resolved to wa t for him

W th the ser us illn ss of her father and the nec ssity of nursing him these relat s be came less frequ nt The eve ng wh ch she e called first really mark d the height of her feeli gs but e en then there w s no e change of deas between them on the subject It was only at the urging f her f m ly that she con ented to l e the s k bed th t even g and atte d th ocial aff where she was to meet h m She wi hed t hasten hom ea ly b t he w fo ced t emain a d only yielded o h s promi g to accomp y her home At o t me had he enterta ed u h a tender regard for him a d ri g th s walk but after r turn ng h me at a late hour in th s bl s f l state and findi g the c d t n f h r f ther aggravated he b tte ly rep oached herself for having sac rificed s m ch f r h r own musement It wa the last t me that she left he ck f the for a whole ve g and thereafter she saw her f d nly r ely Afte the d th f h r f th he seemed t hold himself aloof out of re

ing this an operation proved necessary and the excitement connected with this occurred at the same time as the first brother in law made preparations to move Finally the operation having been skilfully performed proved suc cessful and the three families met at a sum mer resort There Elisabeth exhausted by the worries of the past months had the first oppor tunity to recuperate from the effects of the suf fering *and anxiety to which the family* had been subjected since the death of her father

But just during this sojourn in the summer resort Elisabeth became ill with pain and weakness These pains which had been notice *able for a short while some time previously* manifested themselves severely for the fir t time after taking a warm bath at a small spa A long walk actually half a day s hike a few days previously was thought to have had some connection with the onset of the pains so that it was quite easy to gain the impression that Elisabeth at first became *fatigued* and then caught cold

From now on Elisabeth became the patient in the family Following the advice of the phy sician she spent the rest of the summer in Bad Gastein *whither she went with her mother* but not without having a new worriment to think about The second sister was again pregnant and the information as to her condition was quite unfavorable so that Elisabeth could hard ly decide to take the journey to Gastein After barely two weeks at Gastein both mother and *sister were recalled because things were not well* with the patient at home

An agonizing journey which for Elisabeth was full of pain and anxious expectations was *followed by certain si ns at the railroad sta* tion which forbode the worst and then on entering the sickroom they were confronted with the *reality—that they had arrived too* late to take leave of the dying one

Elisabeth not only suffered *from the loss of* this sister whom she dearly loved but almost as much from the thou hts instigated by her death and from the chan es which it entailed The sister had succumbed to heart trouble which was aggravated by the pregnancy

The idea then came to her mind that heart trouble was *the paternal inheritance of the* family It was then recalled that in her early girlhood the decea ed went through an attack of chorea with a slight heart affection The members of the family then blamed themselves and the physicians for permitting the mar riage and they could not help reproaching the unfortunate widower for endan ering his wife s

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found this happiness would have termina in this way constantly occupied Elisabeth s mind Moreover she again saw everything go *to pieces that she had planned for her mother* The widowed brother in law was inconsolable and withdrew from his wife s family It seemed that his own family from whom he was es tranged during his short and happy married life took advantage of the opportunity to draw him back into their own circle There was no *way of maintaining the former union* out of regard for his unmarried sister in law it would have seemed improper to live to ether with his mother in law and as he refused to relinquish his child the only legacy of the deceased to the *two ladies they accused him for the first time* of heartlessness Finally and this was not the *least painful* Elisabeth received some definite information concerning a disagreement between the two brothers in law the cause of which she could only surmise It seemed that the wid ower made some financial demand which the *other brother in law considered unjustifiable* indeed in view of the mother s recent sorrow he could only designate it as a wicked extor tion This then was the history of the ambitious and lovable young woman Resentful of her fate embittered over the failure of her little plans to restore the family lustre of those *dear to her some were dead some away* and some estranged—without any inclination to seek refuge in the love of a strange man she lived thus for a year and a half away from al *most all social relations nursing her mother* and her pains

If one could forget greater suffering and wished *to read one s self into the psychic life* of a girl one could hardly deny Miss Elisabeth a sincere human sympathy *But what about the* physician s interest in this sorrowful tale and its relation to her painful and weak gait what about the prospects of explaining and curing this case by the knowledge which we may per haps obtain from these psychic traumas?

For the physician the confession of this pa *tient* was at first a great disappointment For to be sure it was a history composed of banal *mental shocks from which we could neither* explain why the patient became afflicted with hysteria nor how *the hysteria* assumed the form of the painful abasia It explained neither the causation nor the determination of the hys

that I used to remark half jokingly that during each treatment I carried away a certain number of pain motives, and that when I had cleared them all out she would be well. She soon reached a stage during which she had no pain most of the time. She consented to walk a great deal and to give up her hitherto self imposed isolation. During the analysis I followed up now the spontaneous fluctuations of her condition, and now some fragments of her sorrowful tale which I felt was not sufficiently exhausted. In this work I made some interesting discoveries, the principles of which I could later verify in other patients.

In the first place, it was found that the spontaneous fluctuations never occurred unless provoked associatively by the events of the day. On one occasion she heard of an illness in the circle of her acquaintances which recalled to

On

other occasion it was a letter from her absent sister showing distinctly the influence of the inconsiderate brother-in-law and this awakened a pain which made her crave to relate a family scene not reported before.

As she ever reproduced the same pain motives twice we seemed to be justified in the expectation that the stock would in time become exhausted, and I did not in any way prevent her from getting into situations conducive to evoking new memories which had not yet come to the surface. Thus for example I asked her to visit the grave of her sister or I urged her to go in society where she was apt to meet her youthful friend, who happened to be in the city.

In this manner I obtained an insight into the mode of origin of a hysteria which could be designated as *monosymptom*... I found for example, that the right leg became painful during our hypnosis when we dealt with memories relating to the nursing of her father, to her young friend, and to other things which occurred during the first part of the pathogenic period while the pain in the left leg appeared as soon as I evoked the memory of her lost sister of both brothers-in-law in brief of an impression relating to the second half of the history. My attention having been called to this by this constant behaviour I went further in my investigations and gained the impression that the detalization went perhaps still further and that every new psychic cause of painful feeling might have some connection with a different located pain area in the legs. The original painful location on the right thigh referred to the nursing of her father and as the result of new traumas the painful area then grew by apposition so that strictly speaking we had here not one single physical symptom connected

on into the uses ound

that the patient's attention was turned away from these relations

tions as this "What is the origin of the pains in walking standing or lying?" She answered these questions partially uninfluenced, partially under the pressure of my hand. We thus obtained two results. In the first place she grouped all the scenes connected with painful impressions according to their occurrence sitting standing etc. Thus for example she *stood* at the door when her father was brought home with his cardiac attack and in her fright remained as though rooted to the spot. To this first quotation fright while *standing* she connected more recollections up to the overwhelming scene when she again *stood* as if pinned near the death bed of her sister. The whole chain of reminiscences should justify the connection of the pains with the standing up and could also serve as an association proof except that one must be mindful of the fact that in all these events another factor must be demonstrated that which had directed the attention—and consequently the conversion—precisely to the standing (walking sitting etc.) The explanation for this direction of attention could hardly be sought in other connections than the fact that walking standing and lying are connected with functions and conditions of those members which here bore the painful zones namely the legs. We could then easily understand the connection between the astasia abasia and the first scene of conversion in this history.

Among the scenes which according to this review had made the walking painful, one became most prominent. It referred to a walk she had taken in a large company at the watering place which apparently lasted too long. The deeper circumstances of this occurrence re

spect for her orrow and business affairs later took him to other regions Gradually she came to the realization that his interest in her was suppressed by other feelings and that he was lost to her This failure of her first love pained *her as often as she thought of it*

In this relationship and in the above mentioned scene to which it led I had to seek the causation of the first hysterical pain A conflict or a state of incompatibility arose through the contrast between the happiness which she had not at that time denied herself and the sad condition in which she found her father upon her arrival home As a result of this conflict the erotic ideas were repressed from the associa*tions and the affect connected with them* was utilized in aggravating or reviving a simultaneously (or somewhat previously) existing physical pain It was thus the mechanism of a *conversion for the purpose of defence* as I have shown circumstantially in another place

To be sure we have room here for all kinds of observations I must stress the fact that I did not succeed in demonstrating from her memory that the conversion took place at the *time of her returning home I therefore investi*gated for similar experiences which might have occurred while she was nursing her father and *I evoked a number of scenes among which* was one during which she had to jump out of bed with bare feet in a cold room to respond to the repeated *calls of her father I was inclined to* attribute to this factor a certain significance for in addition to complaining of pain in her legs she also complained of tormenting sensations of coldness Nevertheless here too I could not with certainty lay hold of the scene which could be designated as the scene of conversion This led me to admit that there was some gap in the explanation until I recalled that the hysterical pains in the legs were really not present at the time she nursed her father From her memory she recalled only a single attack of pain lasting a few days to which at that time she paid no attention I then directed my attention to the first appearance of the pains Here I was successful in awakening a *definite* memory Just at that time a relative visited her she could not receive him because she was ill in bed and he had the misfortune *to find* her ill on another occasion two years later But the search for the psychic motive of these first pains failed as often as it was repeated I believed that I could assume that these first pains were due to a slight rheumatic attack and really *had no psychic basis* and I *could also discover that this organic trouble* was the model for the later hysterical imitation at all events that it occurred *before* the scene of being accompanied home That these mild organic pains should have continued for some time without her paying much attention to them was quite possible when we consider the nature of the situation The obscurity *re*sulting from this namely that the analysis pointed to a conversion of psychic excitement *into bodily pain at a time when such pain* was certainly not perceived and not recalled—this problem I hope to be able to solve in later considerations and by *other examples*

With the discovery of the motive for the first conversion we began a second more fruitful period of the treatment In the first place very soon afterward the patient surprised me with the statement that she now knew why the pains always radiated from that definite location on the right thigh and were most painful there This was the exact place upon which her father s leg rested every morning while he *changed the bandages of his badly swollen leg* That occurred hundreds of times and strange to say she did not think of this connection un*til today She thus gave me the desired explana*tion for the origin of an *atypical* hysterogenic zone Furthermore during our analysis her *painful legs always joined in the discussion* I mean the following remarkable state of affairs The patient was as a rule free from pain when we began our work but as soon as I evoked some recollection by question or by pressure of the head she at first reported some pain usually of a very vivid nature and then winced and placed her hand on the painful area This awakened pain remained constant as long as the patient was dominated by the recollection reaching its height when she was about to utter the essential and critical part of her communication and disappeared with *the last words* of the statement I gradually learned to use this awakened pain as a compass Whenever she became mute but *still claimed* to have pains I knew that she had not told me everything and urged her to continue the confession until the pain was *spoken away* Then only did I awaken a new recollection

During this period of ab reaction the pa*tient s condition showed such a striking im*provement both somatically and psychically

The Defence-N uro-P ychoses (1894) p 81 ff below

I c th l d p th t thi p i espec lly f th thighs was f a *cur th se* t re.

ves. At other times there seemed to be in- stances, the nature of which I could not at the time surmise When I applied pressure she remained that nothing came into her mind. I repeated the pressure and told her to wait, but still nothing would come. At first, when such obstinacy manifested itself I determined to discontinue the work and to try again later as the day seemed unpropitious. Two observations however caused me to change my procedure Firstly because such failure of this method occurred only when I found Elisabeth cheerful and free from pain and never when she had a bad day, secondly because she frequently made assertions of seeing nothing after the lapse of a long pause during which her tense and absorbed mind betrayed to me some inner psychic process I therefore, decided to assume that the method never failed, that under the pressure of my hands Elisabeth had each time perceived some idea or had seen some picture but that she was not always ready to impart it to me and attempted to suppress what was conjured up I could think of two motives for such conceal ment; either Elisabeth subjected the idea that came to her mind to an unjustified criticism thinking it not sufficiently important or unsuitable as an answer to the question, or she feared to say it because that statement was too disagreeable to her. I, therefore proceeded as if I were perfectly convinced of the reliability of my technique Whenever she asserted that nothing came into her mind, I did not let that pass, I assured her that something must have come to her but that perhaps she was not attentive enough, that I was quite willing to repeat the pressure I also told her not to enter [illegible] the correctness of [illegible] she concealed from me and that, as long as she would continue to do so she would not get rid of her pains. Through such urging I came to the realization that no pressure remained unsuccessful. I then had to assume that I correctly recognized the state of affairs and, indeed, I won perfect confidence in my technique through this analysis. It often happened that she did not make a statement until after the third pressure and then added "Why I could have told you that the first time — Indeed, why did you not say it — I thought that it was not correct, I thought that I could do it, but it recurred each time During this difficult work I began to attach a profounder significance to the resistance which the patient showed in the reproduction of her recollection and I carefully noted these occasions in which it was especially striking

I now come to the description of the third period of our treatment. The patient felt better she was psychically unburdened and less [illegible] but the pains were restrained in her behaviour but the pains were manifestly not removed, and reappeared from time to time with the old severity The inner time with the old severity The imperfect cure went hand in hand with the imperfect analysis as yet, I did not know in what moment and through what mechanisms the pains originated. During the reproduction of the most manifold scenes of the second period and the observation of the patient's resistance towards the reproduction I had a definite suspicion which I did not dare use as a basis for my action. An accidental observation turned the issue While working with the patient one day I heard the steps of a man in the adjacent room and a rather pleasant voice asking some questions. My patient immediately arose requesting me to discontinue the treatment for the day because she heard her brother in law who had just arrived, asking for her Before this disturbance she was free from pain but now she betrayed by her mien and gait the sudden appearance of violent pains This strengthened my suspicion and I decided to elicit the decisive explanation.

I therefore questioned her again concerning the circumstances and causes of the first appearance of the pains. Her thoughts were directed to the summer resort in that watering place where she had been before making the journey to Gastein A number of scenes were reproduced which had already been treated less exhaustively They recalled her frame of mind at that time the exhaustion following the worriment about her mother's vision, and the nursing of her mother during the time of the operation and her final despair at being unable as a lonesome girl to enjoy or accomplish anything in life. Until then she felt strong enough to dispense with the help of a man, but now she was overcome by a feeling of her womanly weakness a yearning for love in which, to put it in her own words her obdurate self began to soften. In such humour the happy marriage of her younger sister made the profoundest

The mechanisms of resistance which the [illegible] now counts among the great pillars of psycho-analytic technique are mentioned here for the first time.—T

vealed themselves only hesitatingly and left many a riddle unsolved She was in an especially good humour and gladly joined the circle of friendly persons it was a lovely day not too warm her mother remained at home her older sister had already departed the younger *one felt indisposed* but *did not* wish *to mar* her pleasure The husband of the second sister at first declared that he would remain at home with his wife but finally went along for her (Elisabeth s) sake This scene seemed to have *a great deal to do with the first appearance of* the pains for she recalled that she returned home from the walk very fatigued and with severe pains She could not however say definitely whether she had perceived the pains before this I took for granted that if she had suffered any pain she would hardly have resolved to enter upon this long walk On being questioned whence the pains originated on this walk she answered rather indefinitely that the contrast between her solitude and the married happiness of her sick sister of which she was constantly reminded by the behaviour of her brother in law was painful to her

Another scene closely related to the former in point of time played a part in connection with the pains on *sitting* It was a few days later her sister and brother in law had already departed and she found herself in a tense and longing mood She arose in the morning and ascended to the top of a small hill which they were frequently wont to visit together and which afforded a very pretty view There she sat down on a stone bench and gave free play to her thoughts Her thoughts again revolved on her lonesomeness *the fate of her family and* she now frankly admitted that she entertained the eager wi h to become as happy as her sister After this morning s meditation she returned home with severe pains In the evening of the *same day she took the bath after which the* pains definitely appeared and continued persistently

We could further ascertain with great certainty that the pains on walking and standing *diminished* in the beginning *on lying down* Only after she heard of her sister s illness and left Gastein in the evening *spending a sleepless* night in the sleeping car tormented simultaneously by worrying over her sister and by violent pains—it was only then that the pains appeared for the first time while she was lying down and *throughout that time lying down* was even more painful than walking or standing

In this way the painful sphere grew by *apposition first* because every new pathogenically affecting theme occupied a new region of the legs second every one of the impressionable scenes left a trace because it produced lasting always more cumulative catheses of the different functions of the legs thus connecting these functions with the sensations of pain There was unmistakably however still a third mechanism which furthered the production of atasia abasia When the patient finished the recitation of a whole series of events with the plaint that she then perceived pain on *standing alone* and when in another series referring to the unfortunate attempt of bringing about new conditions in the family she was not tired of repeating that the painful part of it was the feeling of her helplessness the sensation that she *could make no headway* I then had to think that her reflections too influenced the formation of the abasia and I had to assume that she directly sou ht a *symbolic* expression for her painfully accentuated thoughts and had found it in the a gravation of her pains That *somatic symptoms* of hysteria

conclusive evidence in the epicrisis to this history In Miss Elisabeth von R the psychic mechanism of the symbolization was not in the foreground it had not produced the abasia but everything pointed to the fact that the already existing abasia had in this way undergone a considerable reinforcement Accordingly this abasia as I encountered it in the stage of development *could not only be compared to a* psychically associative paralysis of function but also to a symbolic paralysis of function

Before I continue with the history of my patient I will add something about her behaviour *during the second period of the treatment* Throughout this whole analysis I made use of the method of evoking pictures and ideas by pressing her head a method therefore which would be inapplicable without the full cooperation and voluntary attention of the patient At times her behaviour left nothing to *be desired and at such periods it was really* surprising how promptly and how infallibly the individual scenes belonging to one theme succeeded each other in chronological order It was as if she read from a large picture book the pages of which passed in review before her

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l ests d a *t*

made another despairing effort to reject the explanation, saying that it was not true that I suggested it to her, it could not be, she was incapable of such baseness and that she would never forgive herself for it. It was quite easy to prove to her that her own information allowed no other interpretation, but it took a long time before the two reasons that I offered for consolation, namely that one is not responsible for one's feelings and that her behaviour, her sickness under those circumstances, was sufficient proof of her moral nature—I say it took a long time before these consolations made an impression on her.

I was now forced to pursue more than one course in order to alleviate the patient. In the first place I wished to give her the opportunity to rid herself by ab-reaction of the material long since accumulated. We investigated the first impressions of the relations with her brother-in-law, the beginning of those unconsciously kept affectionate regards. We found here all those little indications and forebodings which on retrospection showed a fully developed passion. In his first visit to the house he mistook her for his destined bride and greeted her before he greeted her older and more homely sister. One evening they entertained each other so vivaciously and seemed to understand each other so well that the bride interrupted them with this half serious remark: "You two indeed would have suited each other very nicely." On another occasion, while at a social gathering where no one knew of the engagement, the conversation drifted to the young man, and a young lady indiscreetly remarked about a blemish in his figure, a juvenile joint affliction. The bride herself remained calm while Elisabeth flew into a passion, and with an ardour which even she herself could not afterwards understand, defended the straight form of her future brother-in-law. While we worked our way through these reminiscences it became clear to Elisabeth that her affection for her brother-in-law had slumbered in her for a long time, perhaps since the beginning of their relations, and had concealed itself so long under the mask of a mere kinsmanlike affection, as only her very delicate family feeling would allow.

This ab-reaction benefited her much, but I was able to give her still more relief by taking a friendly interest in her present state of affairs. With this object in view I sought an interview with Mrs. von R., whom I found to be an intelligent and refined lady, whose courage to face life however was somewhat impaired through the last misfortunes. From her I learned that the accusation of rude extortion which the older brother-in-law had brought against the widower and which was so painful to Elisabeth, had to be retracted on closer investigation. The character of the young man remained untarnished; it was merely a misunderstanding, an easily conceived difference of opinion concerning the valuation of money that could arise between the merchant, to whom money is only a working tool, and the official—that is all there was to this seemingly so painful incident. I begged the mother to give Elisabeth all explanations that she might hereafter need, and to offer her in the future that opportunity for unburdening her mind to which I had accustomed her.

Naturally I was also anxious to know what chance there was for the fulfilment of the girl's present conscious wish. Here things were less favourable! The mother stated that for some time she had had an inkling of Elisabeth's affections for her brother-in-law, of course she did not know that it had existed during the lifetime of her sister. Whoever saw them both in friendly intercourse—of late, to be sure, only seldom—could entertain no doubt of the girl's anxiety to please him. However neither she, the mother, nor the advisers of the family showed any particular inclination to bring about a matrimonial union between the two. The health of the young man had not been very good and had received a setback through the death of his beloved wife, and it was not at all certain that he had sufficiently recovered from the shock to enter into a new marriage. It was quite probable that this was the reason for his reserve, perhaps also because he was not sure of his position and wished to avoid all obvious gossip. With such a reserve on both sides the solution for which Elisabeth was yearning was likely to fail.

I informed the girl of everything that I had heard from her mother and had the satisfaction of seeing her benefited by the explanation concerning the money affair. On the other hand I urged her to bear calmly the uncertainties of her future which could not be dismissed. The advancing summer forced us to bring the treatment to an end. She now felt better and since we had discussed the causes to which the pain could be traced she no longer complained of pain. We both felt that the work had been finished, although I felt that the ab-reaction of the suppressed love was really not as com-

impression on her She thought how affectionately he cared for her how they understood each other by a mere glance and how sure they seemed to be of each other It was truly regrettable that the second pregnancy followed so closely upon the first her sister knew that this was the cause of her suffering but how willingly she endured it and all because he was the cause of it The brother in law did not at first wish to participate in the walk which was so intimately connected with Elisabeth s pain he preferred to remain home with his sick wife but the latter urged him with a glance to go because she thought that it would give Elisabeth pleasure Elisabeth remained with him throughout the whole walk they spoke about the most varied and intimate things she found herself in thorough accord with all he said and she became overwhelmed with a desire to possess a man like him This was followed by a scene a few days later when on the morning after their departure she visited the point commanding the beautiful view which had been their favourite walk There she seated herself upon a stone and a ain dreamed of her sister s happiness and of a man like her brother in law who could engage her affections When she arose she had pains which again disappeared and only in the afternoon after having taken the warm bath did they reappear remaining ever since I attempted to investi ate the thou hts which occupied her mind while taking the bath but all I could obtain was that the bathroom recalled her absent sister because she had lived in the same house

For some time the state of affairs must have been clear to me The patient seemed absorbed in painfully sweet recollections so that she was wholly unconscious of the drift of her thoughts and continued to reproduce her reminiscences She spoke of the time in Gastein the worry connected with the expectations of the letter finally the information of her sister s illness the long wait until the evening when she could finally leave Gastein the journey with its tormenting uncertainties during a sleepless night—all these remarks were accompanied by a violent aggravation of the pain I asked her if during the journey she thought of the sad possibility which she afterward found realized She answered that she carefully avoided the thought but that in her opinion her mother expected the worst from the very beginning This was followed by the reminiscences of her arrival in Vienna—the impressions which she received from the relatives at the station the short journey from Vienna to the neighbouring summer resort where her sister lived the arrival in the evening the hasty walk through the garden to the door of the little garden pavilion—the silence in the house the oppressive darkness the fact of not having been received by the brother in law She then recalled standing before the bed seeing the deceased and in the moment of the awful certainty that the beloved sister had died without having taken leave of them and without having her last days eased through their nursing—in that very moment another thought flashed through Elisabeth s brain which now peremptorily repeated itself The thought which flashed like dazzling lightning throu h the darkness was Now he is free again and I can become his wife

Of course now everything was clear The analyst s effort was richly repaid The ideas of *defence* against an unbearable idea the origin of hysterical symptoms through conversion of psychic into physical excitement the formation of a separate psychic group by an act of the will which led to the defence—all these were in that moment palpably presented before my eyes Thus and thus alone did things happen here This girl entertained an affectionate regard for her brother in law against the acceptance of which into her consciousness her whole moral being strug led She succeeded in *sparing herself the painful consciousness* that she was in love with her sister s husband by creating for herself instead bodily pains and at the moment when this certainty wished to thrust itself into her consciousness (while sh walked with him during that morning reverie in the bath and before her sister s bed) her pains originated through a successful conversion into the somatic At the time she came under my care the isolation from her awareness of the group of ideas referring to this love affair had already been accomplished else I believe that she would never have agreed to thi mode of treatment The resistance with which she repeatedly opposed the reproduction of the traumatically effective scenes really corresponded to the energy with which the unbearable idea had been crowded out from the associations

For the therapist there now came a sorry time The effect of the resumption of that repressed idea was crushing for the poor child When I summed up the whole situation with these prosaic words You were really for a long time in love with your brother in law she complained of the most horrible pains she

with the hundred different tasks of nursing which succeed each oth r continuously for weeks and month gets into the hab t on the o e hand of suppressi g all signs of his own emotions, and o the oth r hand his atte tion is soon turned away f om hi own impressio s because he has ne ther the time nor the strength to do them j st ce Thus the nurse accum lates in himself an overabundance of fecti e impres ns whi h he o she barely perce es clea ly e o gh at any rate they are ot di.spated by ab reaction that is he or she creates fo himself the material for a *re en o hysteria.* If th patient reco ers these impressi s nat rally lose their alue but if he dies and ne goes into a period f mourning during which only that which refers t the deceased seems f alue the mpres io s wait m, f discharge appear in t rn a d after a brief pause of exhau tio the hysteria the germ of which originated during the nursing bursts f rth.

The same f ct f subsequent djustment to traumas accumulated during nurs ng s occa sionally al.o en ount red where the general impre of being sick doe not e sue but where the m hanism of hysteria evertheless can be n ticed Thus I ha kn wn a h hly gifted b t slightly nervous lady who e whol perso ality suggests th hyst ric yet h ne er becam a b rden to th d tor and was ne r f ed t interrupt the exe cise of h dut es. This lady had nursed three o f ur of h r de r o es until they died which cau d h e h tim a complete phys al exhaustio y t these sad d ties ha e r mad her L How eve hortly ft the death f the pat ent she beg he work f rep oduction in which sh re ews th s enes f the dise e and of the de th. Each day—o m ght say at her l isure —she goes again every imp es crying ove t and c ling h rself Such adjustment co tinues through her daily c pati ns with ut any co fusi f the tw act t es E ery thin passes bef e h r chr l gic lly Wh th the mem ry wo k f o e day precisely co re.po ded to day f th pa t, I am un ble to say I presum that t depends n the l u e wh ch is left t he by th curr t affairs of the household

A d from this ft r crv ng whi h f ll ws the d mi es ft h rt terval thi l dy periodically bserved th nni rsaries f th va us cata.t ophi and h e her d al reprod tio and her aff t e man f tatio s f llow faithfully th dates Thu f r example I fou d h r in tears and on sympathetic in quiry as to what occurred on that day she half irritably remarked Nothing on that day ex cept that Professor N was again here and gave us to understand that things were hopeless—at that time I had no time to cry She re ferred to the last illness of her husband who died three years before It would have been very interesti g to know whether she always repeated the same scenes on these recurring anni ersaries or whether as I suppose in the interest of my theory other deta ls presented themsel es each time for ab reaction. I was howe er unable to find anything definite about this the wise and c urageous woman was ashamed of the intensity w th which those reminisce ces acted upon her

I repeat that this woman was not sick and that subsequent ab reaction, desp te all resem blance is still ot a hysterical process one may ask why after one nursing there results a hys teria and fter another none. It cann t lie in

— — red rch b-

ta l d pressi disappe red. This was ttr'b ted to th ccess f my gre hyp ti cure

plete as it should have been I regarded her as cured and urged her to continue independently the solution after the way had been cleared for it to which she agreed She left with her mother for a summer resort where they were *to join the older sister and her family*

I still have something more to report about the further course of Miss Elisabeth von R s disease A few weeks after our parting I re ceived a despairing letter from her mother in formin me that at the first attempt to draw Eli abeth into a conversation about her love affairs she became very excited and refused to talk *and since then had suffered from violent* pains She was very indignant at my having betrayed her confidence and was perfectly in accessible so that the treatment seemed a com plete failure She wished to know what was to be done for of me she would hear nothing I made no reply It was to be expected that after she had been relieved from my discipline *she would make another attempt to reject her* mother s interference and return to her re serve I was however quite certain that every thing would adjust itself and that my efforts had not been in vain Two months later they *returned to Vienna and the colleague* to whom I was grateful for the case informed me that Elisabeth was perfectly well and that her be haviour was normal although occasionally she had slight pains Since then she has repeatedly sent me similar messages each time promising to visit me which she has never done This is quite characteristic of the personal relation *ship formed during such treatment My col* league assured me that she could be considered cured The relation of the brother in law to the family had not been changed

In the spring of 1894 I was informed that *she would be present at a private ball to which* I could gain access I did not let the oppor tunity escape me and saw my former patient gliding along in a rapid dance Since then fol lowing her own inclination she married a *stranger*

EPICRISIS

I have not always been a psycho therapist but like other neuro pathologists I was edu cated *to methods of focal diagnoses* and elec trical prognosis so that even I my elf am struck by the fact that the case histories which I am writing read like novels and as it were dispense with the serious features of the scien tific character Yet I must console myself with the fact that the nature of the subject is ap parently more responsible for this issue than my own predilection Focal diagnosis and elec trical reactions are really not important in the study of hysteria whereas a detailed dis cussion of the psychic processes as one is wont *to hear it from the poet* and the application of a few psychological formulæ allows one to gain an insight into the course of events of hysteria Such case histories should be con sidered like psychiatrical ones but they have the advantage over the latter in the fact that they give the intimate connection between the history of the disease and the morbid symp *toms a thing for which we are still looking in* vain in the histories of other psychoses

With the description of the treatment I en deavoured to interweave the explanations which I gave about the case of Miss Elisabeth von R and it will perhaps not be superfluous to sum marize here the essential features I have dis cussed the character of the patient and the *features which repeat themselves in o many* hysterics and which we really cannot consider as degenerative I mentioned the talent the ambition the moral sensitiveness the immense yearnin for love which found its gratification *in the family the independence of her nature* reaching beyond the womanly ideal which manifested itself largely in obstinacy pug naciousness and shut in ness According to the information of my colleague no hereditary taints could be shown on *either side of the* family Her mother to be sure suffered for years from some indefinite neurotic depression but her brothers and sisters her father and his family belonged to the even tempered and not to the nervous type *There was no serious case* of psychosis in any near relatives

Her nature was influenced by painful emo tions the foremost of which was the debili tating influence of a long attendance upon her beloved sick father

That nursing of the sick plays such a signi ficant role in the histories of hysterias has its good reasons A number of effective factors which one finds here are quite obvious thus *the disturbance of the physical health through* interrupted sleep neglect of nourishment and the reaction of a constantly gnawing worri ment on the vegatative functions The most im portant factor however is in my estimation to *be found elsewhere He whose mind is occupied*

Th s t to l g bt l s p ese t-day p ych try B g g with th Z h School d th t m l t f Bleul th d sc pt p y h try f K pel f g g g w y t the i terp t t psych try f the p ese t —T

To be sure I can give no directions as to how one can produce in himself such a conversion. Apparently it is not done as one intentionally performs an arbitrary action; it is a process which takes place in a person under the impulse of the motive of defence if he has a tendency for it in his organization or if it is brought about by temporary modifications.

One has the right to examine the theory more closely and ask: What is it then that becomes transformed into physical pains? The cautious reply will be: Something out of which psychic pains could have and should have been formed. If one wishes to venture further and attempt a kind of algebraic formulation of the ideational mechanism, one might perhaps attribute to the ideational complex of this desire (which remained unconscious) a certain amount of affect and designate the latter quality as the thing converted. A direct deduction of this conception would be that through such conversions the unconscious love forfeits so much of its intensity that it becomes reduced to a weak idea, and its existence as a separate psychic group is made possible only through this weakening. However, the present case is not capable of throwing light on this delicate matter. It probably corresponds only to an imperfect conversion. From other cases it seems quite probable that there are also perfect conversions, and that in these the unbearable idea actually becomes *repressed* as only an idea of very little intensity could be repressed. After an associative union has been reestablished the patients assure us that since the origin of the hysterical symptoms their unbearable ideas had never occupied their minds.

I have stated above that on certain occasions, though only transitorily, the patient consciously recognized the love for her brother-in-law. Such a moment occurred when, for example, at the deathbed of her sister the thought flashed through her mind: "Now he is free and I can become his wife." I must discuss the significance of these facts for the conception of h[...]

[...] moments should have occurred. For consciously one really does not know in advance when such an unbearable idea will present itself. For the unbearable idea which is later excluded with its appendage for the formation of a separate psychic group must have been originally in the mental activity, else there would have been no conflict to lead to its exclusion. Just such moments should be designated as *traumatic*. It is in them that the conversion takes place and results in the splitting of consciousness and the hysterical symptoms. Everything tends to show that in Miss Elisabeth von R. there were a number of such moments (the scenes of the walking, morning meditation, bath, and at the bedside of her sister), and perhaps new moments of this kind also occurred during the treatment. The multiplicity of such traumatic moments is made possible by the fact that an experience similar to the one which first initiated the unbearable idea [...] and flared up idea, and must later restore the former state through new conversions. Miss Elisabeth, who was in constant relation with her brother-in-law, must have been particularly exposed to the appearance of new traumas. A case whose traumatic history has been finished in the past would have been more desirable for this discussion.

I must now occupy myself with the point which I have designated as a difficulty for the understanding of this case history. On the analytical basis I assumed that the first conversion took place in the patient while she nursed her father, at the time when her duties as a nurse came into conflict with her erotic yearnings, and that this process was the model for the later ones which led to the outbreak of the disease in the Alpine spa. But according to the patient's statement she had *not at all suffered from any pains and weakness* at the time of the nursing and the period following it, which I designated as the *first period*. To be sure, during the illness of her father she was once bedridden for a few days with pains in her leg, but it is doubtful whether this attack already belonged to the hysteria. A causal relation between these first pains and any psychic impressions could not be demonstrated by analysis; it is possible, even probable, that at that time we dealt with a common rheumatic muscular pain. But if we should assume that this first attack of pain was the result of an hysterical conversion in consequence of the rejection of erotic thoughts which then existed, the fact nevertheless remains that the pains

It is different in hypnoid hysteria. Here the content of the separate psychic group may [never] have been in the ego consciousness.

the personal predisposition for the lady whom I have here in mind showed it in the most prolific manner

I now return to Miss Elisabeth von R While nursing her father there occurred for the first time an hysterical symptom in the form of a pain in a definite location on the right thi h The mechanism of this symptom is fully ex plained on an analytic basis It occurred in a moment during which the ideas of her duties towards her sick father came into conflict with the content of her erotic yearning which she then entertained Under vivid self reproach she decided in favour of the former and created for herself the hysterical pain According to the conception explained by the theory of conver sion in hysteria the process could be described as follows She repressed the erotic idea from her consciousness and changed the sum of the affect into somatic sensations of pain Whether this first conflict occurred only once or re peated itself is not clear The latter is more probable Quite a similar conflict—of a higher moral significance and even better demon strated by the analysis—repeated itself after years and led to the aggravation of the same pain and to its dissemination beyond its origi nal limits Again it was an erotic idea which came into conflict with all her moral concep tions for her affection for her brother in law both during the life and after the death of her sister and the thought that she should yearn just for this man was very disagreeable to her This analysis gives detailed information about this conflict which represents the pivotal point in the history of her malady The patient s affection for her brother in law might have be gun to germinate long ago but in favour of its development was the physical exhaustion from the recent nursing and her moral exhaus tion from years of disillusionment which then began to break down her reserve and caused her to confess to herself the need of the love of a man During a relationship which extended over weeks (in that summer resort) this erotic desire attained full development simultaneously with the pain and analysis shows that during that time the patient was in a special psychic state which in conjunction with the desire and pain seems to afford an understanding of the process in the sense of the conversion theory

I must place reliance on the statement that the patient s affection for her brother in law intensive as it was was not *clearly known* to her except on certain rare occasions and then only momentarily If that were not so she would have become conscious of the incompati bility between this desire and her moral ideas and would have had to endure the same mental agonies which I saw her suffer after our anal ysis Her reminiscences gave us no information concerning such suffering (the e she spared herself) and as a result the love itself did not become clear to her At that time as well as during the analysis her love for her brother in law existed in the form of a foreign body in her consciousness without entering into any re lationship with her other ideation In reference to this love there exi ted the peculiar condi tion of knowing and simultaneously not know ing it was the condition of the split-off psychic group When we assert that this love was not *clearly known* to her we mean exactly what we say We do not mean a lower quality or a lesser degree of consciousness but a separation of the free associative mental process from the rest of the ideational content

How did it happen that such an intensively accentuated group of ideas could be kept so isolated? For generally the rôle of an idea in the associations actually increa es with the size of its affect

This question can be answered if we take into account two facts which we can use as if proven (1) That the hysterical pain originated simultaneously with the formation of these separate psychic groups (2) that the patient exerted great resistance against the attempt to bring about the association between the sep arate psychic groups and the rest of the con [illegible] was

these two factors w [illegible] ting of consciousness by asserting that (2) con tains the indication of the *motive* for the split tin of consciousness while (1) shows the *mechanism* of the same The motive was that of *defense* or the striving of the whole ego to get into harmony with this ideation group and the mechanism was that of *conversion* that is instead of psychic pains which she pared her self there appeared physical pains A transfor mation was thus initiated which resulted in a *gain* insofar as the patient had escaped an un bearable psychic state to be sure this gain was obtained at the cost of a psychic anomaly a splitting of consciou ness and physical suffer ing the pains upon which an astasia abasia was constructed.

To be sure I can give no directions as to how one can produce in himself such a conversion. Apparently it is not done as one intentionally performs an arbitrary action it is a process which takes place in a person under the impulse of the motive of defense if he has a tendency for it in his organization or if it is brought about by temporary modifications.

One has the right to examine the theory more closely and ask What is it then that becomes transformed into physical pains? The cautious reply will be Something out of which psychic pains could have and should have been formed. If one wishes to venture further and attempt a kind of algebraic formulation of the ideational mechanism one might perhaps attribute to the ideational complex of this desire (which remained unconscious) a certain amount of affect and designate the latter quality as the thing converted. A direct deduction of this conception would be that through such conversion the "unconscious love" forfeits so much of its intensity that it becomes reduced to a weak idea and its existence as a separate psychic group is made possible only through this weakening. However the present case is not capable of throwing light on this delicate matter. It probably corresponds only to an imperfect conversion. From other cases it seems quite probable that there are also perfect conversions and that in these the unbearable idea actually becomes repressed as only an idea of very little intensity could be repressed. After an associative union has been reestablished, the patients assure us that since the origin of the hysterical symptoms their unbearable ideas had never occupied their minds.

I have stated above that on certain occasions though only transitorily the patient consciously recognized the love for her brother-in-law. Such a moment occurred when at the death bed of her sister the thought flashed through her mind, Now he is free and I can become his wife. I must discuss the significance of these factors for the conception of the whole neurosis. However I think that in the assumption of a defense hysteria there is already the requisite that at least one such moment should have occurred. For consciousness really does not know in advance when such an unbearable idea will present itself. For the unbearable idea, which is later excluded with its appendage for the formation of a separate psychic group must have been originally in the mental activity else there would have been no conflict to lead to its exclusion. Just such moments should be designated as traumatic. It is in them that the conversion takes place and results in the splitting of consciousness and the hysterical symptoms. Everything tends to show that in Miss Elisabeth von R there were a number of such moments (the scenes of the walking morning meditation, bath, and at the bedside of her sister) and perhaps new moments of this kind also occurred during the treatment. The multiplicity of such traumatic moments is made possible by the fact that an experience similar to the one which first initiated the unbearable idea, introduces new emotions to the separated psychic groups and thus transitorily abolishes the success of the conversion. The ego is forced to occupy itself with this suddenly reinforced and flared up idea and must later restore the former state through new conversions. Miss Elisabeth, who was in constant relation with her brother-in-law must have been particularly exposed to the appearance of new traumas. A case whose traumatic history has been finished in the past would have been more desirable for this discussion.

I must now occupy myself with the point which I have designated as a difficulty for the understanding of this case history. On the analytic basis I assumed that the first conversion took place in the patient while she nursed her father at the time when her duties as a nurse came into conflict with her erotic yearnings and that this process was the model for the later ones which led to the outbreak of the disease in the Alpine pa. But according to the patient's statement she had *not at all suffered from any pains and weakness* at the time of the nursing and the period following it which I designated as the *first period*. To be sure, during the illness of her father she was once bedridden for a few days with pains in her legs, but it is doubtful whether this attack already belonged to the hysteria. A causal relation between these first pains and any psychic impressions could not be demonstrated by analysis it is possible even probable that at that time we dealt with a common rheumatic muscular pain. But if we should assume that this first attack of pain was the result of an hysterical conversion in consequence of the rejection of erotic thoughts which then existed, the fact, nevertheless remains that the pains

I is d. eren in hypnoid hysteria. Here the content of the separate psychic group may never have been in the ego consciousness.

disappeared after a few days so that the patient actually behaved differently than she seemed to show during the analysis During the reproduction of the so called first period all her statements concerning the illness and death of her father the impressions relating to her first brother in law etc all these were accompanied by manifestations of pain while at the time she really experienced these impressions she felt no pains Is this not a contradiction which is likely to diminish considerably the confidence in the explanatory value of such an analysis?

I believe that I can explain the contradiction by assuming that the pains—the product of the conversion—did not originate while the patient experienced the impressions during the first period but subsequently that is in the second period when the patient reproduced these impressions in her mind The conversion did not follow the fresh impressions but the memories of the same I even believe that such a process is not at all unusual in hysteria and regularly participates in creating hysterical symptoms Nevertheless as such an assertion does not seem plausible I shall attempt to make it more credible by citing other experiences

During a similar analysis it once happened that a new hysterical symptom was formed during the treatment so that I could attempt its removal on the day after its origin

I will describe the essential features of the history of this patient They are simple but not without interest

Miss Rosalia H twenty three years old who for a number of years made great efforts to educate herself as a singer complained that her beautiful voice did not obey her in certain notes She felt choking and tightening sensations in the throat so that the tones sounded strained and her teacher could therefore not yet permit her to appear in public Although this imperfection affected only her middle notes it could not be explained on the basis of a defect of her vocal organs for at times this disturbance did not show itself and her teacher was very pleased with her but at other times the slightest excitement seemingly without provocation evoked the choking sensation and prevented free expansion of the voice It was not difficult to recognize in this annoying *sensation an hysterical* conversion Whether there was really a contracture of certain muscles of the vocal chords could not be verified In the hypnotic analysis which I undertook with this girl I found out the following concerning her vicissitudes and the ailments occasioned through them She became an orphan at an early age and was brought up by her aunt who had many children and she had to share the life of a most unfortunate family existence The *husband of this aunt seemingly* a pathological personality abused his wife and children in the most brutal manner and what especially pained her was his unconcealed sexual preference for the servant and nurse girls in the house This became even more obnoxious as the children grew older When her aunt died Rosalia became the protectress of the orphaned children who were harassed by their father She took *her duties seriously fought* through all conflicts and had to exert her greatest efforts to suppress the manifestations of her contempt for her uncle It was then that the choking sensation in her throat originated. Whenever she was compelled to swallow an affront whenever she had to remain silent on hearing a provoking accusation she perceived a scratching in her throat the tightening and failure of her voice in brief she had all the localized sensations in her larynx and pharynx which now disturbed her in singing It was conceivable that she sought the possibility of making herself independent in order to escape the excitement and the painful impressions which were daily occurrences in her uncle s house An efficient music teacher took an unselfish interest in her assuring her that her voice entitled her to choose the profession of singing She began secretly to take lessons of him and because she often went for her lessons with the choking sensation in her throat following some violent scene in the house a connection was formed between the singing and the hysterical paresthesia for which a way was prepared by the sensitiveness of the vocal organs during singing The apparatus of which she should have had free control was filled

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with the remnants of innervation from those numerous scenes of suppressed excitement. Since then she has left her uncle's house and has moved to another city so as to be away from the family, but her ailments were not benefited by it. No other hysterical symptoms were discovered in this pretty and unusually bright girl.

I endeavoured to cure this *retention hysteria* by a reproduction of all the exciting impressions and by subsequent ab-reaction. I afforded her the opportunity of railing against her uncle in long speeches and of telling him the bare truth to his face, etc. The treatment benefited her but unfortunately she lived here under quite unfavorable conditions. She had no luck with her relatives. She was the guest of another uncle who treated her with friendliness, but just for that reason she incurred the displeasure of her aunt. The latter believed that her husband evinced too marked an interest in his niece and made it a point of opposing the girl's stay in Vienna. She herself in her youth was obliged to relinquish a desire of becoming an artist and was now jealous of her niece because she had the opportunity to develop her talent, not considering that it was not mere desire but a wish to become independent which led her niece to take this step. Rosalia felt so uncomfortable in the house that she, for instance, did not dare to sing or play the piano when her aunt was within hearing distance, and carefully avoided either singing or playing anything for her aged uncle—her mother's brother—whenever her aunt was home. While I was endeavouring to efface the traces of the old excitements new ones originated through these relations with her host, and finally interfered with the success of my treatment and prematurely interrupted the cure.

One day the patient came to me with a new symptom hardly twenty-four hours old. She complained of a disagreeable prickling sensation in the fingertips which had manifested itself every few hours since the day before and forced her to make very peculiar jerky movements. I could not see the attack, otherwise I would have guessed the cause from seeing the motions of the fingers, but I immediately endeavoured to trace through hypnotic analysis the causation of this symptom (it was really a minor hysterical attack). As the whole thing existed only for a short time I hoped to be able to explain it and quickly remove it. To my surprise she reproduced, without any hesitation in chronological order, a whole row of scenes beginning in her early childhood. All these had perhaps the same characteristics in the fact that she had suffered an injustice without defense, something which could make her fingers jerk, for example, scenes like the one of being forced to hold out her hand in school while the teacher struck it with a ruler. But they were all banal causes, to which I would have gladly opposed the right to enter into the aetiology of hysterical symptoms. It was different, however, with one scene of her early girlhood which was connected with the others. The bad uncle who suffered from rheumatism asked her to massage his back. She did not dare refuse him. He was in bed while she was doing it and he suddenly threw off the covers, jumped up and attempted to grab her and throw her down. She naturally stopped the massage and in a moment escaped and locked herself in her own room. She evidently did not like to recall this experience and could not say whether she had seen anything when the man suddenly exposed himself. The sensations in the fingers could be explained as due to the suppressed impulse to punish him, or it might simply have originated from the fact that she was at that time massaging him. Only after this scene did she begin to talk about the one which she experienced yesterday, after which the sensitiveness and jerkiness of the fingers appeared as a recurring memory symbol. The uncle with whom she now lived begged her to play something for him. She sat at the piano and accompanied herself singing, believing that her aunt was out. Suddenly she appeared in the doorway. Rosalia jumped up, closed the piano and flung away the sheet of music. We can guess what memories came to her mind, and the train of thought which she tried to ward off at that moment, for the exasperation brought on by the unjust accusation should have really urged her to leave the house, but on account of her illness she was forced to remain in Vienna and had no other shelter. The movement of the fingers which I saw during the reproduction of this scene resembled a continuous jerking, as if one literally and figuratively would reject something like throwing away a sheet of music or rejecting an unreasonable demand.

She was quite positive in her assurance that she did not perceive the symptom before that, it was not caused by the scenes previously related. Was there anything else to be assumed except that the scene experienced yesterday had in the first place awakened the recollection

of a former similar content and that it then developed into a memory symbol for the whole group of recollections? The conversion was on the one hand furnished with newly experienced affects and on the other with recollected affects

When we consider this state of affairs we must admit that in the origin of hysterical symptoms such a process is the rule rather than the exception Whenever I seek for the determinants of such states I frequently find not a single but a group of similar traumatic motives In some of these cases it could be ascertained that this particular symptom had already existed for a short time after the first trauma and then subsided but reappeared after the next trauma and became fixed Yet no real distinction can be made between those of temporary appearance and those which remained entirely latent causations In a large majority of cases it was also found that the first trauma had left no symptoms while a later trauma of the same kind produced a symptom for the origin of which the cooperation of the former motives could not be dispensed with and for the solution of which it required a consideration of all the motives Translating this into the language of conversion theory this undeniable fact of the summation of traumas and the erstwhile *latency* of the symptoms simply means that the conver

seems to exist in the history and analysis of Miss Elisabeth von R.

For there is no question that normal per*sons continue to carry in their* consciousness a large number of ideas with unadjusted affects The assertion which I have just defended merely approximates the behaviour of hysteria to that of the normal It is apparently reduced to a quantitative factor it is simply a question of *how many* such affective strains an organization can endure Even an hysterical person will be able to retain a certain amount in an adjusted state but if through a summation of similar motives it increases beyond the individual s endurance the impetus for conversion is formed It is therefore no singular theory but almost a postulate to say that the formation of hysterical symptoms may also be brought about at the cost of recollected affects

I have now occupied myself with the *motive* and *mechanism* of this case of hysteria it still remains to discuss the *determination* of the hysterical symptoms Why should just the pains in the legs have been selected to represent the psychic pains? The circumstances of the case point to the fact that this somatic pain was not created by the neurosis but was merely utilized aggravated and retained by it I will add that in most of the cases of hysterical algias into which I have been able to gain an insight the conditions were similar that is there was to begin with always a real organically founded pain It is always the most common the most widespread pain of humanity that seem to be most frequently called upon to play a part in hysteria Among the most common are the periosteal and the neuralgic pains of the teeth headaches which originate from so many different sources and not in a lesser degree the so often mistaken rheumatic pains of the muscles The first attack of pain which Miss Elisabeth von R had while she nursed her father I consider to have been organically determined for I received no information when I investigated for its psychic motive and I admit that I am inclined to attribute differential diagnostic significance to my methods of evoking hidden memories if they are carefully applied This original rheumatic pain became the memory symbol for her painful psychic excitements and as far as I can see for more than one reason First and principally because it existed in consciousness almost simultaneously with the other excitements and second because it was or could be connected in many ways with the ideation content of that time At all events it was per*haps a remote consequence of the nursing* of her want of exercise and of the poor nutrition entailed by her duties But this hardly became clear to the patient and what is more important is that she had to perceive it during important moments of the nursing as for example when she jumped out of bed in the cold room to respond to her father s call Even more decisive for the direction taken by the conversion must have been the other manner of associative connection namely the fact that for many days one of her painful legs came in contact with the swollen leg of her father during the changing of the bandages The location on the right leg distingui hed by this contact henceforth remained the focus and *starting point* of the pains it was an artificial

Compar h e th ce amples of Mrs. Emmy in case II of *St d b r Hyster* 1895

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hysterogenic zone, the origin of which can be plainly seen in this case.

If anyone should be surprised at the associative connection between physical pain and psychic affect, thinking it to be too manifold and artificial, I would answer that such surprise is just as unfair as to be surprised over the fact that just the richest people in the world possess most of the money. Where profuse connections do not exist there is naturally no formation of hysterical symptoms and conversion does not find its way. I can also state that, in reference to determinations, the case of Miss Elisabeth von R belongs to the simpler ones. In the case of Mrs. Cecilia M particularly I had to solve the most intricate knots of this kind.

I have already discussed in the case history how the astasia abasia of our patient was built up on those pains after a definite path was opened to the conversion. But there too I have expressed the opinion that the patient created or aggravated the disturbance of function through symbolization. For her dependence and helplessness to change anything in the circumstances she found a somatic expression in the astasia-abasia, and the expressions "to make no headway," "to have no support," etc., formed the bridge for this new act of conversion. I will endeavour to support this conception by other examples.

Conversion on the basis of coincidence in otherwise existing associative connections seems to exert the least claims on the hysterical predisposition. On the other hand, conversion through symbolization seems to require a higher grade of hysterical modification, a fact also demonstrated in Miss Elisabeth von R in the later stages of her hysteria. The nicest examples of symbolization I have observed in Mrs. Cecilia M whom I can call my most difficult and most instructive case. I have already mentioned that unfortunately this case history does not lend itself to detailed reproduction.

Among other things Mrs. Cecilia M also suffered from a most violent facial neuralgia which appeared suddenly two or three times during the year and persisted for from five to ten days resisting every remedy and then ceased as if cut off. It limited itself to the second and third branches of the trigeminus, and as there was undoubtedly an excess of urates in the urine and as a ... acute rheumatism played a certain part in the patient's history it was reasonable to assume that we dealt with a gouty neuralgia. This opinion was also shared by the consulting physicians who saw every attack. The neuralgia was treated by the methods in vogue such as electric penciling, alkaline waters and purgatives, *but it always remained uninfluenced* until it found it convenient to make room for another symptom. In former years—the neuralgia was fifteen years old—the teeth were accused of preserving it and were condemned to extraction, and one fine morning under narcosis the execution of seven of the culprits took place. This did not run so smoothly as the teeth were so firm that most of the roots were left behind. This cruel operation was followed by neither temporary nor permanent relief. At that time the neuralgia raged for months. Even while under my care whenever she had neuralgia, the dentist was called and he always declared he found diseased roots. He started to get ready for an extraction but usually he was soon interrupted, for the neuralgia suddenly ceased and with it the desire for the dentist. During the intervals the teeth did not ache at all. One day just while another attack was raging I put the patient into a hypnotic condition and placed an energetic interdiction on the pains, and from that moment they ceased. I then began to doubt the genuineness of this neuralgia.

About a year after this hypnotic remedial success the condition of Mrs. Cecilia M took a new and surprising turn. There suddenly appeared other states than those that had been characteristic of the last years, but after some reflection the patient declared that all these conditions had existed before and were really scattered over the long period of her disease (thirty years). Indeed a surprising abundance of hysterical incidents were unrolled which the patient was able to localize correctly in the past, and soon the frequently very entangled mental connections which determined the sequence of these incidents became recognizable. It was like a series of pictures with an explanatory text. Pitres in describing his *délire ecmnésique* must have had in mind a similar case. The way such an hysterical condition belonging to the past was reproduced was

[illegible]

try ... about ten years ago.—Tr.

A delirium in which the events of a period of time are forgotten although prior events are remembered.—Ed.

most remarkable In the first place while the patient was in the best of condition there appeared a pathological mood of special colouring which was regularly mistaken by the patient and was referred to a banal occurrence of the last hours This increasing obnubilation of consciousness was followed by hysterical symptoms such as hallucinations pains convulsions and long declamations and finally an event of the past attached itself to this hallucinatory manifestation which could explain the initial mood and determine the occasional symptoms With this last part of the attack lucidity returned the symptoms disappeared as if by magic and good health again existed—until the next attack which was half a day later Usually I was called at the height of this condition I induced hypnosis evoked a reproduction of the traumatic events and by artificial aid I curtailed the attack Having gone through with the patient many hundreds of such cycles I obtained the most instructive explanations concerning the determinants of hysterical symptoms The joint observation with Breuer of this remarkable case was also the chief motive for the publication of our Preliminary Communication

In this connection it finally also came to the reproduction of the facial neuralgias which I myself had still treated as actual attacks I was desirous of knowing whether we would find here a psychic causation When I attempted to evoke the traumatic scene the patient soon imagined herself in a period during which she felt marked psychic sensitiveness against her husband She related a conversation with him and a remark that he made which annoyed her very much *She then suddenly grasped her* cheek crying aloud with pain and said That was like a slap in the face With this both the attack and the pain came to an end

There is no doubt that here too we dealt with a symbolization She had felt as if she really received a slap in the face Now everybody will ask how the sensation of a slap in the face can lead to the manifestation of a trigeminal neuralgia to its limiting itself to the second and third branches and to its being aggravated on opening the mouth and on mastication (not on talking)

The following day the neuralgia reappeared but this time it could be solved by the reproduction of another scene the content of which equally showed a supposed insult This process continued for nine days and from the result it seemed that for years irritations especially through words produced new attacks of this facial neuralgia by way of symbolization

But finally we also succeeded in reproducing the first attack of the neuralgia which occurred more than fifteen years before Here there was no symbolization but a conversion through coincidence It was a painful sight which recalled to her mind a reproach and this caused her to repress another series of thoughts We had here then a case of conflict and defense and the origin of the neuralgia in this moment could not be further explained if we did not wish to assume that she suffered at that time from slight toothache or facial pains a thing not improbable as she was then in the first months of pregnancy

The result of the explanation showed that this neuralgia became the mark of a definite psychic excitement through the usual road of conversion but that it could be awakened later through associative accusations from mental life and symbolic conversions It was really the same procedure as we encountered in Miss Elisabeth von R

I will now introduce another example which will illustrate the efficacy of symbolization under other determinants On one occasion Mrs Cecilia M was tormented by a violent pain in her right heel she had stinging sensations on every step which made walking impossible The analysis conducted us to a time when the patient was in a foreign sanitarium For eight days she kept to her room and for the first time the house physician was to take her to the dining room The pain came on while the patient took the physician s arm on leaving the room It disappeared during the reproduction of this scene while she remarked *that at that* time she feared lest she would not make the proper impression on this strange society ***rechte Auftreten*** equals ***proper stepping***

This seems a striking almost comical example for the origin of hysterical symptoms through symbolization by means of a verbal expression But closer investigation of the circumstances of that moment favours another conception The patient suffered at that time from actual pains in her feet on account of which she remained in bed and we can only assume that the fear which obsessed her on taking the first steps produced from the simultaneously existing pains the one symbolically appropriate symptom in the right heel in order to form it into a psychic algia and to assist it to maintain itself for a long time

Notwithstanding the fact that the mechan

ism of symbolization in these examples seems to be pushed into second rank, which certainly agrees with the rule I have still other examples at my disposal which seem to demonstrate the origin of hysterical symptoms through symbolization only One of the best is the following example which again refers to Mrs. Cecilia M. At the age of fifteen she once lay in bed watched by her austere grandmother The girl suddenly cried out, complaining of having perceived a pain in the forehead between the eyes which thereafter continued for weeks On analysing this pain, which was reproduced after almost thirty years she stated that her grandmother gazed at her so piercingly that it seemed as if her look penetrated deeply into her brain. She was really afraid of being looked upon suspiciously by this old lady On repro-

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which in a way stands midway between the mechanism of *auto-suggestion* and that of *conversion*

The study of Mrs Cecilia M gave me the opportunity to gather a collection of such symbolizations A whole series of physical sensations, which were otherwise looked upon as organically determined, were of psychic origin or at least lent themselves to psychic interpretation. A certain number of her experiences were accompanied by a piercing sensation in the region of the heart (I felt a stitch in my heart) The piercing headache of hysteria was

the hysterical ... in the throat, when it manifested itself during an annoyance ran parallel with the thought I have to swallow that. There was a whole series of parallel running sensations and ideas in which it was now the sensation evoking the idea as an interpretation, and now the idea which produced the sensation by symbolization, and not seldom it remained obscure which of the two elements was the primary one

In no other patient was I able to find such a prolific application of symbolization. To be sure Mrs Cecilia M was quite an unusual person, of a special artistic temperament whose highly developed sense of form manifested itself in producing very beautiful poems I maintain, however that if an hysteric creates through symbolization a somatic sensation for

an emotionally accentuated idea it is due less to individual and arbitrary things than one supposes. When during an *offending harangue* he takes literally such phrases as stitch in the *heart or* slap in the face and perceives them as real occurrences she practises no facetious misuse but only revives the sensations to which these phrases owe their existence. For how does it happen that in speaking of an aggrieved person we use such expressions as "he experienced a stitch in his heart if the mortification was not actually accompanied by a precordial sensation that could be so interpreted and *recognized*? Is it not probable that the phrase to swallow something applied to an unreturned insult really originates from the sensation of innervation appearing in the pharynx when one forces back his speech thus preventing a reaction to the insult? All these sensations and innervations belong to the expres

weakened that their verbal expression seems to us like a figurative transformation but very probably all this was once meant literally and hysteria is justified in reconstructing the original literal sense for its stronger innervation Indeed perhaps it is improper to say that it *creates such sensations through symbolization* perhaps it has not taken the usage of speech as a model but like it draws it from a common source

CHAPTER 4

THE PSYCHO-THERAPY OF HYSTERIA

IN our Preliminary Communication" we have stated that while investigating the aetiology of hysterical symptoms we have also discovered a therapeutic method which we consider of practical significance *We found at first to our greatest surprise that the individual hys*

In conditions of profounder psychic changes we apparently find symbolic stamp of the more ...

both her physicians, Breuer and I were ... in

terical symptoms immediately disappeared without returning if we succeeded in thorough ly awakening the memories of the causal proc ess with its accompanying affect and if the patient circumstantially discussed the process in the most detailed manner and gave verbal expression to the affect (p 26)

We furthermore attempted to explain how our psycho therapeutic method acts *It abro gates the efficacy of the original non ab reacted ideas by affording an outlet to their strangu lated affects through speech It brings them to associative correction by drawing them into normal consciousness (in mild hypnosis) or by eliminating them through medical suggestion in the same way as in somnambulism with amne sia* (p 30)

Although the essential features of this meth od have been enumerated in the preceding pages a repetition is unavoidable and I shall now attempt to show connectedly how far reaching this method is its superiority over others its technique and its difficulties

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I for my part may state that I can firmly adhere to the Preliminary Communication but I must confess that in the years that have elapsed since then and after continuous occu pation with the problems touched on there new viewpoints obtruded themselves on me as a result of which the former material underwent at least a partial chan e in grouping and con ception It would be unjust to impute too much of the responsibility for this development to my honored friend J Breuer The responsibili ty for the following elucidations therefore rests preponderately upon me

In attempting to use Breuer s method for treating hysterical symptoms in a great num ber of patients by investigation and ab reaction in hypnosis I encountered two obstacles the pursuit of which led me to change the tech nique as well as the conception (1) Not all persons were hypnotizable who undoubtedly showed hysterical symptoms and in whom there most probably existed the same psychic mechanisms (2) I had to take an attitude to wards the question of what essentially charac terizes hysteria and in what it differs from other neuroses [illegible]

it [illegible]

wha [illegible]

tise towards the second problem It is very dif ficult to examine a case of neurosis before it has been subjected to a thorough analysis uch as would result only through the application of Breuer s method But before we have such a thorou h knowledge we are obliged to decide upon the diagnosis and kind of treatment Hence the only thing left to me was to select such cases for the cathartic method which could for the time being be diagnosed as hys teria and which showed some or many stig mata or the characteristic symptoms of hys teria Yet it sometimes happened that in pite of the dia nosis of hysteria the therapeutic re sults were very poor and even the analysis re vealed nothing of importance At other times I attempted to treat cases which no one took for hysteria by Breuer s method and I found that I could influence them and even cure them Such for example was my experience with obsessions the real obsessions of Westphal s type in cases which did not show a single fea ture of hysteria Thus the psychic mechanism revealed in the Preliminary Communication could not therefore be pathognomonic of hys teria Nor could I for the sake of this mechan ism throw so many neuroses into the same pot with hysteria Out of all the instigated doubts I finally seized upon a plan to treat all the other neuroses in question just like hysteria to in vestigate the aetiology and form of psychic mechanisms and to leave the decision for the justification of the dia nosis of hysteria to the outcome of this investigation

It thus happened that proceeding from Breu er s methods I occupied myself mostly with the aetiology and the mechanism of the neuroses. After a relatively brief period I was fortunate in obtaining useful results First I became im pressed with the cognition that if one may speak of a causation through which neuroses would be acquired the aetiolo y must be sought in sexual factors This agrees with the findings that generally speaking various sexual factors may also produce various pictures of neurotic diseases And depending on the amount of con firmation of the latter relation one could now also venture to utilize the aetiology for the characteristics of the neuroses and build up a sharp line of demarcation between the morbid pictures of the neuroses If the aetiological characters constantly agreed with the clinical then this was really justified

In this way it was found that *neurasthenia* really corresponds to a monotonous morbid pic ture in which as shown by analysis *psychic mechanisms* play no part From neurasthenia we sharply di tinguished the compulsion neu

rosis (obse sions, doubts phobias) the neurosis of genuine obsessions n which we can recognize a compl cated psychic mechanism an aetiology resembling th one of hysteria and a far-reachi pos bility of its reduction by psychotherapy On the other hand it seemed to me absolutely imperative to separate from neurasthenia a neurotic symptom complex which depends on a totally di ergent indeed strictly speaking o a contrary a tiology the partial sympt ms of this complex ha e already been recognized by E. Hecker[1] as h ing a common character They are e ther symptom or equiv lents, or rudiments f *anxiety man fe tat ons* and i is for that reaso in order to distinguish this complex from neurasthenia that I have called t *anxiety eurosis* I maintained that it originates f om an accumulatio of physical tension, which is in turn f sexual origin. This neuro too has n psychic mechani m but regularly influ nces the psychic life so that among its regular ma festati ns we have anx i us expectations phobias h pe esthes as to pain, and ther symptoms This anxiety neu osis, as I tak it, certainly corresponds in part t the neurosis called hypoch ndria which in som features resembles hyst ria and n uras h d marcation

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After I had thus c nstructed fo myself the simple picture of neura thenia anx ty n u roses, and obsessions, I turned my att tio to the mm nly occurring cases of neuroses which ente into s derati n in the diagno is f hysteria. I ow had t say to myself that it would n t d to m rk n urosi as hysterical on th whole m rely because it symptom c m plex evinced som hysterical features I could readily explain this practi e by th f ct that hysteria is the oldest th most familiar and the m t striking neurosis unde onsiderat n but t wa an buse non theless to put so many characteri tics of perversion and degeneration und r the c ption f hysteria. Whenever an

ould naturally find united und r th same trad mark th worst d most contradictory

features As certain as this diagnosis was incorrect it was also certain that our classification must be made on neurotic li es and as we knew neurasthenia anxiety neuro is, and similar conditions n the pure state, there was no need of overlooking them in combination

It seemed therefore that the followin con ception was more warrantable The neuroses usually occurrin are generally to be des gnated as *mi ed* Neurasthenia and anxiety neurosis can be found without effort in pure forms, and most frequently in young persons. Pure cases of hysteria and compulsion neurosis are rare they are usually comb ned with an anxiety neurosis. This frequent occurrence of mixed neuroses is due to the fact that their aetiological factors are frequently mixed now only accident lly and now in consequence of a causal relation between the processes which give rise to the aetiological factors of the neuroses This can be sustained a d pro en in the indi idual cases without any difficulty But it follows from this that for the purpose of examination it is hardly pos ble to take hysteria out of its association *with the sexual neuroses that hysteria as a* rule presents only one s de one aspect of the complicated neurotic case and that only as it were in the borderline case can it be found and treated as an solated neuros s In a series of cases we can perhaps say *a potiori fit denominatio*

I shall now exami e the cases reported to see wh ther they speak in fa our of my v ew of the clinical dependence of hysteria. Breuer's patient Anna O seems t co trad ct this and emphsie a pure hysterical disease Y t this cas which became so fru tful for the knowl ed e of hysteria was n er co dered by its observe under the guise of a sexual neurosis and hence cannot at present be utilized as such. When I began t analyse the econd pat ent Mrs Emmy von N th dea of a sexual neuro s s o an hyst rical basis was far from my mind I had just returned from the Charcot

[1] E. Hecker *Zentralbl f fur Nervenheilkund* December 893

The me is taken from the tronge aspect.—ED Case I in B eue and Freud, *S udien ber Hy erie*, S 5 [tran la ed by A. A. Brill, Nervous & Mental Disease Pub Co New Y k 936].

The third case Miss Lucie R could perhaps more than any other be called a borderline case of pure hysteria It is a short episodic hysteria based on an unmistakably sexual aetiology which would correspond to an anxiety neurosis in an over ripe amorous girl whose love was too rapidly awakened through a misunderstanding Yet the anxiety neurosis either could not be demonstrated or had escaped me Case IV Katharina is really a model of what I have called *virginal anxiety* it is a combination of an anxiety neurosis and hysteria the former creates the symptoms while the latter repeats them and works with them At all events it is a typical case of many juvenile neuroses called *hysteria* Case V Miss Elisabeth von R was again not investigated as a sexual neurosis I could only suspect that there was a spinal neurasthenia at its basis but I could not confirm it I must however add that since then pure hysterias have become still rarer in my experience That in grouping together these four cases of hysteria I could disregard in the discussion the decisive factors of sexual neuroses was due to the fact that they were older cases in which I had not as yet carried out the intentional and urgent investigation for the neurotic sexual subsoil Moreover the reason for my reporting four instead of twelve cases of hysteria the analyses of which would confirm our claims of the psychic mechanism of hysterical phenomena is due to one circumstance namely that the analysis reveals these cases simultaneously as sexual neuroses though there is no doubt that any diagnostician would have denied them the name *hysteria* However the discussion of such sexual neuroses would have overstepped the limits of our joint publication

I do not wish to be misunderstood and give the impression that I refuse to accept hysteria as an independent neurotic affection that I conceive it only as a psychic manifestation of the anxiety neurosis that I ascribe it to only ideogenous symptoms and that I attribute the somatic symptoms like hysterogenic points and anaesthesias to the anxiety neuroses None of these statements are true I believe that hysteria purified of all admixtures can be treated independently in every respect except in therapy For in the treatment we deal with a practical purpose namely we have to do away with the whole diseased state and if hysteria occurs in most cases as a component of a mixed neurosis the case merely resembles a mixed infection where the task is to preserve life and not merely to combat the effect of one inciting cause of the disease

I therefore find it important to separate the hysterical part in the pictures of the mixed neuroses from neurasthenia anxiety neurosis etc for after this separation I can express concisely the therapeutic value of the cathartic method Similarly I would venture to assert that—principally—it can readily dispose of any hysterical symptom whereas as can be easily understood it is perfectly powerless in the presence of neurasthenic phenomena and can only seldom and only through detours influence the psychic results of anxiety neurosis Its therapeutic efficacy in the individual case will depend on whether or not the hysterical components of the morbid picture can claim a practical and significant position in comparison to the other neurotic components

Still another limitation is placed on the efficacy of the cathartic method which we have already mentioned in our Preliminary Communication It does not influence the causal determinations of hysteria and hence it cannot prevent the origin of new symptoms in the place of those removed Hence on the whole I must claim a prominent place for our therapeutic method in the realm of a therapy of neuroses but I would caution against attaching any importance to it or putting it into practice outside of this connection As I am unable to give here a *therapy of neuroses* as would be required by the practicing physician the preceding statements are put on a level with a deferred reference to some later communication still for purposes of discussion and elucidation I can add the following remarks

1 I do not claim that I have actually removed all the hysterical symptoms which I have undertaken to influence by the cathartic method but I believe that the obstacles were due to the personal circumstances of the cases and not to the general principles In passing sentence these cases of failure may be left out of consideration just as the surgeon puts aside all cases who die as a result of narcosis hemorrhage accidental sepsis etc when deciding upon a new technique Later when I will again consider the difficulties and drawbacks of this method I will again discuss the failures of such origin

2 The cathartic method does not become valueless simply because it is a *symptomatic and not a causal* therapy For a causal therapy is really in most cases only prophylactic it

See p 31 above   See p 38 bo e

..ops the further pro-ress of the injury but it does ot necessarily remove the products which have already resulted from it It requ res as a .e a second agent to olve the latter task, and in cases of h steria the cathartic method is really insurpa..sable for this purpo e

3. Where a period of hysterical production or an acute hysterical paroxysm has been over come, and the nly remnant manifestations left are hysterical symptoms the cathartic method fu..lls all indications and achieves a full and lasti..g success. Such a fa ourable constella tio for the therapy rarely results in the realm of t.. sexual life in o sequence of the ma ked fluctuations in the intens ty of the sexual need and the compu.cations of th equired det rmi nation fo a sexual trauma. Here the cathartic method ccomplishes all that is required of it, for the physician cannot possibly change an hys encal onstit tion. H must rest content if he can remove the disea..e for which such a constitutio shows a tendency and which can arise through th assistance of external deter mi..nts H must be satisfi d f the patient will again be ble t functi n Moreove h need ot despai of th future even if he c nsid rs the pos.ib lit of relapse fo he kn ws the main character f the aetiol gy of the neuroses, namely that thei origin i mostly *overdeter m d* and that many fa tors mu..t cooperat to prod thi result He an hope that this cooperatio will ot take plac ery oon even if som of the et logical fact rs remained in fo ce

It may be argued that in uch subs ded ca..es f hys ria the remaining symptoms would sponta..eousl disappear without anythin else but thi can be answered by st ting that such spo taneous cures ery ften terminat ne ther rapidly fully and that the cu e will be extrao dinarily dva ced by the treatm t. Wh the the cathartic treatment cures nly that which is capabl of spo taneous recovery or incidentally als that which w uld n t cease spontaneously that question may urely be left open f the present

4 Wherever w counte an acut hyst ria during the m t cut prod ction of hysterical symptoms and the consecutive overwh lming of the ego by th m rb d prod cts (hysterical psychosis) even the cathartic method will change littl in the xpres o and course f the disease On finds himself n th sam position t the neurosis as th doct t an cut infec tiou disea Th aetiological f t rs ha e ex erted a sufficie t amount of aff t fo some time past which is now beyond the reach of influence and now that it has passed the in terval of incubation it comes to the surface The affection cannot be warded off it has to run ts course but meanwhile one must brin.. about the most favourable conditions for the patient. If during ch an acute period one can remo e the morb d products the newly formed h sterical symptoms it may be expected that thei places will be taken by new ones The ph .. cian will not be spared the depres ing im pre sion of fruitless effort the enormous e pend ture of exertion and the disappointment of the relat es to whom the idea of the neces sary duratio of time of an acute neurosis is hardly as familiar as in the analogous case of an acute infectious disease these and many ther things will probably largely impede the consequent applicati n of the cathartic method in the assumed case Nevertheless it still re mains to be considered whether even in an acute hysteria the frequent removal of the morb d products does not exercise a curative influence by supporti g the normal e.o whi h s occup ed with the defense and thus prevent ing it from m rging into a psychosis or into ultim te confu. on.

That the cathartic method can accompli.h something even in an acute hysteria and that it can eve reduce the new producti ns of the m b d symptoms qu te pract cally and no- ti eably is undo btedly evident from the ca e of Anna O in which Breuer first learned this p ycho therapeutic method

5 Wh re we d al with chronic pro-res e hysterias with moderate or co tinued produc m thod as a symptomatic remedy We then ha e t d al with an inj ry produced by a chr n cally acting aetiology We ha e to strengthen the capacity of resistance of the r ous system f ou patient, and we must bear in mind that th exi tence f an hysteri cal sympt m gnifies weakening of resist ance f the nervous ystem, and represents a predi..posing facto From the mechanism of mo osymptomatic hysteri we know that new hys rical symptom generally origin tes s an dditio t and as an nalogy of o e already m ..tence Th l cation o c pen trated rep- ese t the weak spot which can be penetrated again. Th lready split-off psychi group plays the part f the p king crystal from which a f rm ly m tted crystallizati n emanates with

great facility To remove the already existing symptoms to do away with the psychic alterations lying at their bases is to return to the patients the full measure of their resistance capacity with which they are successfully able to resist the noxious influences One can do a great deal for the patient by such long continued watchfulness and occasional chimney sweeping

6 I still have to mention the apparent contradiction between the admission that not all hysterical symptoms are psychogenic and the *assertion that they can all be removed by psycho therapeutic procedures* The solution lies in the fact that some of these non psychogenic symptoms though they represent morbid symptoms as for instance the stigmata need nevertheless not to be designated as *affections* It is therefore practically unimportant if they outlast the successful treatment Other symptoms of a similar nature seem to be pulled along indirectly by some psychogenic symptoms for indirectly they really depend on some psychic causation

I shall now speak of those difficulties and inconveniences of our therapeutic method which are not evident from the preceding case histories or from the following remarks concerning the technique of the method I will rather enumerate and indicate them than go into details The process is toilsome and wearisome for the physician it presupposes in him a profound interest for psychological occurrences and yet also a personal sympathy for the patient I could not imagine myself entering deeply into the psychic mechanism of an hysteria in a per on who would impress me as common and disagreeable and who would not on closer acquaintanceship be able to awaken in me human sympathy whereas I can treat a tabetic or a rheumatic patient regardless of such personal interest No less demanding are the requisites on the patient s side The method is especially inapplicable in a person below a certain level of intelligence and it becomes extremely difficult wherever there is any tinge of mental deficiency It requires the full consent the full attention of the patients but above all their confidence for the analysis regularly leads to the inmost and most secretly guarded psychic processes A large proportion of the patients uitable for such treatment withdraw from the physician as soon as they get an inkling whither this investigation tend The physician remains a stranger to them In others who have determined to give themselves up to the physician and bestow their confidence upon him something only voluntarily given but never demanded in all those I say it is hardly *avoidable that the personal relation to the physician* should not become unduly prominent at least for some time Indeed it seems as if such an influence exerted by the physician is a condition under which alone a solution of the problem is possible I do *not* believe that it makes any essential difference in this state of affairs whether one resorts to hypnosis or has to avoid or substitute for it Yet fairness demands that we emphasize the fact that although these inconveniences are inseparable from our method, they nevertheless cannot be charged to it On the contrary it is very obvious that they are conditioned in the presuppositions of the neuroses destined to be cured and that they are interwoven in every medical activity which intensively concerns itself with the patient and produce in him a psychic change I could ee no harm or danger in the application of hypnosis even in these cases where it was used excessively The causes for the harm produced lay elsewhere and deeper When I review the therapeutic efforts of those years since the communications of my honoured teacher and friend J Breuer gave me the cathartic method I believe that I have more often produced good than harm and brought about some things which could not have been produced by any other therapeutic means On the whole it was as expressed in the Preliminary Communication a distinct therapeutic gain

I must mention still another advantage from the application of this method No severe case of complicated neurosis with either an excessive or slight tinge of hysteria can better be explained than by subjecting it to an analysis by Breuer s method In making this analysis I find that whatever shows the hysterical mechanism disappears first while the rest of the manifestations I meanwhile learn to interpret and trace back to their aetiology I thus gain the essential factors indicated by the instrument of the therapy of the neurosis in question When I think of the ordinary differences between my opinion of a case of neuro is *before* and *after* such an analysis I am almost tempted to maintain that the analysis is indispensable for the knowledge of a neurotic disease. Moreover I have made it a practice of applying the cathartic psycho therapy in acute cases in conjunction with a Weir Mitchell rest cure This advantage lies in the fact that on the one side I avoid the very disturbing intrusion of

new psychic impress ons which may be produced during psycho-therapy on the other hand. I exclude the monotony of the Weir Mitchell treatment during which the patient frequently merges into harmful reveries.

II

I will now add to my former observat ons ... mpting to use Breuer s method in ... nd ... by ... be ... a number of the pati ... hypn ized. But as hypnosis was necessary to broaden consciousnes in order to find the path ... genic reminiscences which d ot exist in the ordi... ry consciousness I was th refore, forced either to give up such pat nts or to bring about this broadening by other means.

The reason why one person is hypnotizable and anoth r not I could o more explain than others, and hence I c uld not start on a causal way towards the remo al of th difficult es I also bserved that in som patients th obsta ce was still more ma ked they even refused to ubm t t hypnosis The dea then occurred t me that both cases might be dentical, and that in both it might merely signify an unwill ingness. Those who entertain psychic do bts against hypnotism are not hypn tizabl it makes o diff re ce wh ther th y express the r ...

... t som th ng which they designated as an indis tinct rec ll ction yet were unab e to pursue t. I then f llowed Bernh im s example f fo ci b y awak ning apparently f rgotten impress ns f m somnambulism. I ass red them that they did know t, and that they w uld recall t, tc., and in this way som thou ht of som thing while in others the recollections w t even further I urged still more I rd red the pa ti t t lie down and oluntarily shut his eyes so as to c centra e his mind and I then discovered that without an hypnos th re em rged ew and re rospective reminiscences which probabl belonged to our theme. Through such experiences I ga ned the mpression that throu h urgin alone it would really be possible to bring to light the definitely existing pathogenic series of ideas and as this urging necessitated much exertion on my part and showed me that I had to overcome a resistance I therefore formulated this whole state of affa rs into th following theory *Th ough my psych c ... overcome a psych c force in the* ... same psychic force which a... of the hysterical symptom and which at that time prevented the pathogenic idea from be coming consc ous What kind of force could here be assumed as effecti e and what moti e could ha e brought t i to acti ty? I could easily formulate an opinion for I already had some complete analyses at my disposal in which I found examples of pathogenic forgotten and repressed ideas From these I could judge the general character of such ideas They were altogether of a painful nature adapted to provok the affects of hame of reproach of psychic pain, or the feeling of injury they were altogether of that kind wh ch one would ha e liked not to experience and preferred to forget

F om ll these there resulted the thought of def as if pontaneou ly Indeed t is generall admitted by all psych logi ts that the accepta c f a new dea (acceptanc in the sense of belief admissi n of reality) depends on the mod and drift of the ideas already united in the ego and for the process of censorship to which the newly arri ed idea is subjected pecial t chnical names ha e been created. An idea entered into the patient s ego which proved t be unbearable and evoked a force of repulsion on the part of the ego the obj ct of which was *defence* again t this unbearable idea. This d fence actually suc eeded and the idea concerned was crowded out f con ciou ness and out of memory so that ts psychic trace co ld not pparently be f und yet this trace must ha e xi ted. When I made th eff rt t direct the attentio t it I felt the same fo ce a a *e force* which showed it elf as a *rep ls on* n the g nes s f the symptom If I ould now mak probabl that the dea becam pathog nic in c equence f the exclu n and re-

Cf. p. 3 above.

pression the chain would seem complete In many epicrises of our histories and in a small work concerning the defense neuropsychoses (1894) I have attempted to indicate the psychological hypotheses with the help of which this connection as well as the fact of conversion could be made clear

Hence a psychic force the repugnance of the ego has originally crowded the patho enic idea from the association and now opposed its return into the memory The *not knowing* of the hysterics was really a—more or less conscious—*not willing to know* and the task of the therapist was to overpower this association resistance by psychic labour Such accomplish*ment is above all brought about by urging* that is by applying a psychic force in order to *direct the patient s attention to the ideas that* one wishes to trace It does not however stop here but as I will show it assumes new forms in the course of the analysis and calls to aid more psychic forces

I shall above all still linger at the urging One cannot go very far with such simple assurances as You do know it just say it or It will soon come to your mind After a few sentences the thread breaks even in the patient who is in a state of concentration We must not however forget that we deal everywhere here with a quantitative comparison with the struggle between motives of diverse force and intensity The urging by a strange and inexperienced physician *does not suffice to overcome association resistance* in a grave hysteria One *must think of more forceful means*

Here I utilize in the first place a small technical artifice I inform the patient that in the next moment I will exert pressure on his forehead I assure him that during this pressure he will see some reminiscence in the form of a picture or some thought will occur to him and I obligate him to communicate to me this picture or this thought no matter what it might be He must not keep it to himself because he may think that it is not the desired or the right thing or *because it is too disagreeable to* say There should be neither criticism nor res*ervation because of* affect or underestimation Only thus could we find the things desired and *only* thus have we unfailingly found them I then exerted pressure for a few seconds on the forehead of the patient lying in front of me and after ceasing it I asked in a calm tone as if any disappointment was out of the question What have you seen? or What occurred to your mind?

This method taught me a great deal and led me to the goal every time Of course I know that I can substitute this pressure on the forehead by any other sign or any other physical influence but as the patient lies before me the pressure on the forehead or the grasping of his head between my two hands is the most suggestive and most convenient thing that I could undertake for this end To explain the efficacy of this artifice I may perhaps say that it corresponds to a momentary reinforced hypnosis but the mechanism of hypnosis is so enigmatical to me that I would not like to refer to it as an explanation I rather think that the advantage of the process lies in the fact that through it I dissociated the attention of the patient from his conscious quest and reflection *in brief* from everything upon which *his will* could manifest itself The fact that under the *pressure of my hand there always appeared* that which I was looking for tau ht me that the supposedly forgotten patho enic ideas always lie ready close by and are attainable through easily approachable associations all that is necessary is to clear away some obstacle This obstacle again seems to be the person s will and different persons learn in different ways how to discard their wilfulness and to assume a perfectly objective attitude towards the psychic processes within them

It is not always a *forgotten* reminiscence which comes to the surface under the pressure *of the hand in the rarest cases the real patho*genic reminiscences can be superficially dis*covered More frequently an idea comes to* the surface which is a link between the first idea and the desired pathogenic idea of the association chain or it is an idea forming the starting point of a new series of thoughts and remini cences at the end of which is the pathogenic idea The pressure therefore has really not revealed the pathogenic idea which if torn from its connection without any preparation would be incomprehensible but *it* has shown the way to it and indicated the direction to*wards which the inve tigation must proceed* The idea which is at first awakened through the pressure may correspond to a familiar reminiscence which was never repressed If the connection becomes torn on the road to the

The th h s d sca d d th p es re p oced re *ft* ly h t t l —T

Th l t f th p bl m w l t f d by th th d h p p l Cf h G *p P y h l gy d th A ly j th Eg* p 698 bel w d Fer e cz *C t b t t P y ho- ly* Ch pte II (B dge B to 9 6) —T

pathogenic dea all that is neces ary for the reproductio of a new orientation and connec tion is a repetitio of the procedure that is of the pressure

In still other cases the pressure of the hand awakens remini cence well known to the pa tient, which appearance however causes him surprise because he has forgotten its relation to the riginal idea In the further course of the analysis this relation becomes clear F om all these results of the pressure o e recei es a delus e impress on of a superior i telligence outside of the patient onsciousness whi h systemat cally h lds a larg psychic material fo definite purposes and has provided an in genious arrangement for its return int con sciousness I p esum however that this un conscious seco d intelli ence is really only ap parent.

In ev ry complicated analysis one works re peatedly nay o ti uously with the help of this p ocedure (pressu e o the forehead) which leads us from the place wh re the pa tient s wak ful reco ductions became inter rupted it shows s the way to rem nisce ces which emained known and calls our ttent on to connections which ha sunk into forgetful ness. It also evokes and onn cts memories which ha e fo years been withdrawn from as sociation though they can still be r cognized as mem ries and finally as the highest per f rmance of rep oductio it causes the ppea ance of tho ghts whi h the patient neve wi hes to recognize as his own whi h he does n t re member although he dmits that th y e in exorably requ d by the c nnection and is co vinced th t precisely these ideas will cause the t rminatio of the analysis and th cessa tio f the symptoms

I will now ttempt t gi e a series f amples which will how the excellent a h eve ments f this p oc dur I treated a y ung lady who s ffe ed f x years f om an int l erabl and protracted nou c gh which p parently was urtu ed by ery ommon catarrh but must have had ts strong psychi mot es E ry the rem dy had l g sin sh wn tself powerles and I theref re att mpted to m e the sympt m by psycho-analysis All that h could remember was that the n rvous cou h be ga t the g f fourteen whil he boarded with he unt Sh remembe ed absolut ly no psychic c tement during that tim d did not bel ev that ther was m t e f her uff ing U de the p essu f my hand h t first called large dog Sh then recognized the memory p cture it was her aunt s dog which was attached to her and used to accompany her everywhere and without any further aid it oc curred to her that this dog died and that the children buried it solemnly and on the re turn from thi funeral her cough appeared I a ked her why he began to cough and the f l lowing th ught occurred to her Now I am all alone in this world no one loves me here this animal was my only friend and now I have lost it. She then continued her story

The cou h disappea ed when I left my aunt, but reappeared a year and a half later — What was the reason for it? — I do not know I gain exerted ome pressure on the forehead and she recalled the news of her uncl s death during which the cou h aga n manifested it elf and also recalled a train of thou ht s milar to the former The uncle was apparently the only one in the family who sympathized with her and loved her That was ther f re the pathogenic idea People do not lo e her everybody el e is preferred she real *ly does not deserve to be loved etc.* To the idea of lo e there clung something which caused a ma ked resi tance to the communica tion. The analysis was int rrupted before this explanat on was obtained.

Some time ago I attempted to relieve an eld rly lady of her anxiety attacks which, con s dering their characteristic qualities were hardly suitabl for uch treatment. Since h r menopause she had bec me extremely religious a d lw ys rece ed me a if I were the Devil— she was lways armed with a small ivory cruci fix which he hid in he hand. Her atta ks of anxiety which bore a hysterical character could be traced t her early girlhood and were s pposed to ha e originated f om the applica t on f n iodin preparat o to reduce a mod erate swelling of the thyro d I naturally re pudiated this origin and s ught to substit te *it by an ther whi h* was in better harm y with my ew co erning the et logy f neu tic symptom T th first questi n for an imp es on f h y th, which would stand in cau al connection to th tta ks f anxiety

[illegible]

mp essi on this gi l which was co trary to th intenti n of the auth r She burst into t rs and flung the book away That was bef e th fi t atta k f anxi ty The next remini scen ferred t h b the s teacher who

showed her great respect and for whom she entertained a warmer feeling This reminiscence culminated in the reproduction of an evening in her parents home during which they all sat around the table with the young man and delightfully enjoyed themselves in a lively conversation During the night following this evening she was awakened by the first attack of anxiety which surely had more to do with some resistance against a sensual feeling than perhaps with the coincidental use of iodine In what other way could I have succeeded in revealing in this obstinate patient prejudiced against me and every worldly remedy such a connection contrary to her own opinion and assertion?

On another occasion I had to deal with a young happily married woman who as early as in the first years of her girlhood was found every morning for some time in a state of lethargy with rigid limbs opened mouth and protruding tongue Similar attacks though not so marked recurred at the present time on awakening A deep hypnosis could not be produced so that I began my investigation in a state of concentration and assured her during the first pressure that she would see something that would be directly connected with the cause of her condition during her childhood She acted calmly and willingly she again saw the residence in which she had passed her early girlhood—her room the position of the bed the grandmother who lived with them at the time and one of her governesses whom she dearly loved Then there was a succession of small scenes in these rooms and among these quite indifferent persons the conclusion of which was the leavetaking of the governess who married from the home I did not know what to start with these reminiscences I could not bring about any connection between them and the aetiology of the attacks To be sure the various circumstances were recognized as having occurred at the same time as the attacks first appeared

Before I could continue the analysis I had occasion to talk to a colleague who in former years was my patient s family physician From him I obtained the following explanation At the time that he treated the mature and physically well developed girl for these first attacks he was struck by the excessive affection in the relations between her and the governess He wont to pay nightly visits to the child s bed and that quite regularly after such visits the child was found in the morning in an attack She did not hesitate to bring about the quiet removal of this corruptress of youth The children as well as the mother were made to believe that the governess left the house in order to get married

The treatment which was above all successful consisted in informing the young woman of the explanations given to me

Occasionally the explanations which one obtains by the pressure procedure follow in very remarkable form and under circumstances which make the assumption of an unconscious intelligence appear even more alluring Thus I recall a lady who suffered for years from obsessions and phobias and who referred the origin of her trouble to her childhood but could mention nothing to which it could have been attributed She was frank and intelligent and evinced only a very slight conscious resistance I will add here that the psychic mechanism of obsessions is very closely related to that of hysterical symptoms and that the technique of the analysis in both is the same

On asking the lady whether she had seen or recalled anything under the pressure of my hand she answered Neither but a word suddenly occurred to me — A single word? — Yes but it is too foolish — Just tell it — Teacher — Nothing more? — No I exerted pressure a second time and again a single word flashed through her mind Shirt I now observed that we dealt with a new mode of replying and by repeated pressure I evoked the following apparently senseless series of words Teacher—shirt—bed—city—wagon I asked What does all that mean? She reflected for a moment and it then occurred to her that it can only refer to this one incident which now comes to my mind When I was ten years old my older sister of twelve had a violent emotional attack one night and had to be bound put in a wagon and taken to the city I remember distinctly that it was the teacher who overpowered her and accompanied her to the asylum

We then continued this manner of investigation and received from our oracle another series of words which though we could not altogether interpret them could nevertheless be used as a continuation of the story and as an appendix to a second The significance of this reminiscence was soon clear The reason why her sister s illness made such an impression on

her was because they both shared a common secret. They slept in the same room and one night they both submitted to a sexual assault by a certain man. In discovering this sexual trauma of early youth, we revealed not only the trauma of the first obsession but also the trauma which later acted pathogenically.

The peculiarity of this case lies only in the appearance of single catch words, which we had to elaborate into sentences, for the seeming irrelevance and incoherence in these oracle-like words generally occur in all ideas and scenes as a result of pressure. On further investigation it is regularly found that seemingly disconnected reminiscences are connected by intimate streams of thought and that they lead quite directly to the desired pathogenic factor.

I therefore recall with pleasure a case of analysis in which my confidence in the results of this method was very splendidly justified. A very intelligent and apparently very happy young woman consulted me for persistent pain in her abdomen, which yielded to no treatment. I found that the pain was located in the abdominal wall and was due to palpable muscular hardening and I therefore ordered local treatment.

After months I again saw the patient who said that "the pain had disappeared after taking the treatment and remained away a long time, but it has now reappeared as a nervous pain. I recognize it by the fact that I do not perceive it now on motion as before but only during certain hours, as for example, in the morning on wakening, and during certain excitements. The patient's diagnosis was quite correct. It was now important to discover the cause of this pain, but in this she could not assist me in her uninfluenced state. When I asked her in a state of concentration and under the pressure of my hand whether anything occurred to her or whether she saw anything, she began to describe her visual pictures. She saw something like a sun with rays which I naturally had to assume to be a phosphene produced by pressure on the eyes. I expected that the needful pictures would follow, but she continued to see stars of a peculiar pale blue light like moonlight, etc., and I believed that she merely saw glittering, shining and twinkling spots before her eyes. I was already prepared to add this attempt to the failures and I was thinking how I could quietly withdraw from this affair when my attention was called to one of the manifestations which she described. She saw a big black, inclined cross, the edges of which were surrounded with a subdued moon-like light in which all the pictures thus far seen were shining, and upon the cross beam there flickered a little flame that was apparently no longer a phosphene. I continued to listen. She saw numerous pictures in the same light, peculiar signs resembling somewhat Sanscrit. She also saw figures like triangles among which there was one big triangle, and again the cross. I now thought of an allegorical interpretation, and asked, "What does this cross mean?" — It is probably meant to interpret pain, she answered. I argued saying that, By cross one usually understands a moral burden, and asked her what was hidden behind that pain. She could not explain that and continued looking. She saw a sun with golden rays which she interpreted as God, the primitive force; she then saw a gigantic lizard which she examined quizzically but without fear, then a heap of snakes, then another sun, but with mild silvery rays and in front of it between her own person and this source of light, there was a barrier which concealed from her the center of the sun.

I knew for some time that we dealt here with allegories and I immediately asked for an explanation of the last picture. Without reflecting she answered: "The sun is perfection, the ideal, and the barrier represents my weakness and failings which stand between me and the ideal. — Indeed, do you reproach yourself? Are you dissatisfied with yourself? —"Yes. — Since when? — Since I became a member of the Theosophical Society and read the writings edited by it. I have always had a poor opinion of myself. — What was it that made the last strongest impression upon you? — A translation from the Sanscrit which now appears in serial numbers. A minute later I was initiated into her mental conflicts and into her self reproaches. She related a slight incident which gave occasion for a reproach, and in which, as a result of an inciting conversion, the former organic pain first appeared. The pictures which I had at first taken for phosphenes were symbols of occultistic streams of thought, perhaps plain emblems from the title pages of occultistic books.

Thus far I have warmly praised the achievements of the pressure procedure and have entirely neglected the aspect of the defence or the resistance, so that I certainly must have given the impression that by means of this small artifice one is placed in a position to become master of the psychic resistances to the cathartic method. But to believe this would be a gross

mistake Such advantages do not exist in the treatment so far as I can see here as every where else a great change requires much effort The pressure procedure is nothing but a trick serving to surprise for awhile the defensive ego in all graver cases it soon recalls its intentions and continues its resistance

I need only recall the various forms in which this resistance manifests itself At first the pressure experiment usually fails the first or second time The patient then expresses him self disappointedly saying I believed that some idea would occur to me but I only thou ht how anxious I was for it but nothing came Such attitudes assumed by the patient are not yet to be counted as a resistance we usually answer to that You were really too anxious the second time things will come And they really come It is remarkable how completely the patients—even the most tract able and the most intelligent—can forget the agreement into which they have previously entered *They have promised to tell everything* that occurs to them be it intimately related *to them or not be it agreeable to say or not* that is they are to tell everything without any *choice or influence of criticism or affect* Yet they do not keep their promise it is apparently beyond their powers The work repeatedly stops they continue to assert that this time nothing came to their mind One need not be lieve them and one must always assume and also say that they hold back something because they believe it to be unimportant or perceive it as painful One must insist and assume an assured attitude until one really hears some thing The patient then usually adds I could have told you that the first time — Why did you not say it? — I could not believe that this could be it Only after it returned repeated ly have I decided to tell it or I had hoped that it would not be just that that I could save myself saying it but only after it could not be repressed *have I noticed that I could not* avoid it Thus the patient subsequently be *trays the motives* of a resistance which he did not at first wish to admit He apparently could do nothing but offer resistances

It is remarkable under what subterfuges these resistances are frequently hidden I am distracted today the clock or the piano playing in the next room disturbs me they say I be came accustomed to answer to that Not at all you simply struck something that you are not willing to say That does not help you at all Just stick to it The longer the pause between the pressure of my hand and the utterance of the patient the more suspicious I become and the more it is to be feared that the patient arranges what comes to his mind and distorts it in the reproduction The most important ex planations are frequently ushered in as super fluous accessories just as the princes of the opera who are dressed as beggars Somethin now occurred to me but it has nothing to do with it I only tell it to you because you wish to know everything With this introduction we usually obtain the long desired solution I always listen when I hear a patient talk so lightly of an idea That the pathogenic idea should appear of so little importance on its reappearance is a sign of the successful de fence One can infer from this of what the process of defence consisted Its object was to make a weak out of a strong idea that is to rob it of its affect

Among other signs the pathogenic memories can also be reco nized by the fact that they are *designated by the patient as unessential de spite the fact that they are uttered with re sistance There are also cases where the patient* seeks to disavow the recollections even while *they are being reproduced with such remarks* as these Now something occurred to me but apparently you talked it into me or I know what you expect to this question you surely think that I thought of this and that An e pe cially clever way of shifting responsibility is found in the following expression Now some

explain to the patient that these are only forms and subterfu es of the resistance against the re production of a recollection which in spite of all we are forced to recognize

One generally experiences less trouble in the reproduction of pictures than thoughts Hys *terical patients* who are usually visual are easier to manage than patients suffering from obsessions Once the picture emerges from the memory we can hear the patient state that as he proceeds to describe it it proportionately fades away and becomes indistinct the pa

direction towards which the work should be continued We say to the patient Just look *again at the picture has it disappeared? — As* a whole yes but I still see this detail — Then

this must have some meaning; you will either see something new or this remnant will remind you of something. When the work is finished the visual field becomes free again, and a new picture can be called forth; but at other times such a picture, in spite of its having been described, remains persistently before the inner eye of the patient, and I take this as a sign that he still has something important to tell me concerning this theme. As soon as this has been accomplished, the picture disappears like a wandering spirit returning to rest.

It is naturally of great value for the progress of the analysis to carry our point with the patient, otherwise we have to depend upon what he thinks proper to impart. It therefore will be pleasant to hear that the pressure procedure never failed except in a single case which I shall discuss later, but which I can now characterize by the fact that there was a special motive for the resistance. To be sure it may happen under certain conditions that the procedure may be applied without bringing anything to light, as for example, we may ask for the further etiology of a symptom when the same has already been exhausted, or we may investigate for the psychic genealogy of a symptom, perhaps a pain, which really is of somatic origin. In these cases the patient equally insists that nothing occurred to him, and he is right. We should strive to avoid doing an injustice to the patient by making it a general rule not to lose sight of his features while he calmly lies before us during the analysis. One can then learn to distinguish, without any difficulty, the psychic calm in the real non-appearance of a reminiscence from the tension and emotional signs under which the patient labours in trying to disavow the emerging reminiscences with the object of defence. The differential diagnostic application of the pressure procedure is really based on such experiences.

We can thus see that even with the help of pressure procedure the task is not an easy one. The only advantage gained is the fact that we have learned from the results of this method in which direction to investigate and what things we have to force upon the patient. For some cases this suffices, for it is essentially a question of finding the secret and telling it to the patient, so that he is then usually forced to relinquish his resistance. In other cases more is necessary; here the continuing resistance of the patient manifests itself by the fact that the connections become torn, the solutions do not appear and the recalled pictures come indistinctly and incompletely. On reviewing at a later period the earlier results of an analysis we are often surprised at the distorted aspects of all the occurrences and scenes which we have snatched from the patient. It usually lacks the essential part, the relations to the person or to the theme, and for that reason the picture remained incomprehensible. I will now give one or two examples showing the effects of such a censorship during the first appearance of the pathogenic memories. The patient sees the upper part of a female body on which a loose covering fits carelessly; only much later he adds to this torso the head, and thereby betrays a person and a relationship. Or he relates a reminiscence of his childhood about two boys whose forms are very indistinct, and to whom a certain mischievousness was attributed. It required many months and considerable progress in the course of the analysis before he again saw this reminiscence and recognized one of the children as himself and the other as his brother. What means have we now at our disposal to overcome this continued resistance?

We have but few, yet we have almost all those by which one otherwise exerts a psychic influence on the other. In the first place, we must remember that psychic resistance, especially of long continuance, can only be broken slowly, gradually, and with much patience. We can also count on the intellectual interest which manifests itself in the patient after a brief period of the analysis. On explaining and imparting to him the knowledge of the marvelous world of psychic processes, which we have gained only through such analysis, we obtain his collaboration and cause him to view himself with the objective interest of the investigator, and we thus drive back the resistance which rests on an affective basis. But finally—and this remains the strongest motive force—after the motives of the defence have been discovered, we must make the attempt to reduce them or even substitute them by stronger ones. Here the possibility of expressing the therapeutic activity in formulae ceases. One does as well as he can as an explainer where ignorance has produced shyness, as a teacher, as a representative of a freer and superior philosophy of life, and as a confessor who through the continuance of his sympathy and his respect imparts so to say absolution after the confession. One endeavours to do something humane for the patient as far as the range of one's own personality and the measure of sympathy which one can set apart for the case allows. It is an indispensable pre-

requisite for such psychic activities to have approximately discovered the nature of the case and the motives of the defence that are here effective Fortunately the technique of urging and the pressure procedure take us just so far The more we have solved such enigmas the easier will we discover new ones and the earlier will we be able to manage the actual curative psychic work For it is well to bear in mind that, although the patient can rid himself of an hysterical symptom only after reproducing and uttering under emotion its causal pathogenic impressions yet the therapeutic task merely consists in inducing him to do it and once the task has been accomplished there remains nothing for the doctor to correct or abolish All the contrary suggestions necessary have already been employed during the struggle carried on against the resistance The case may be compared to the unlocking of a closed door where as soon as the doorknob has been pressed downward no other difficulties are encountered in opening the door

Among the intellectual motives employed for the overcoming of the resistance one can hardly dispense with one affective factor that is the personal equation of the doctor and in a number of cases this alone is enough to break the resistance The conditions here do not differ from those found in any other branch of medicine and one should not expect any therapeutic method fully to disclaim the cooperation of this personal factor

III

In view of the discu sions in the preceding section concerning the difficulty of my technique which I have unreservedly exposed—I have really collected them from my most difficult ca es though it will often be easier work—in view then of this state of affairs everybody will wish to ask whether it would not be more suitable instead of all these tortures to apply one s self more energetically to hypnosis or to limit the application of the cathartic method only to such cases as can be put into deep hypnosis To the latter proposition I should have to answer that the number of patients available for my skill would shrink considerably but to the former advice I will advance the supposition that even where hypnosis could be produced the resistance would not be very much lessened My experiences in this respect are not particularly extensive so that I am unable to go beyond this supposition but wherever I achieved a cathartic cure in the *hypnotic state* I found that the work devolved upon me was not less than in the state of mere concentration I have only recently finished such a treatment during course of which I

sciou and somatically distinguished by the fact that she was unable to open her eyes or rise without my *ordering her to do so* and still I never had a case showing greater resistance than this one I placed no value on these physical signs and towards the end of the ten months treatment they really became imperceptible The state of the patient on which we worked has therefore lost nothing of its psychic peculiarities such as the ability to recall the unconscious and its very peculiar relation to the person of the physician To be sure in the history of Mrs Emmy von N I have described an example of a cathartic cure accomplished in a profound somnambulism in which the resistance played almost no part But nothing that I obtained from this woman would have required any special effort I obtained nothing that she could not have told me in her waking state after a longer acquaintanceship and some personal regard The real causes of her disease which were surely identical with the causes of her relapses after my treatment *I have never found—it was my first attempt* in this therapy—and when I once asked her accidentally for a reminiscence which contained a fragment of the erotic I found her just as resistive and unreliable in her statements as any one of my later non somnambulic patients This patient s resistance even in the somnambulic state against other requirements and exactions I have already discussed in her history Since I have witnessed cases which even in deep somnambulism were absolutely refractory therapeutically despite their obedience in everything else I really have become skeptical as to the value of hypnosis for the facilitation of the cathartic treatment A case of this kind I have in brief reported and could still add others Besides I admit that even this experience fell badly short of my need for a quantitative relation between cause and effect in the psychic spheres

In our discussion thus far the idea of resistance has *thrust it elf to the foreground* I have shown how in the therapeutic work one is led to the conception that hysteria originates

See St d üb Hy ter 1895 p 85

through the repression of an u bearable dea as a motive of defence that the repressed idea remains as a weak (mildly intensi e) remini scence a d that the affect snatched from it is used for a somatic innervation that is for con version of the excitement By virtue of its re pres o the dea becomes the cause of morbid symptoms, that is pathogenic. A hysteria show ng this psychic mechanism may be des gnated by the nam of *defence-hysteria* but both Breuer and myself have repeatedly spoken of two kinds of hysterias which we have named *hypnoid* a d *retent on-hysteria* Th first to reveal tself to us was really the hypno d hysteria, for which I can me tio no better exampl than Breuer s case of Miss Anna O For this form of hysteria Breuer gi es an essentially d fferent psychic mechanism than f r the form which is characterized by con ers n H re the idea be comes pathogenic th ugh the fact that it is con eived in a peculia psychic stat ha ing remained from the ery beginning external to

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I h ld this distinction as so essential that it has readily induced me to dhere to the f rmu tion of the hypn d hyst ria It is however remarkabl that in my own experien e I enc un tered o genuine hypn d hysteria whatever I trea ed changed itself into a defence hysteria. Not that I ha e n ve dealt with symptoms which manifestly originated in separated con scious states and th ref re were excluded from being accepted int the ego I ncoun tered this also in my own cases but I could show that the so-called hypn id state owed its separati n t the f ct that a split-off psychic group originated bef re through d fen In brief I cannot suppress the suspici n that hypnoid and d fence hysteria meet som where at their roots, and that the d fenc is the primary thing but I know othing about t.

Equally uncertain at present my opinion concerning the rete t hysteria in which the therapeutic w k is al supposed to f llow without any resistance I had case which I took f typ al retenti hysteria, and I was pleased with the anticipatio f an easy and certain succes but this su cess failed t com easy as the wo k really was. I theref re presume, and again with all caution ppropriat to ignorance, that in retention hysteria too we can find at its bas s a fragment of defence, which has thrust th whole process into hysteria Let us hope that new experiences will soon decide whether I am running into the danger of one- dedness and error in my tend ency to spre d the conception of defence for the whole of hysteria.

Thus far I ha e dealt with the difficulties and technique of the cathartic method. I would now like to add a few indications to show how one does an analysis with this technique For me this is a ery interesting theme but I do not expect that it will excite similar interest in others who ha e not practised such analyses. Properly speaking we shall again deal with technique but th s time with those difficulties co cerning which the patient cannot be held responsible and which must in part be the same in a hypnoid and a retention-hysteria as in the d fe ce-hysteria which I have in mind as a model. I start with this last fragment of discussion with the hope that the psychic pe culiarities to be revealed here might sometimes attain a certain value as raw material for ideational dynamics

The first and strongest impression which one gains from such an analysis is surely the fact that the pathogenic psychic material, appar ently for tten and not at the disposal of the ego whi h plays no rôle in the association and in m mory still lies ready in some manner and, what is more in proper and good order All that is necessary is to remove the resistances blocking the way Barring that, everything is known as well as we know anything at all. The proper connection of the indi idual ideas among themsel es and with the non-pathogenic which are frequently remembered are present they ha e been produced in their time and retained in memory The pathogenic psychic mat rial appears as the property of an intelligence which is n t necessarily inferior to the ormal ego The semblance of a second personality is ften most d lusively p oduced.

Whethe this imp ession is justified whether the arrangement f the psychic material result ing fter the adjustment is not transferred back int th period f the disease—these are questions which I do ot like to con ide in this place. One cannot certainly describe the experiences gained from such analyses more easily and m re clea ly than by placing one s self in th position which one may take f r a survey aft r the whole thing has been com p eted.

The situation is usually not so simpl as one

requisite for such psychic activities to have approximately discovered the nature of the case and the motives of the defence that are here effective Fortunately the technique of urging and the pressure procedure take us just so far The more we have solved such enigmas the easier will we discover new ones and the earlier will we be able to manage the actual curative psychic work For it is well to bear in mind that although the patient can rid himself of an hysterical symptom only after reproducing and uttering under emotion its causal pathogenic impressions yet the therapeutic task merely consists in inducing him to do it and once the task has been accomplished there remains nothing for the doctor to correct or abolish All the contrary suggestions necessary have already been employed during the struggle carried on against the resistance The case may be compared to the unlocking of a closed door where as soon as the doorknob has been pressed downward no other difficulties are encountered in opening the door

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III

In view of the discussions in the preceding section concerning the difficulty of my technique which I have unreservedly exposed—I have really collected them from my most difficult cases though it will often be easier work—in view then of this state of affairs everybody will wish to ask whether it would not be more suitable instead of all these tortures to apply one s self more energetically to hypnosis or to limit the application of the cathartic method only to such cases as can be put into deep hypnosis To the latter proposition I should have to answer that the number of patients available for my skill would shrink considerably but to the former advice I will advance the supposition that even where hypnosis could be produced the resistance would not be very much lessened My experiences in this respect are not particularly extensive so that I am unable to go beyond this supposition but wherever I achieved a cathartic cure in the hypnotic state I found that the work devolved upon me was not less than in the state of mere concentration I have only recently finished such a treatment during course of which I caused the disappearance of an hysterical paralysis of the legs The patient merged into a state psychically very different from the conscious and somatically distinguished by the fact that she was unable to open her eyes or rise without my ordering her to do so and still I never had a case showing greater resistance than this one I placed no value on these physical signs and towards the end of the ten months treatment they really became imperceptible The state of the patient on which we worked has therefore lost nothing of its psychic peculiarities such as the ability to recall the unconscious and its very peculiar relation to the person of the physician To be sure in the history of Mrs Emmy von N I have described an example of a cathartic cure accomplished in a profound somnambulism in which the resistance played almost no part But nothing that I obtained from this woman would have required any special effort I obtained nothing that she could not have told me in her waking state after a longer acquaintanceship and some personal regard The real causes of her disease which were surely identical with the causes of her relapses after my treatment I have never found—it was my first attempt in this therapy—and when I once asked her accidentally for a reminiscence which contained a fragment of the erotic I found her just as resistive and unreliable in her statements as any one of my later non somnambulic patients This patient s resistance even in the somnambulic state against other requirements and exactions I have already discussed in her history Since I have witnessed cases which even in deep somnambulism were absolutely refractory therapeutically despite their obedience in everything else I really have become skeptical as to the value of hypnosis for the facilitation of the cathartic treatment A case of this kind I have in brief reported and could still add others Besides I admit that even this experience fell badly short of my need for a quantitative relation between cause and effect in the psychic spheres

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See St d b Hy t 1895 p 85

there connected by by paths open into the nucleus To put it in different words it is very remarkable how frequently *a symptom is man ifoldly determined that is overdeterm ned*

I will introduce one more complication and t.en my eff rt to illustrate the organization of the pathogenic psychic material will be achieved. It can happen that we m y deal with more than one single nucleus in the pathogenic mate al as for example when we ha e to analyze a second hysterical outbreak having its own aetiology but which is still conn cted with the first outbreak of an acute hysteria which has been overc me ye rs before It can readily be imagined what strata and streams of thought m t be added in order to produce a connec ti n between the two pathogenic nuclei

I will till dd a few observations to the given p cture of the organizati n of the patho genic material We have said of this material that it behav s like a fo eign body and that the therapy ls acts like the removal of a foreign body f m the living tissues. We are n w in positio to cons der the shortcomings f this comparison A f re gn body does not enter into any connecti n with the l yers of tissue s rrounding it, although it changes them and produces in them a reactive inflammation On the ther hand our pathogenic psychic group does not allow itself to be cleanly shelled *out from* the ego its uter lay rs radiate n all direct ons int the parts of the normal ego and really bel g to the latte as much as to the pathogenic organization The boundaries between both become purely conve tional in the analysis being placed now here, now there and in certain l cati ns no dem rcation is pos sibl The in er layers bec me more nd more estranged from th ego witho t showing vis ible beginning f the pathogenic boundaries The pathogenic organization really does not beha e like a fore gn body b t rath r lik an infiltrati n. Th infiltrate must in this com pariso be assumed to be the res tance In deed the therapy doe n t consist in extirpati g something—psychotherapy cann t do that at present—but t causes melting of the resis tanc and thus pens the w y f r the circula tio into a hitherto closed territ ry

(I make use h re f a series of comparisons all of which have only very limited res m blanc t my theme and d n t even gree am g th msel es. I am ware f that and I am t in danger f ove -estimating th ir val ue but as t is my int tion t illustrate the many sides of a m t c mplicated and not as yet dep cted idea I *therefore* take the liberty of deali g also in the following pages with comparisons which are not altogether free from objections)

If after a thorough adjustment one could show to a third party the pathogenic material in its present recognized complicated and mul tidimensi nal organization he would justly propound the question How could such a camel go through the needle s eye? Indeed one does not speak unjustly of a 'narrowing of consciousness The term gains in sense and freshness for the phys cian who accomplishes uch an analys s *Only one s ngle reminiscence* can enter into the ego-consciousness the pa tient occupied in working his way through this one sees *nothing* of that wh ch follows and forgets everythi g that has already wedged its way through If the conquest of this *one* path ogenic reminiscence strikes against impedi ments as for example if the patient does n t let up the resistance against it but wishes to repress or d stort t the strait is so to speak blocked the wo k comes to a standst ll it cannot ad ance and the one reminiscence in the breach confronts the patient until he takes it up nt the breadth of his ego The whole spatially extended mass of the pathogenic ma terial is thus drawn th ough a narrow fissu e

co jectured rgani tion He who desi es still more comparisons may think here of a Chinese puzzle

If o e is about to begin an analysis in which one may expect such an organization of the pathogen c material the following results of

zation. E en if it could be g ... t would still not know how to start with the explanation gi en to him nor would it change him p ychically

There is n thi g l ft to do but follow up the periph ry of the path genic psychic forma ti n On begins by allowing the patient to

any new esistance

After ha ing w ked for while in such mann r a cooperati g ctivity is usually mani

represents it in special cases as for example in a single case in which a symptom originates through a large trauma We frequently deal not with a single hysterical symptom but with a number of such which are partially independent of one another and partially connected We must not expect a single traumatic reminiscence and as its nucleus one single pathogenic idea but we must be ready to assume a series of partial traumas and concatenations of pathogenic mental streams The monosymptomatic traumatic hysteria is as it were an elementary organism a single being in comparison to the complicated structure of a grave hysterical neurosis as we generally encounter it

The psychic material of such hysteria presents itself as a multi dimensional formation of at least *triple stratification* I hope to be able to justify soon this figurative expression First of all there is a nucleus of such reminiscences (either experiences or mental streams) in which the traumatic moment culminated or in which the pathogenic idea has found its purest formation Around this *nucleus* we often find an incredibly rich mass of other memory material which we have to elaborate in the analysis in the triple arrangement mentioned *before In the first* place *there is an unmistakable linear chronological* arrangement which takes place within *every individual theme* As an example of this I can only cite the arrangement in Breuer s analysis of Anna O The

there were from ten to one hundred single reminiscences in chronological order It read like an abstract from an orderly kept archive The analysis of my patient Emmy von N contained similar memory fascicles though not so fully described but they formed part of every analysis They always appeared in chronological *order* which was as definitely reliable as the serial sequences of the days of the week or the names of the months in psychically normal individuals They increased the work of the analysis through the peculiarity of reversing the series of their origin in the reproduction the freshest and the most recent occurrence of the accumulation occurred first so to speak as a wrapper and the one with which the eries really began gave the impression of the conclusion

The grouping of *similar reminiscences* in a multiplicity of linear stratifications as represented in a bundle of documents in a package etc I have designated as the formation of a *theme* These themes now show a second form of arrangement I cannot express it differently than by saying that they are *concentrically stratified around the pathogenic nucleus* It is not difficult to say what determines these strata and according to what decreasing or increasing magnitude this arrangement follows They are *layers of equal resistance* tending toward the nucleus *accompanied by ones of similar alteration of consciousness* into which the individual themes extend The most peripheral layers contain those reminiscences (or fascicles) of the different themes which can readily be recalled and which were always perfectly conscious The deeper one penetrates the more difficult it becomes to recognize the emerging reminiscences until one strikes those near the nucleus whi h the patient disavows even at the reproduction

As we shall hear later it is the peculiarity of the concentric stratification of the pathogenic psychic material which gives to the course of such an analysis its characteristic features We must now mention the third and most essential arrangement concerning which a general statement can hardly be made It is *the arrangement according to the content of* thought the connection which reaches the nucleus through the logical threads which might in each case correspond to a special irregular and manifoldly devious road This arrangement has a dynamic character in contradistinction to both morphological stratifications mentioned before Whereas in a specially formed scheme the latter would be represented by rigid arched and straight lines the course of the logical concatenation would have to be followed with a wand over the most *tortuous* route from the superficial into the deep layers *and back generally however progressing from* the peripheral to the central nucleus and touching thereby all stations that is its movement is similar to the zigzag movement of the knight in the solution of a chess problem

I shall still adhere for a moment to the last comparison in order to call attention to a point in which it does not do justice to the qualities of the thing compared The logical connection corresponds not *only to a zigzag like devious* line but rather to a ramifyin and especially *to a converging system of lines It has a* junction in which two or more threads meet only to proceed thence united and as a rule many threads running independently or here and

really reached an end or encountered a case requiring no psychic explanation, or whether it is the enormous resistance that halts the work. If the latter cannot be overcome soon, it may be assumed that the thread has been followed into a stratum which is as yet, impenetrable. One lets it fall in order to grasp another thread, which may perhaps be followed up just as far. If one had followed all the threads into this stratum, if the nodes have been reached through which no single isolated thread can be followed, it is well to think of seizing anew the resistances on hand.

One can readily imagine how complicated such a work may become. By constantly overcoming the resistance one pushes his way into the inner strata, gaining knowledge concerning the accumulative themes and passing threads found in this layer; one examines as far as he can advance with the means at hand, and thus gains first information concerning the content; in the next stratum the threads are drowned, taken upon again, and followed until they reach the juncture; they are always retrieved, and by following a memory a single one reaches some by way which finally opens again. In this manner it is finally possible to leave the stratifications and advance directly on the main road to the nucleus of the pathogenic organization. With this the fight is won, but not finished. One has to follow up the other threads and exhaust the material; but now the patient again helps energetically, for his resistance has mostly been broken.

In these later stages of the work it is of advantage if one can surmise the connection and tell it to the patient before it has been revealed to him. If the conjecture is correct, the course of the analysis is accelerated, but even an incorrect hypothesis helps, for it urges the patient to participate and elicits from him energetic retraction, thus revealing that he surely knows better.

One thereby becomes astonishingly convinced that *it is not possible to press upon the patient things which he apparently does not know or to influence the results of the analysis by exciting his expectations.* I have not succeeded a single time in altering or falsifying the reproductions of memory or the connections of events by my predictions; had I succeeded it surely would have been revealed in the end by a contradiction in the construction. If anything occurred as I predicted, the correctness of my conjecture was always attested to by numerous trustworthy reminiscences. Hence one must have no fear to express his opinion to the patient concerning the coming connections which are to follow; it does no harm.

Another observation which I had occasion to see again and again refers to the patient's independent reproductions. I can be assured that not a single reminiscence comes to the surface during such an analysis which has no significance. An interposition of irrelevant memory pictures which has no connection with the important associations does not really occur. An exception not contrary to the rule may be postulated for those reminiscences which, though in themselves unimportant, are indispensable as interpolations since the associations between two closely related reminiscences pass over them. As mentioned above, the period during which a reminiscence abides in the narrow pass of the patient's consciousness is directly proportionate to its significance. A picture which does not disappear requires further consideration, a thought which cannot be abolished must be followed further. A reminiscence never recurs if it has been adjusted; a picture spoken away cannot be seen again. However if that does happen, it can be definitely expected that the second time the picture will be joined by a new content of thought, that the idea will contain a new inference which will show that no perfect adjustment has taken place. On the other hand, a recurrence of different intensities, at first vaguely then quite plainly, often occurs, but it does not, however, contradict the assertion just advanced.

If one of the tasks of the analysis is to remove a symptom (pains, symptoms like vomiting sensations and contractures) which is capable of aggravation or recurrence, this symptom shows during the work the interesting and not undesirable phenomenon of *joining in the discussion.* The symptom in question reappears, or appears with greater intensity as soon as one penetrates into the region of the pathogenic organization containing the aetiology of this symptom, and it continues to accompany the work with characteristic and instructive fluctuations. The intensity of the same (let us say of a nausea) increases the deeper one penetrates into its pathogenic reminiscences; it reaches its height shortly before the latter has been expressed, and suddenly subsides or disappears completely for a while after it has been fully expressed. If through resistance the patient delays the expression, the tension of the sensation of nausea becomes

fested in the patient A number of reminiscences now occur to him without any need of questioning or setting him a task A way has thus been opened into an inner stratum within which the patient now spontaneously disposes of the material of equal resistance It is well to allow him to reproduce for a while without influencing him of course he is unable to reveal important connections but he may be allowed to clear things within the same stratum The things which he thus reproduces often seem disconnected but they give up the material which is later revived by the recognized connections

One has to guard here in general against two things If the patient is checked in the reproduction of the inflowing ideas something is apt to be *buried* which must be uncovered later with great effort On the other hand one must not overestimate his *unconscious intelligence* and one must now allow it to direct the whole work If I should wish to schematize the mode of labour I could perhaps say that one should himself undertake the opening of the inner strata and the advancement in the radial direction while the patient should take care of the peripheral extension

The advancement is brought about by the fact that the resistance is overcome in the manner indicated above As a rule however one must at first solve another problem One must obtain a piece of a logical thread by which direction alone one can hope to penetrate into the interior One should not expect that the voluntary information of the patient the material which is mostly in the superficial strata will make it easy for the analyst to recognize its deep seated locations and to which points the desired connections of thought are attached On the contrary just this is cautiously concealed the patient s assertion sound as if perfect and firm in itself One is at first confronted as it were by a wall which shuts off every view and gives no suggestion of anything hidden behind it

If however one views with a critical eye the assertion obtained from the patient without much effort and resistance one will unmistakably discover it in gaps and damages Here the connection is visibly interrupted and scantily supplemented by the patient through phrases which convey only insufficient information There one strikes against a motive which in a normal person would be designated as flimsy The patient refuses to recognize these gaps when his attention is called to them The physician however does well to seek under these weak points access to the material of the deeper layers and hope to discover just here the threads of the connection which he traces by the pressure procedure One therefore tells the patient You are mistaken what you assert can have nothing to do with the thing in question here we will have to strike again t something which will occur to you under the pressure of my hand

The hysterical stream of thou ht even if it reaches into the unconscious may be expected to show the same logical connections and sufficient motivations as those that would be expected in a normal individual A looseness of these relationships does not lie within the sphere of the neurosis If the association of ideas of neurotics and especially of hysterics makes a different impression if the relation of the intensities of different ideas does not seem to be explainable here on psychological determinants alone we know that such manifestations are due to the existence of *concealed unconscious motives* Such secret motives may be expected wherever such a deviation in the connection or a transgression from the normally justified motivations can be demonstrated

One must naturally free himself from the theoretical prejudice that one has to deal with abnormal brains of *dégénerés* and *deséquilibres* in whom the freedom of overthrowing the common psychological laws of the association of ideas is a stigma or in whom a preferred idea without any motive may grow intensively excessive and another without psychological motives may remain indestructible Experience shows the contrary in hysteria as soon as the hidden—often unconsciously remaining—motives have been revealed and brought to account there remains nothing in the hysterical mental stream that is enigmatical and anomalous

Thus by retracing the breaches of the patient s first statements which are often hidden by false connections one gets hold of a part of the logical thread at the periphery and thereafter continues the route by the pressure procedure

Very seldom do we succeed in working our way into the inner strata by the same thread usually it breaks on the way and yields either no experience or one which cannot be explained or be continued despite all efforts In such a case we soon learn how to protect ourselves from the obvious confusion. The expression of the patient must decide whether one

pathogenic idea acts as a motive for the com plete creation of the neurosis and only with the last word of the analysis does the whole picture of the disea e d sappear very similarly to the behaviour of the individually reproduced reminiscence

If a pathogenic reminiscence or a pathogenic connection which was prev ously withdrawn from the ego-co sci usness is revealed by the work of the analysis and inserted into the ego one can observe in the psychic pers nality hich was thus enriched the many ways in hich it gave utterance to ts ga n Especially does t freq ently happe that after the pa tients have been painstakingly forced to a cer tain knowledge they say 'Why I have known that all the time I could have told you that bef re Th se who ha e mo e ins ht r co nize this ft rwards as self-decept on and ac cu e th ms l s f ingratitud In general the po tio that the g takes tow rds the new acquisiti depends upon th tratum of the analy is f om which the l tter origin tes What

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only thing that was n w t th b ts connectio with the deepe l yers of the pathogenic material. Whatever s brought to light

deny than reminiscen es of m r stream of thought. Not very s ld m the patient will at

will appea H then r calls and e en ernes by s d a s tati ns that he once really had this thought. During the analys s, I make it a poi t of co s dering th val e f an em rgin rem ni ce c independe tly f th patie t s re gnition I am not ti ed f epeating that we are bliged to ccept everything that we bring t light with ur mean Sh ld ther be anything un al or correct in the m terial thus revealed the c nnection w ll later teach

itself corre t.

Th se deas which riginate in the d epest layer and from the nucleus of the pathogenic organization are recognized by the patient as remin scences only with the greatest d fficulty E en after everything is accomplished when the pat ents are overcome by the logical force and are con inced of the curative effect ac companying the emergence of this idea—I say even if the patients themselves assume that they ha e thought o and so they often add 'but to *recall* that I have thought so I can not One readily comes to an understanding with them by saying that these were *uncon scious thoughts* But how should we note this state of affairs n our own psychological v ews? Should we pay no heed to the patient s demur ring recognit o which has no moti e after the work has been completed should we as ume that it is really a question of thoughts which never occurred and for which there was only a possibility of existence so that the therapy ed n the consummation of a psychic act

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can follow a stream of thou nt from the scious into the unconsc ous (that is absolutely not recognized as a reminiscence) thence draw t for om distance through con cious nes and again see t end in the unconsc ous and yet this alteration of the 'psychic lucidation would change nothi g in it, in its logic and in the onn ct on of its sin le parts Should I

as a reminiscence In a me sure I see only the po ts of the stream of thought that merge int the unc n cious just the reverse of that which has been claim d c ncerni g our normal psychi p cesses

I ha e still another th m to t eat which plays an und sirably great part in the wo k of su h cathartı analys I ha e lready ad mitted the possibility that the pressure pro c dure may f l and despite all surance and urgi g t may evoke no mini ce ces I also tated that two poss biliti s re to be cons d ed th really nothing to ev ke in the pla e where w vest gate—that c n be recog nized by the pe f ctly calm express n of the patient—o we ha e truck against a resis

unbearable and if the expression cannot be forced vomiting actually sets in One thus gains a plastic impression of the fact that the vomiting takes the place of a psychic action (here that of speaking) just as was asserted in the conversion theory of hysteria

These fluctuations of intensity on the part of the hysterical symptom recur as often as one of its new and pathogenic reminiscences is attacked the symptom remains as it were all the time on *the order of the day* If it is necessary to drop for a while the thread upon which this symptom hangs the symptom too merges into obscurity in order to emerge again at a later period of the analysis This play continues until through the completion of the pathogenic material there occurs a definite adjustment of this symptom

Strictly speaking the hysterical symptom does not behave here differently than a memory picture or a reproduced thought which is evoked by the pressure of the hand Here as there the adjustment necessitates the same obsessing obstinacy of recurrence in the memory of the patient The difference lies only in the apparent spontaneous appearance of the hysterical symptom whereas one readily recalls having himself provoked the scenes and ideas But in reality the *memory symbols* run in an uninterrupted series from the unchanged *memory remnants* of affectful experiences and thinking acts to the hysterical symptoms

The phenomenon of *joining in the discussion* of the hysterical symptom during the analysis carries with it a practical inconvenience to which the patient should be reconciled It is quite impossible to undertake the analysis of a symptom in one stretch or to divide the pauses in the work in such a manner as precisely to coincide with the resting points in the adjustment Furthermore the interruption which is categorically dictated by the accessory circumstances of the treatment like the late hour etc often occurs in the most awkward locations just when some critical point could be approached or when a new theme comes to light These are the same inconveniences which every newspaper reader experiences in reading the daily fragments of his newspaper romance when immediately after the decisive speech of the heroine or after the report of a shot etc he reads To be continued In our case the raked up but unabolished theme the symptom at first strengthened but not yet explained remains in the patient s psyche and troubles him perhaps more than before But the patient must understand this as it cannot be differently arranged Indeed there are patients who during such an analysis are unable to get rid of the theme once touched they are obsessed by it even durin the interval between two treatments and as they are unable to advance alone with the adjustment they suffer more than before Such patients too finally learn to wait for the doctor postponing all interest which they have in the adjustment of the pathogenic material for the hours of the treatment and they then begin to feel freer during the intervals

The general condition of the patient during such an analysis seems also worthy of consideration For a while it remains uninfluenced by the treatment expressing the former effective factors but then a moment comes in which the patient is seized and his interest becomes chained and from that time his general condition becomes more and more dependent on the condition of the work Whenever a new explanation is gained and an important contribution in the chain of the analysis is reached the patient feels relieved and experiences a presentiment of the approaching deliverance but at each standstill of the work at each threatening entanglement the psychic burden which oppresses him grows and the unhappy sensation of his incapacity increa es To be sure both conditions are only temporary for the analysis continues disdaining to boast of a moment of well being and continues regardlessly over the period of gloominess One is generally pleased if it is possible to substitute the spontaneous fluctuations in the patient s condition by such as one himself provokes and understands just as one prefers to see in place of the spontaneous discharge of the symptoms that order of the day which corresponds to the state of the analysis

Usually the deeper one penetrates into the above described layers of the psychic structure the more obscure and difficult the work will at first become But once the nucleus is reached light ensues and there is no more fear that a strong gloom will overcast the condition of the patient However the reward of the labour the cessation of symptoms of the disease can be expected only when the full analysis of every individual symptom has been accomplished indeed where the individual symptoms are connected through many junctures one is not even encouraged by partial successes during the work By virtue of the great number of existing causal connections every unadjusted

In another patient, the obstacle did not usu ally show itself directly on pressure but I could always demonstrate it by taking the patient back to the moment in which it originated. The pressure procedure never failed to bring back this moment. By discovering and demonstrating the obstacle the first difficulty was removed, but a greater one still remained. The difficulty lay in inducing the patient to give information where there was an obvious personal relation and where the third person coincided with the physician. At first I was very much annoyed about the increase of this psychic work until I had learned to see the lawful part of this whole process and I then also noticed that such a transference does not cause any considerable increase in the work. The work for the patient remained the same—he perhaps had to overcome the painful affect of having entertained such a wish, and it seemed to be the same for the success whether he took this psychic repulsion as theme of the work in the historical case or in the recent case with me. The patients also gradually learned to see that in such transferences to the person of the physician they generally dealt with a force or a deception which disappeared when the analysis was accomplished. I believe however that if I would have delayed in making clear to them the nature of the obstacle I would have given them a new though milder hysterical symptom for another spontaneously developed.

I now believe that I have sufficiently indicated how such analyses should be executed and the experiences gained from them. They perhaps make some things appear more complicated than they are for many things really result by themselves during such work. I have not enumerated the difficulties of the work in order to give the impression that in view of such requirements it does not pay the physician or patient to undertake a cathartic analysis except in the rarest cases. However in my medical activities I am influenced by contrary suppositions. To be sure I am unable to formulate the most definite indications for the application of the therapeutic method discussed here without entering into the valuation of the more significant and more comprehensive theme of the therapy of the neuroses in general. I have often compared the cathartic psycho-therapy to surgical measures and designated my cures as psycho-therapeutic operations the analogies of flow the opening of a pus pocket, the curetting of a carious location, etc. Such an analogy finds its justification, not so much in the removal of the morbid material as in the production of better curative conditions for the issue of the process.

When I promised my patients help and relief through the cathartic method, I was often obliged to hear the following objections "You say yourself that my suffering has probably much to do with my own relation and destinies. You cannot change any of that. In what manner then can you help me?" To this I could always answer "I do not doubt at all that it would be easier for fate than for me to remove your sufferings but you will be convinced that much will be gained if we succeed in transforming your hysterical misery into everyday unhappiness again, which you will be better able to defend yourself with a restored nervous system.

CHAPTER 5

THE DEFENCE NEURO-PSYCHOSES. A TENTATIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY OF ACQUIRED HYSTERIA, MANY PHOBIAS AND OBSESSIONS, AND CERTAIN HALLUCINATORY PSYCHOSES

AFTER an exhaustive study of many nervous patients afflicted with phobias and obsessions, a tentative explanation of these symptoms forced itself upon me which happily helped me later to conjecture the origin of such morbid ideas in other new cases, and I therefore believe it worthy of reporting and further examination. Simultaneously with this *psychological theory of phobias and obsessions* the examination of these patients resulted in a contribution to the theory of hysteria or rather to a change of it which seems to imply an important and common character of hysteria as well as the aforementioned neuroses. Further more I had the opportunity to look into the psychological mechanism of a form of indubitable psychic malady and found that my attempted observation shows an intelligible connection between this psychosis and the two neuroses mentioned. At the conclusion of this theme I shall describe the corroborative hypothesis which I utilized in all three cases.

I

I am beginning with that change which seems to be necessary for the theory of the hysterical neuroses.

That the symptom-complex of hysteria as far as it can be understood justifies the assumption of a splitting of consciousness with

tance to be overcome only at some future time We are confronted with a new layer into which we cannot as yet penetrate and this can again be read from the drawn and psychic exertion of the patient s expression A third cause may be possible which also indicates an obstacle not from within but externally This cause oc curs when the relation of the patient to the physician is disturbed and signifies the worst obstacle that can be encountered One can ex pect this in every more serious analysis

I have already alluded to the important role falling to the personality of the physician in the creation of motives which are to overcome the psychic force of the resistance In not a few case especially in women and where we deal with explanations of erotic streams of thoughts the cooperation of the patients be comes a personal sacrifice which must be re compensed by some kind of a substitute for love The great effort and the patient friendli ness of the physician must suffice for such substitutes If this relation of the patient to the physician is disturbed the readiness of the patient s collaboration fails if the phy sician desires information concernin the next pathogenic idea the patient is confronted by the consciousness of the unpleasantness which has accumulated in her against the physician As far as I have discovered this obstacle oc curs in three principal cases

1 In personal estrangement if the patient believes herself slighted disparaged and in sulted or if she hears unfavourable accounts concerning the physician and his methods of treatment This is the least serious case This obstacle can readily be overcome by discussion and explanation although the sensitiveness and the suspicion of hysterics can occasionally manifest itself in unimaginable dimensions

2 If the patient is seized with the fear that she is becoming too dependent on her physi cian that in his presence she loses her inde pendence and could even become sexually de pendent upon him this case is more significant The re of iow a new motive for resistance which manifests it self not only in a certain reminiscence but at each attempt of the treatment Whenever the pressure procedure is started the patient usu ally complains of headache Her new motive for the resistance remains for the most part unconscious and she manifests it by a newly created hysterical symptom The headache sig nifies the aversion towards being influenced

3 If the patient fears lest the painful ideas emerging from the content of the analysis would be transferred to the physician This happens frequently and indeed in many analy ses it is a regular occurrence The transference to the physician occurs through false connec tions I must here give an example The origin of a certain hysterical symptom in one of my hysterical patients was the wish she entertained years ago which was immediately banished into the unconscious that the man with whom she at that time conversed would heartily gra p her and force a kiss on her After the ending of a session such a wish occurred to the patient in reference to me She was horri fied and spent a sleepless night and at the next session although she did not refuse the treatment she was totally unfit for the work After I had discovered the obstacle and re moved it the work continued The wish that so frightened the patient appeared as the next pathogenic reminiscence that is as the one now required by the logical connection It came about in the following manner The content of the wish at first appeared in the patient s con sciousness which would have transferred this wish into the past Through the associative force prevailing in her consciousness the ex isting wish became connected with my own person with which the patient could naturally occupy herself and in this *mésalliance*—which I call a false connection—the same affect awak ened which originally forced the patient to banish this clandestine wish Now that I have discovered this I can presuppose in every simi lar claim on my personality that this is another transference and false connection It is remark able how the patient falls a victim to deception on every new occasion

No analysis can be brought to an end if one does not know how to meet the resistances re sulting from the causes mentioned The way can be found if one bears in mind that the new symptom produced after the old model should be treated like the old symptoms In the first place it is necessary to make the patient con scious of the obstacle In one of my patients in whom I had cause to assume an unconscious idea like the one mentioned above in 2 I met it for the first time with an unexpected attack I told her that there must have originated some obstacle and then pressed her head She then said surprisingly I see you sitting here on the chair but that is nonsense what can that mean? But now I could explain it.

exert almost no claims on the as ociation work but the separated um of excitement will have to be utilized in an ther direct on

Thus far the p ocesses are the same as in h ena, in phob as and obses ions but from now o their ways part The unbearable idea in h teria is rendered harmless because the sum of excitement is tran formed into ph sical ma festations, a process for which I would like t propose the term *conversion*

The conversion may be total or part al and f lows that motor or ensory innervat on which is e the ult mately or m re loosely connected with the traumat c experience In this way the ego su ceeds in freeing t elf from opposit on but instead it becomes burdened with a mem ory symbol wh ch remains in consciousness as an unadjusted m tor innervat on or as a con stantly recurring hallucinatory sensation imi lar to a parasite It thus remains fixed until a co ers on takes place in the oppo te direct on The memory symbol f the repressed idea doe not perish b t from now on forms the nucleus fo a sec nd psychic group.

I will follow up this view of the psycho-phys ical processes in hysteria with few more words. If such a nu leus f r an hysterical spl t ting s once f rmed in a *traumatic moment* it th n increases in other m ments which m ght be designated as *auxil ary t au mat c* as soon as a newly formed simila impre sion succeeds in breakin, through the barrier formed by the ill and in addi g new affect to the weakened wh l the a soci ti e

in most cases. As shown by the f miliar con tra t of th attacks and the persi t t symptoms the c t me t whi h was pu hed on a false path (in the bodily innervat n) now a d the returns t the id a from which t was dis charged and f ces the person to a oci ti e elaborat o o to adjustme t in hysterical at tacks. The ffect of Breuer's cathartic method co ts the fact that t con ciously rec n d cts the excit ment f m the physical i to the ps chi spheres and then fo es an adjustm nt f the contradiction through intellectual w k, and discharge of the excit ment through spee h.

rowed consciousness of h steria and causes the plit off psychic groups to become acces i ble For we know that it is peculiar to all sleep-like states to remo e that d stribution of ex citement wh ch depe ds on the will of the con sc ous personality

We accord ngly recognize that the character istic element of hysteria is not the splitting of con c ou ness but the ability of conversion and as an important part of the hitherto un known d posit on of hysteria we can ment on the psycho-phys cal adaptat on for the trans ference of a great um of exc tement into bodily innervatio

The adaptation does not in itself exclude psy chic health and leads to hysteria only in e ent of a psychic incompatibility or accumulat n of excit ment W th this turn we—Breuer and I —come near to the famili r definitions of hys teria of Oppenheim and Strumpel, and d i ate from J et who a gns to the splitt n of co ciou ness too great a rôle in the character istics of hysteria The description here gi en can lay claim to the fact that t explains the connecti n between the con ers on and the hys terical splitting of con ciousness.

II

If there is no ad ptat on for convers on in a predisposed person and an ffort is neverthe-less made to separate an unbearable idea from its affect f r th purpose of d fence, the aff ct must then remain in the psychic sphere The weakened id a remains apart from all as oci tion n consciousness but its freed affect at taches itself to other not in themsel es unbear able ideas which on account of this false connection become obsessions This is in brief the psychological theory of the obsessions a d phob as concernin which I have spoken abo e

I shall now state what parts demanded in this theory can be directly demonstrated a d

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the formation of separate psychic groups has been generally recognized since the interesting works of P Janet J Breuer and others Less understood are the opinions concerning the origin of this splitting of consciousness and concerning the role played by this character in the structure of the hysterical neuro es

According to Janet s theory the splitting of consciousness is a primary feature of the hysterical alteration It is due to a congenital weakness of the capacity for psychic synthesis and to a narrowing of the *field of consciousness* (*champ du conscience*) which as a psychic stigma confirms the degeneration of hysterical individuals

In contradistinction to Janet s views which in my opinion admit the most manifold objections are those advocated by J Breuer in our jo n

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w a a nallowed association capacity for which he proposed the name *hypnoid states* The splitting of consciousness is secondary and acquired and originates because the ideas emerging in the hypnoid states are isolated from associative communication with the rest of consciousness

I can now demonstrate two other extreme forms of hysteria in which it is impossible to show that the splitting of consciousness is primary in the ense of Janet In the first of these forms I could repeatedly show that the splitting of the content of consciousness was an arbitrary act of the patient that is it was initiated through an exertion of the will the motive of which can be stated I naturally do not maintain that the patient intended to produce a splitting of his consciousness the patient s intention was different but instead of attaining its aim it produced a splitting of consciousness

In the third form of hysteria as we have demonstrated by psychic analysis of intelligent patients the splitting of consciousness plays only an insignificant and perhaps really no role This includes those cases in which there had been no reaction to the traumatic stimulus and which were then adjusted and cured by ab reaction They are the pure *retention hysterias*

In connection with the phobias and obsessions I have only to deal here with the second form of hysteria which for reasons to be presently explained I will designate as *defence hysteria* and thus distinguish it from the hypnoid and retention hysterias Preliminarily I am able to call my cases of defence hysteria *acquired* hysterias for they show neither marked hereditary taints nor any degenerative stigmata

In those patients whom I have analyzed there existed psychic health until the moment in which a case of incompatibility occurred in their ideation that is until there appeared an experience idea or feeling which evoked such a painful affect that the person decided to forget it because he did not trust his own ability to remove the resistance between the unbearable ideas and his ego

Such incompatible ideas originate in the feminine sex on the basis of sexual experiences and feelings With all desired precision the patients recall their efforts of defence their intention to push it away not to think of it to repress it As appropriate examples I can easily cite the following cases from my own experience A young lady reproached herself because while nursing her sick father she thought of a young man who made a slight erotic impression on her a governess fell in love with her employer and d d d

because

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the will ıı crowding such thoughts out of one s mind is a pathological act nor am I able to state whether and how the intentional forgetting succeeds in these persons who remain well under the same psychic influences I only know that in the patients whom I analyzed such a *forgetting* was unsuccessful and led to either hysteria obsession or a hallucinatory psychosis The ability to produce by the exertion of the will one of these states which are connected with the splitting of consciousness is to be considered as the expression of a pathological predisposition but it need not necessarily be identified with personal or hereditary *degeneration*

From the road leading from the patient s exertion of the will to the origin of a neurotic symptom I formed a concept which in the current psychological abstractions may be expressed as follows The task assumed by the defensive ego to treat the incompatible idea as *non arrivée* can not be directly accomplished The memory trace as well as the affect adhering to the idea are here and can not be exterminated The task can however be brought to an approximate solution if it is possible to change the strong idea into a weak one and to take away the affect or sum of excitement which adheres to it The weak idea will then

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exert almost no claims on the a ociation work but the separated um of ex itement will have to be utuized in another direction

Thus f r the processes are the same as in h stena in phobias and bses o s but from now n their ways part The unbearable idea m h na is rend red harmless because the m f excitement is tran f rmed int phy cal manifestations a process for which I would like to propose the term *co ersion*

The convers n may be total r partial and f ll ws that motor or sensory nnervatio which is either ultimately or more loosely c nn cted with the traumatic experience In this way the ego succeeds in freeing tself from oppos tion but instead t becomes burdened with a mem ory symbol which remains in consciousness as an unadjusted motor innervat on or as a con l cinatory sen ati n simi

n t pen h b t from now on forms tu f r second psychic group

I will follow up this view of the psycho-physical processes in hysteri with a f w more hyst rical spl t

will and in a ull c l idea and in forcin fo a while th associati e tm of both psychic gr ups until a new c n ers on p od es d fence Th condition thus attained in hyst ria in regard to th di tribu tion f the cit ment, p oves to be unstable in most cases. As shown by the familiar c n trast f the ttacks and the pers stent symptoms th exc t ment which was pu hed o a false path (in th bodily inn rvat on) now and then returns t the de from which t was di charged nd f ces the pers n to as ciati e elaborati or t adjustment in h sterical at ta ks Th ffect of Breuer s cathartic method co sits in the fact that t co sciou ly rec n d cts the excitement from th physical i to the psych c sph res and then forces an adj tme t f the co tradiction throu h ntell ctual wo k, and discharge of the e citement throu h speech.

If th splitting f consci sness in a quired hysteria is due t an ct f volitio we can plain with surpri ing simpli ty the remarkable fact that hypnosis regula ly b oaden the narrowed consc ou ness of hysteria and causes the plit off psychic groups to become acces i ble For we know that it is peculiar to all sleep-like states to remove that distribution of ex citement which depends on the *will* of the con sci us personality

We accordingly recognize that the characteristic element of hysteria is not the splitting of consc ou ness but the ab lity of conversion and as an important part of the hitherto un known disposit on of hysteria we can mention the psycho-phys cal adaptation for the tra s-fe ence of a great sum of excitement into bodi

psy vent on of and I hys teria of Oppenheim and trumpe an de i ate from Janet who as gns to the splittin of con ciousness too great a role in the characteristics of hysteria The description here given can lay claim to the fact that t explains the connecti n between the convers on and the hysterical splitting of consciousness.

II

If there is no adaptation for conversion in a predisposed person and an effort is ne rthe less mad to separate an unbearable idea from its affect fo the purpose of defe ce the affect must then remain in the psychic sphere The

I shall now state what parts demanded in this theory can be directly demonstrated nd

Oppenhe m Hyst ria is exa gerated xpressi f m B t the xpress f m tion repre se ts tha moun f psychi exci ement which mally experiences conversion

Strumpel The distu ban f hysteria lies i the psycho-phys cal th re where the physical and psy chical re connected with each the

Jan t i the second chap f his spirited essay *Qu lque dé* *ni* c., has tre ted the bjec tha the pl f consciousness bel nes also the psychoses d the so-called psychaesthenia b t in m pin he has t satisf ctorily solved it. It sse ially this ob ecti h h urged h m to call hysteri f rm f degenera B thro gh hara ri i h bl separate sufficiently the hys rical pli g f nsci usnes from the psycho-pathi etc.

what parts I have *supplemented* Besides the end product of the process the obsession we can in the first place directly demonstrate the source from which the affect in the false con*nection originates In all cases that I have ana*lyzed it was the sexual life that has furnished a painful affect of precisely the same character as the one attached to the obsession It is not theoretically *excluded that this affect could not* occasionally originate in other spheres but I must say that thus far I have found no other origin Moreover one can readily understand that it is precisely the sexual life which furnishes the most manifold occasions for the appearance of unbearable ideas

Moreover the exertion of the will the attempt at defence upon which this theory lays stress is demonstrated by the most unequivocal utterances of the patients At least in a *number of cases the patients themselves inform* us that the phobia or obsession appeared only after the exertion of the will manifestly gained its point Something very disagreeable hap*pened to me once and I have exerted all my* power to push it away not to think of it When I have finally succeeded I have gotten the other thing instead which I have not lost since With these words a patient verified the main points of the theory here developed

Not all who suffer from obsessions are so clear concerning *the origin of the same As a* rule when we call the patient s attention to the original idea of a sexual nature we receive the following answer It could not have come from that Why *I have not thought much about it* For a moment I was frightened then I distracted myself and since then it has not bothered me In this so frequent objection we have the proof that the obsession represents a compen ation or substitute for the unbearable sexual idea and that it has taken its place in con*sciousness*

Between the patient s exertion of the will which succeeds in repressing the unacceptable sexual idea and the appearance of the obsession which though in itself of little intensity is here furnished with an inconceivably strong affect there is a yawning gap which the theory here developed will fill The separation of the sexual idea from its affect and the connection of the latter with another suitable but not unbearable idea—these are processes which take place unconsciously which we can only presume but not prove by any clinico psychological analysis Perhaps it would be more correct to say *that* these are not really processes of a psychic nature but physical processes of which the psychic result *so presents itself that the ex*pressions separation of the idea from its affect and false connection of the latter seem *actual* occurrences

Besides the ca es evincing in turn the sexual unbearable idea and the obsession we find a series of others in which there are simultaneously *obsessions* and *painfully* accentuated *sexual* ideas It will not do very well to call the latter *sexual obsessions* they lack the essential character of obsessions in proving them elves fully *justified whereas the painfulness of the ordi*nary obsession is a problem for the doctor as well as the patient From the amount of insight that could be obtained in such cases it eems that *we deal here with a continued defence* against sexual ideas which are constantly renewed a work heretofore not accomplished

As long as the patients are aware of the ex ual origin of their obsessions they often conceal them If they complain they generally express surprise that this affect is behind the *symptoms that they are afraid and that they* have certain impulses etc To the experienced physician however the affect appears justified and intelli ible and the only thing he finds peculiar is the *connection of such an affect* with an idea unworthy of it In other words the affect of the obsession appears to him as one dis*located or transposed* and *if he has accepted* the observations laid down here he can in many cases retranslate obsessions into the sexual

Any idea which either through its character *may be combinable with an affect of such* quali ty or which bears a certain relation to the unbearable by virtue of which it seems a suitable substitute for it may be used for the secondary connection of the freed affect Thus for example freed anxiety the sexual origin of which can not be recalled attaches itself to the *common primary phobias of man for animals* thunderstorms darkness etc or to things which are unmistakably in some way associated *with the sexual* such as *urination defecation* pollutions and infections

[illegible] ed by th ego n the trans [illegible] of de [illegible] sterical conversion of psychic excitement into omatic innervation The affect under which the ego has *suffered remains now as ever unchanged and* undimini hed but the unbearable idea is suppressed and excluded from memory The repressed ideas *again form the nucleus of a* ec ond psychic group which I believe can be ac

cessible without ha ing recourse to h pnotism. That in the ph bias and obsess ns there appear non of the triking symptoms which in hysteria ccompan the formation of an independent psychic group is d e to the fact that in the f rmer case the whole transformation remains in the psychic sphere whil the o- ma mn rvation experiences n change.

What I ha e here said concernin bsessions I will explain by some examples which are probably of a typical nature

1. A young gi l suffers from obsessive reproaches. If he reads anything in the newspapers about counterfeiters she con e ves the thought that she too mad counterfe t money

the same tim he is perfectly aware of the absurdity of these bsessi e reproaches For a time the consciousnes of her guilt has gained such power over her that her judgment was suppressed and she ccused herself before her relatives and physician f ha ing really com mitted all these crimes (Psychos through simple aggra ation — overwhelming psychosis —

in this treatment and strict watching

2 An th gi l suffered from the fear f getting sudde desires f micturiti n and of being fo ced t wet herself This began after such a des e had really f rced h r to lea e a concert hall during the performance This ph bia had gradually caused her t bec m quite incapa b f any enjoyment and ocial relation hip She f lt secure nly when she knew that th re was a toil t ea by to which she ould repair un bserved. An organic sufferin, which might ha e justified th lack of co fidence of the control f the bladder was excluded. At h me among qu t surroundings and durin the night ther was no such desire to micturate. D tailed examination howed that the desire to mictu ra ppeared f r the first tim under the f l lowing conditions A gentleman to wh m he was not indifferent took seat in the oncert hall o far from her She began to think and to picture to herself how she would sit near him as his wife In this erotic reverie she experienced that physical feeling which must be compared to an erection in the man and which in her—I do not know whether it is general—ended in a slight des re to micturate. She now became extremely frigh ened o er her other wi e accustomed sexual ensation because he had determined to overcome this as well as every desire and in the next moment the affect transposed itself to the accompanying desire to micturate and forced her to lea e the hall after a ery painful struggle In her life she was so prudish that she experienced an intensive horror for all things sexual, and could not conce e the thought of ever marrying on the other hand he was sexually so hyperesthetic that during every erotic revery which she gladly entertained there appeared sensual feeling The erecti n was always accompanied by the desire to micturate and up to the time of the scene in the concert hall it had made no impression on her The treatment led to an almost complete control of the phobia.

3 A young woman who had only one child aft r five years of married life complained of obsessi e impulses to throw herself from the window balcony and of fears lest at the sight of a sharp knife she might kill her child Sh admitted that the marriage relations were eld m practised and then only with ca tion against conceptio but he added that she did not miss this as he was not of a sensual nature I then entured to tell her that at the sight of a man she conce es erotic ideas and that he th ref re lost confidence in herself and imagi ed herself a depra ed person fit for anything The retranslation of the obsession into the sexual was successful weepin she soon admitted her long concealed marital misery and then me tio ed painful ideas of an unchanged sexual character such as the often recurring sensation of something forcing itself und her kirts.

I ha e mad use of such experiences in the therapy f phobias and obses ions, and desp te the patient s resistances I ha e redirected the ttention to the repressed sexual ideas, and wherever feasible I ha e blocked the sources from which the same riginated. To be sure I cannot maintain that all ph bias and obsessions originat in the manne here revealed first, my experi ce in proportion t the abundance of these neuroses embraces nly limited am unt and sec d I, myself know that these *psy hasthenic* symptoms (ac rding to Janet s

designation) are not all of the same value Thus for instance there are pure hysterical phobias But I believe that the mechanism of the displacement of the affect will be demon strated in the greater part of the phobias and obsessions and I must assert that these neu roses which are found just as often isolated as combined with hysteria and neurasthenia are not to be thrown together with the ordinary neurasthenia for which fundamental symptom a psychic mechanism is not at all to be assumed

III

In both cases thus far considered the de fence of the unbearable idea was brought about by the separation of the same from its affect the idea though weakened and isolated re mained in consciousness There exists how ever, a far more energetic and more successful form of defence wherein the ego misplaces the unbearable idea with its affect and behaves as though the unbearable idea had never ap proached the ego But at the moment when this is brought about the person suffers from a psy chosis which can only be classified as an *hallu cinatory confusion* A single example will ex plain this assertion A young girl gives her first impulsive love to a man who she firmly be lieved reciprocated it As a matter of fact she was mistaken the young man had other mo tives for visiting her It was not long before she was disappointed at first she defended herself against it by converting hysterically the corre sponding experience and thus came to believe that he would come some day to ask her in mar riage but in consequence of the imperfect con version and the constant pressure of new pain ful impressions she felt unhappy and ill She finally expected him with the greatest tension on a definite day it was the day of a family reunion The day passes but he did not come After all the trains on which he could have come have passed she suddenly merged into an hallucinatory confusion She thought that he did come she heard his voice in the garden and hastened down in her nightgown to receive him For two months thereafter she lived in a happy dream the content of which was that he was as before (before the time of the painful ly defended disappointment) The hysteria and depression were thus conquered during her sickness she never mentioned anythin about the last period of doubt and suffering she was happy as long as she was left undisturbed and was excited only when a regulation of her en vironment prevented her from accomplishing something which she thought quite natural as a result of her blissful dream This psychosis unintelligible as it was in its time was revealed ten years later throu h hypnotic analysis

The fact to which I call attention is this That the content of such an hallucinatory psy chosis consists in directly bringing into promi nence that idea which was threatened by the motive of the disease One is therefore justi fied in saying that through its flight into the psychosis the ego defended the unbearable idea the process through which this has been brought about withdraws itself from self per ception as well as from the psychological clini cal analysis It is to be considered as the ex pression of a higher grade of a pathological pre disposition and can perhaps be explained as follows The ego tears itself away from the unbearable idea but as it hangs inseparably together with a part of reality the ego while accomplishing this performance also detaches itself wholly or partially from reality The lat ter is in my opinion the condition under which hallucinatory vividness is decreed to particular ideas and hence after a very successful de fence the person finds himself in an hallucina tory confusion

I have but very few analyses of such psy choses at my disposal but I believe that we deal with a very frequent type of psychic ill ness For analogous examples such as the moth er who becoming sick after the loss of her child continues to rock in her arms a piece of wood or the jilted bride who in full dress ex pects her bridegroom can be seen in every mental hospital

It will perhaps not be superfluous to men tion that the three forms of defence here con sidered and hence the three forms of disea e to which this defence leads may be united in the same person The simultaneous occurrence of phobias and hysterical symptoms so fre quently observed in practice really belong to those factors which impede a pure separation of hysteria from other neuroses and force the formation of a *mixed neurosis* To be sure the hallucinatory confusion is not frequently com patible with the continuation of hysteria and not as a rule with obsessions but on the other hand it is not rare that a defense psychosis

Th g o p f typ c l ph b f r wh h g phob s a p t typ c t be d ced to th p y ch mecha m he de l ped F th m re th mecha m of g ph b d t d p t f m th t f th re l ob si d f m ph b b sed o ch He th e i o r p sed d f om wh h th ffect f f h s be sep ated The fear of this ph b a has a the ig

shed episodical v b ak through th course of an hysteria r mixed u osis

In conclusion I will mention in a few words the s bsidiary dea f which I ha e made use in this discussion of th def nce neuroses It is the idea that there is somethi g to di tinguish in all psychic functions (amount of affect sum of excit ement) that all qualit es ha e a quantity though we ha e n means to measure the same—it is somethin that can be increased, diminished, displaced, and discharged and that extends over the mem ry traces of the ideas perhaps like an electric charge o er the surface of the body

This hypothesis which also unde lies our theory f ab-r act on (Preliminary Communi cation) can be used in the same sense as the physicist uses the a umption of the current of electric fluid. It is preliminarily justified through its usefulnes in th comprehension and el cidation of di erse psychic tates

CHAPTER 6

ON THE RIGHT TO EPAR TE FROM NEURAS THENIA A DEFINITE SYMPTOM-COMPLEX AS ANXIETY NEUROSIS (*A gst uro e*)

It is difficult to assert anything of gen ral va lidit concernin eurasthenia as lo as this term allowed to xpress all that f r which Beard used it I believe that n uropathology can only gain by an attempt to eparate f om t actual eurosis ll those neur t c disturbances th symptoms f which are n the one hand m re firml connected am ng themsel es than t the typical eurasthenic ymptoms s h as headach spinal irritation dyspeps a with fla ulence nd onstipat on d which on the ther hand h w essential diff ren es from

do- eurasthenias such as th rganically de termined nasal re ex neurosis th eurotic disturbances f ca hexi s and rteriosclero the earl st ges f pr gressi e paraly s and f some psychoses. Furthermore f ll win the propos ti f Moeb us m s at errosi of h reditary degen rates will be set a d d we will also fi d reasons f ascribin to melancholia m f the euroses which are now called neurasthenia, especially those of an intermit

tent or periodic nature But we force the way into the most mark d changes if we decide to separate from neura thenia that symptom-com plex which I hall hereafter describe and which especially fulfills the condit ons formulated abo e The symptoms of this compl x are cl n cally more related to one another than to the real neurasthenic symptoms that is they fre quently appear together and substitute one an other in th course of the disease and both the aetiology as well as the mechani m of this neu rosis differs bas cally from the aetiology and the mechanism of the real neura thenia which remains after such a separation.

I call this symptom-complex *anxiety neuro sis* (*Angstn urose*) becau e the sum of its com ponents can be grouped around the main symp toms of anxiety becau e each indi idual symp tom hows a definite relation to anxiety I believed that I was original in this co cept on of the sympt ms of anxiety neuro is until an int restin lecture by E. Hecker[a] fell into my hand. In this lecture I found the description of the same interpretat on with all the desired learness and compl teness T be sure Hecker does not separate the equi alents or rudiments f the attack f nxiety from neurasthenia as I intend t do but this is apparently d e t the fact that e ther here nor there has be taken into a count the diversity of the etiolog cal determinants. With the kn wledge of th latter difference every obligation to des gnate th anxiety neurosis by the same name as the real neura thenia disappears for the nly object f arb trary namin is to f cilitate the formulati of general assertions.

1 Cl ni al Symptomatology of Anxiety Ne osis

What I call *anxiety eurosis* can be observed in c mpl te rudimentary de elopme t e ther isolated or in combinati n with other neu roses. The ca es which are in a mea ure com plete and at the same time isolated are natu rally those whi h especially corroborate the impress n that the anxiety neurosis po se ses clinical independence In other cases we are fro ted with the ta k of sele ting and epa rating from a sympt m-compl which corre ponds t a *mixed eur sis* all those symptoms which do not belon t neurasthenia hysteria etc., b t t the anxiety neurosis.

F st pu l hed in the Neurol g h Zentralblatt 893 No.

[a] E. Hecker Uber larvierte und bortiv Angst zustande bei Neurasthenie Zen albl t f Nervenheilkund December 893 — Anxiety is mad

The clinical picture of the anxiety neurosis compri es the following symptoms

1 *General Irritability* This is a frequent *nervous symptom common as such as to many* nervous states I mention it here because it con stantly occurs in the anxiety neurosis and is of theoretical importance For increased irritabili ty always points to an accumulation of excite ment or to an inability to tolerate such ac

f

y

hyperesthesia is especially worth mentioning it is an over sensitiveness for noises which symptom is certainly to be explained by the congenital intimate relationship between audi tory impressions and fright Auditory hyperes *thesia is frequently found as a cause of insom* nia of which more than one form belongs to anxiety neurosis

Anxious Expectation I cannot explain better the condition that I have in mind than by this name and by some appended examples Thus a woman who suffers from anxious ex pectation thinks of influenza pneumonia when ever her husband who is afflicted with a catar rhal condition has a coughing spell and in her *mind she sees a passing funeral procession If* on her way home she sees two persons standing together in front of her house she cannot re frain from the thought that one of her children fell out of the window if she hears the bell ring she thinks that someone is bringing her mournful tidings etc yet in none of these cases is there any pecial reason for exaggerat ing a mere possibility

Anxious expectation naturally reflects itself *constantly in the normal and embraces* all that is designated as uneasiness and a tendency to a pessimistic conception of things but as often as possible it goes *beyond such a plausible un* easiness and it is frequently recognized as a part of constraint even by the patient himself For one form of anxious expectation namely that which refers to one s own health we can reserve the old name of *hypochondria* Hypo

— h the

as a

tence

of paresthesias and annoying som ensa tions *Hypochondria is* thus the form preferred by the genuine neurasthenics whenever they merge into the anxiety neurosis a thing which frequently happens

As a further manifestation of anxious expec tation we may mention the frequent tendency observed *in morally sensitive persons to pangs* of conscience scrupulosity and pedantry which varies as it were from the normal to its ag gravation as doubting mania

Anxious expectation is the most essential symptom of the neurosis it also clearly shows a part of its theory It can perhaps be said that we have here a *quantum of freely floating* anxiety which controls the choice of ideas by expectation and is forever ready to unite itself *with any suitable ideation*

3 This is not the only way in which anx iousness usually latent but constantly lurking in consciousness can manifest itself On the contrary it can also suddenly break into con sciousness without being aroused by the is ue of an idea and thus provoke an attack of anx iety *Such an attack of anxiety consists either* of the anxious feeling alone without any a so ciated idea or of the nearest interpretation of *the termination of life* such as the idea of sud den death or threatening insanity or the feel ing of anxiety becomes mixed with some pares thesia (similar to the hysterical aura) or fi nally the anxious feeling may be combined with a disturbance of one or many somatic func tions such as respiration cardiac activity vas *omotor innervation and glandular activity* From this combination the patient renders es pecially prominent now this and now the other factor He complains of heartspasms heavy breathing profuse perspiration inordinate appetite etc and in his description the feeling of anxiety is put to the background or it is rather vaguely described as feeling badly uncomfortably etc

4 What is interesting and of diagnostic signi *ficance is the fact* that the amount of admix ture of these elements in the attack of anxiety varies extraordinarily and that almost any ac *companying symptom can alone constitute the* attack as well as the anxiety itself Accordingly there are rudimentary attacks of anxiety and equivalents *for the attack of anxiety probably* all of equal significance in showing a profu e and hitherto little appreciated richness in forms A more thorough *study of these larvated states* of anxiety (Hecker) and their diagnostic divi sion from other attacks should soon become the necessary work for neuro pathologists

I now add a list of those forms of attacks of anxiety with which I am acquainted There are attacks

(a) With disturbances of heart action such as palpitation with transitory arrythmia with longer continued tachycardia up to grave states

of heart weakness the differentiation of which from organic heart affection is n t always easy among such we have the pseudo-angina pec toris, a delica e diagnostic sphere!

(b) With disturbances of respiration, many forms of nervous d spnoea, asthma like at tacks, etc. I assert tha. even these attacks are not always accompa..ied by conscious a..xiety

(c) Of profuse perspiration, often nocturnal

(d) Of trembling a..d .haki.., which may readily be mistaken for hysterical attacks

(e) Of inordinate appeti e often combined wi.. dizziness

(f) Of diarrhea appearing in the form of attacks

(g) Of locomotor dizziness

(h) Of so-called congestions, embracing all th.. was called vasomotor neurasthenia and,

(i) Of paresthesias (these are seldom without a..xiety or a similar discomfort)

5. Very frequently the nocturnal frights (pavor nocturnus) f dults usually combined with a..xiety dyspnea, perspiration, etc. are nothin.. other than a variety of the attack of a..xiety This disturbance determines a second form of insomnia in the sphere of the anxiety neurosis. Moreover I became convinced that even the pavor ..octurnus of children evinces a form belonging to the anxiety neurosis. The hysterical tinge a..d the connection of the fear with t..e reproduction of appropriate experience or dream, m..kes the pavor nocturnus f chil dren appear as somethin.. peculiar but t also occurs a..one without a dream c a recurring hallucina..ion.

6. Vertigo In ts lightest forms better designated as dizziness assumes a promi..ent place in the group of symptoms of anxiety neurosi.. In its severer f rms the attack of vertigo with ... symp-

is n confined to certain pla..es ... ..es ... h enters vertigo It belongs to t..e locomotor or coordina..ng vertigo like the vertigo in pa ralys..s of the ocu..ar muscles t consists in specif..c fee..ng f d..scomfort which is ccom pa..ed by sensations of a hea ing ground, sink ..g legs, of the impossibil..y t con..inue in an uprig t position, and t the same time there is a feeling that the legs are as heavy as lead, they s..ake, g..e awa This vertigo never leads t fa....g On the other hand I would like to state t..at such an ta k f vertigo may also be substi uted by profound ttack f syn cope. Other fa..ting lik sta..es in t..e anxiety neuros..s seem to depend on a cardiac collapse.

The vertigo attack is frequently accompa nied by the worst kind of anxiety and is often combined with cardiac and respiratory disturbances Vertigo of elevations mountains and precipices, can also be frequentl observed in anxiety neurosis moreover I do not know whether we are still justified in recogni..... a vertigo a stoma..cho l..e o

On the ba.. s of the chronic anxiousness (anxious expectation) on the one hand and the tendency to vertiginous attacks of anxiety on the other there develop two groups of typical phobias the first refers to the general physiological menaces while the second refers to locomotion. To the first group belong the fear of snakes thunderstorms, darkness vermin etc., as well as the typical moral overscrupulousness a..d the forms of doubting mania Here the a ailable fear is merely used to trengthen those a ersions which are instincti ely im pla..ted in every human being But usually a compul..ively acting phobia is formed only after a remini..cence is added to an experience in which this fear could manifest itself as for example, after the patient has experienced a storm in the open air To attempt to explain such cases as mere continuations of trong im pressions is incorrect. What makes these experiences ignificant and their reminiscences dur able is after all, only the fear which could at that time appea and can also appear today In other words, such impressi ns remain f c ful only in persons with anxious e pect t ons

The other group co tains agoraph bia with all its accessory forms all of which are cha acterized by th r relation to locomotion. As a det rmination of the phobia, we frequently find a precedent attack of vertigo I do not think that it can always be postulated Oc ca..ionally after a first attack of vertigo without fear we see that though locomo on is al ways accompanied by the sensatio..s f vertigo t remains possible without any restrictions but as oon as fear ttaches tself to the attack f vertigo locom tion fails under the condi tions of bein.. alone narrow treet. tc.

The relation of these phobias t the phobias of bsessions, which mecha..ism I di..cus ed above is as follows The agreement lies in the f ct that, here as there a dea bec mes obsessive through ..s connection wi..h an a ail able a..ect. The mech....ism f displacement of the affect therefore holds true for both kinds

From onset st mach.—Ed
The D ... Neuro-P ych

p. 8 ... above.

of phobias But in phobias of the anxiety neurosis this affect is (1) a monotonous one it is always one of anxiety (2) it does not originate from a repressed idea and on psychological analysis it proves itself not further reducible nor can it be attacked through psycho therapy The mechanism of substitution does not therefore hold true for the phobias of anxiety neurosis

Both kinds of phobias (or obsessions) often occur side by side though the atypical phobias which depend on obsessions need not necessarily develop on the basis of anxiety neurosis A very frequent ostensibly complicated mechanism appears if the content of an original simple phobia of anxiety neurosis is substituted by another idea the substitution is then subsequently added to the phobia The *protective measures* originally employed in combating the phobia are most frequently used as substitutions *Thus for example from the effort to* provide oneself with counter evidence that one *is not crazy contrary to the assertion of the* hypochondriacal phobia there results a reasoning mania The hesitations doubts and the many repetitions of the *folie du doute* originate from the justified doubt concerning the certainty of one s own stream of thoughts for through the compulsive like idea one is surely conscious of so obstinate a disturbance etc It may therefore be claimed that many syndromes of compulsion neurosis like *folie du doute* and similar ones can clinically if not notionally be attributed to anxiety neurosis

8 The digestive functions in anxiety neurosis are subject to very few but characteristic disturbances Sensations like nausea and sickly *feeling are not rare and the symptom of in*ordinate appetite alone or with other congestions may serve as a rudimentary attack of anxiety As a chronic alteration analogous to the anxious expectations one finds a tendency to diarrhea which has occasioned the queerest diagnostic mistakes If I am not mistaken it is this diarrhea to which Moebius has recently called attention in a small article I believe moreover that Peyer s reflex diarrhea which he attributes to a disease of the prostrate is nothing other than the diarrhea of anxiety neurosis The deceptive reflex relation is due to the fact that the same factors which are active in the origin of such prostatic affections also come into play in the aetiology of anxiety neurosis

The behaviour of the gastro intestinal function in anxiety neurosis shows a sharp contrast to the influence of this same function in neurasthenia Mixed cases often show the familiar fluctuations between diarrhea and constipation The desire to urinate in anxiety neurosis is analogous to the diarrhea.

9 The paresthesias which accompany the attack of vertigo or anxiety are interesting because they associate themselves into a firm sequence similar to the sensations of the hysterical aura But in contrast to the hysterical aura I find these associated sensations atypical and changeable Another similarity to hysteria is shown by the fact that in anxiety neurosis a kind of conversion into bodily sensations as for example into rheumatic muscles takes place which otherwise can be overlooked at *one s pleasure A large number of so-called* rheumatics who are moreover demonstrable as *such really suffer from an anxiety neurosis* Besides this aggravation of the sensation of pain I have observed in a number of cases of anxiety neurosis a tendency towards hallucinations which could not be explained as hysterical

10 Many of the so called symptoms which accompany or substitute for the attack of anxiety also appear in a chronic manner They are then still less discernible for the anxious feeling accompanying them appears more indistinct than in the attack of anxiety This especially hold true for the diarrhea vertigo and paresthesias Just as the attack of vertigo can be substituted for by an attack of syncope so *can the chronic vertigo be substituted for by* the continuous feeling of feebleness lassitude etc

II *The Occurrence and Aetiology of Anxiety Neurosis*

In some cases of anxiety neurosis no aetiology can readily be ascertained It is noteworthy that in such cases it is seldom difficult to demonstrate a marked hereditary taint

Where we have reason to assume that the neurosis is acquired we can find by careful and — ef tries at first appear to be of a varied nature but easily display the common character which explains their homogeneous effect on the nervous sys

Obs s o s a d Phob as (895) *C ll ct d P p s* I

M b us *N op tholog ch B t g* (894) B ok

P y r *D er Aff kt d D m* V enna Cl c J ry 1893

See *Th D f* \ *o P ych* p 8 ff bo e.

tem. They are found either alone or with other bed injures to which a reinforcing affect can be attribu ed. This sexual aet ology of anxiety neurosis can be demonstrated o preponder a y o en that I en ure for the purpose of this b ef communication to set aside all cases of a doubtful or different aetiology

For t e more precise description of the aetiological determinations under which anxiety neurosis occurs, it will be advisable to treat separately those occurring in men and those occurring in women. Anxiety neurosis appears in women—disregarding their predisposition—in the following cases

(a) As virginal fea or anx ty in adults A number of unequivocal bservati ns howed me that an anx ty neurosis which is almost typically combined with hyst ria, can be evoked in maturing girls at the first encounter with the sexual problem, that is at the sud den revelation of the things hitherto veiled by either seeing the sexual act or by hearing or reading something of that nat re

(b) As fear in the newly married. Young women wh remain anaesth tic during the first co ab ation not seldom merge into an anxiety neurosis which disappears after the anaesthesia is displaced by the normal sensati n. As most young women remain undisturbed through such a beginning anaesthesia, the production of this fear requires determinants which I will men tion

(c) As fear in women whose husbands uffer from jaculatio precox or from diminished potency and,

(d) In those whose husbands practice coitus interrup us or e ervatus These cases go together for on analyzing a large number of ex amples one can easily be convinced that they only depend on whether the woman attained gratifica on during co tus o n t. In the latter case one finds the d terminant for the rigin of anxiety neurosis On th other hand the w man is spared from the neurosis if the husband af flicted by jaculatio pre can repeat the con gress with better results immediately there after The congr s us eservatus by means of the condom is n t injurious to th w man if she is quickly excited and the husband is very potent in ther cases, the noxiousness of this kind of preventive measure is n t inferio to the others. Coitus nterruptus is almost reg ula ly injurious but f the woman it is in jurious only if the husband practices t regard les ly that is, I he terrupts c tus as soon as he comes near ejaculating without concerning himself about the termination of the excitement of his wife. On the other hand if the husband waits until his wife is gratified the co tus has the same s gnificance for the latter as a normal one but then the husband becomes afflicted with an anxiety neurosis. I have col lected and analyzed a number of cases which furnished the material for the above statements.

(e) As fear in widows and intentional abstainers, not seldom in typ cal combination —

originates in the female sex, mo t frequently and most independently of hereditary predis position. I will endeavour to demonstrate in these—curable acqu red—ca es of anxiety neu rosis that the d covered —

sexual determinants of anxiety neurosis in men. I would like to formulate the following groups every one of which finds its analogy in women

(a) Fear of the intentional abstainers this is frequently comb ned with symptoms of defence (obsessions hysteria) The motives which are decisive for intentional ab tinence carry along with them the fact that a number of hereditari ly burdened eccentrics etc., belong to this category

(b) Fear in men with fru trated excitement (during the engagement period) persons who out of fear for the con equences of sexual re lations satisfy themselves with handling or looking at the woman. This group of determi nants which can moreover be transferred to the other sex—engagement periods, relations with sexual fo bearance—furnish the purest cases f the neurosis.

(c) Fear in men who practice coitus interruptus As bserved bove co — —
in
th
t
fi an, he voluntarily controls the co tus by delaying the ej culation. In this manner we can understand why it is that in couples who practi e o tus interruptus it is usually only one of them who becomes afflicted. M reover the coitus in erruptus only rarely produces in man a pure anxiety eurosis usually it s a mixture of the same with neura thenia.

(d) Fear in men in sen m There are men

who show a *climacterium* like women and merge into an anxiety neurosis at the time when their potency diminishes and their libido increases

Finally I must add two more cases holding true for both sexes

(e) Neurasthenics merge into anxiety neurosis in consequence of masturbation as soon as they refrain from this manner of sexual gratification These persons have especially made themselves unfit to bear abstinence

What is important for the understanding of the anxiety neurosis is the fact that any noteworthy development of the same occurs only in men who remain potent and in non anesthetic women In neurasthenics who on account of masturbation have markedly injured their potency anxiety neurosis as a result of abstinence occurs but rarely and limits itself usually to hypochondria and light chronic dizziness The majority of women are really to be considered as *potent* a real impotent that is a real anesthetic woman is also inaccessible to anxiety neurosis and bears strikingly well the injuries cited above

How far we are perhaps justified in assuming constant relations between individual aetiological factors and individual symptoms from the complex of anxiety neurosis I do not care to discuss here

(f) The last of the aetiological determinants to be mentioned seems in the first place really not to be of a sexual nature Anxiety neurosis originates in both sexes through overwork exhaustive exertion as for instance after sleepless night nursing the sick and even after serious illness

The main objection to my formulation of a sexual aetiology of anxiety neurosis will probably be based on the argument that such abnormal relations of the sexual life exist very frequently that they will be found wherever one will look for them and that their occurrence in cases of anxiety neurosis does not therefore demonstrate the aetiology of this neurosis It may also be argued that the number of persons practicing *coitus interruptus* etc is incomparably greater than those who are burdened with anxiety neurosis and that the overwhelming number of the former are quite well in spite of this injury

To this I can answer that we certainly need not expect a rare aetiological factor in the neuroses especially in anxiety neurosis which everyone concedes are enormously frequent Moreover this very finding really fulfills a pathological postulate if an aetiological examination shows that the aetiological factor can be more frequently demonstrated than its effect, for the latter requires still other determinants (predisposition summation of the specific aetiology reinforcement through other banal injuries) and furthermore the detailed analysis of suitable cases of anxiety neurosis show quite unequivocally the significance of the sexual factor I shall however confine myself here to the aetiological factor of *coitus interruptus* and will render prominent obvious individual experiences

1 As long as anxiety neurosis in young women is not yet constituted but appears in fragments and again spontaneously disappears it can be shown that every such shift of the neurosis depends on a coitus lacking gratification Two days after such behaviour and in persons of little resistance the day after there regularly appears the attack of anxiety or vertigo to which all the other symptoms of the neurosis attach themselves they abate again on rarer marital relations An unexpected journey of the husband a sojourn in the mountains causing a separation of the married couple does good the benefit from a course of gynecological treatment is due to the fact that during its continuation the marriage relations are stopped. It is noteworthy that the success of a local treatment is only transitory the neurosis reappears in the mountain resort if the husband joins his wife for his own vacation If in a not as yet constituted neurosis a physician aware of this aetiology causes a substitution of the *coitus interruptus* by normal relations there results a therapeutic proof of the assertion here formulated The anxiety disappears and does not return unless there be a new or similar cause

In the anamnesis of many cases of anxiety neurosis we find in both men and women a striking fluctuation in the intensity of the appearances in both the coming and going of the whole condition This year was almost wholly good the following was terrible etc on one occasion the improvement occurred after a definite treatment which however failed to produce a response at the next attack If we inform ourselves about the number and the sequence of the children and compare this marriage chronicle with the peculiar course of the neurosis the result of the simple solution shows that the periods of improvement or well being corresponded with the pregnancies of the woman during which naturally the occasions for

preventive relations were unnecessary The treatment which benefited the husband be it Father Kneip's or hydrotherapy was the one which he had taken after his wife was pregnant

3. From the anamnesis of patients we often find that the symptoms of the anxiety neurosis are relieved at a certain time by another neurosis, perhaps a neurasthenia which has supplanted it. It can then be regularly demonstrated that, shortly before this change of the picture there occurred a corresponding change in the form of sexual injury

Whereas such experiences which can be augmented at pleasure plainly obtrude upon the physician the sexual aetiology for a certain category of cases, other cases which would have otherwise remained incomprehensible can at least without gainsaying be solved and classified by the key of the sexual aetiology We refer to those numerous cases in which everything exists that has been found in the former category such as the appearance of anxiety neurosis on the one hand and the specific factor of *coitus interruptus* on the other but yet [illegible]

above all, I would expect that the overworked student would acquire a cephalasthenia and that the mother in our example an hysteria That both became afflicted with anxiety neurosis causes me to attach importance to the fact that the mother lived for eight years in marital *coitus interruptus* and that the student entertained for three years a warm love affair with a respectable girl whom he was not allowed to impregnate

These examples tend to show that where the specific sexual injury of the *coitus interruptus* is in itself unable to provoke an anxiety neurosis it at least predisposes to its acquisition The anxiety neurosis then comes to light as soon as the effect of another banal injury enters into the latent effect of the specific factor The former can quantitatively substitute the specific factor but not supplant it qualitatively The specific factor always remains that which determines the form of neurosis I hope to be able to prove to a greater extent this theory for the aetiology of the neurosis

Furthermore the last discussions contain the not in itself improbable assumption that a sexual injury like *coitus interruptus* asserts itself through summation The time required before the effect of this summation becomes visible depends upon the predisposition of the individual and the former burdening of his nervous system. The individuals who bear *coitus interruptus* manifestly without disadvantage really become predisposed by it to the disturbance—anxiety neurosis—which can at any time burst forth spontaneously or after banal otherwise inadequate trauma just as the chronic alcoholic finally develops a cirrhosis or another disease by summation or under the influence of a fever merges into a delirium

III Addenda to the Theory of Anxiety Neurosis

The following discussion claims nothing but the value of a first tentative attempt which judgment should not influence the acceptance of the facts mentioned above The estimation of this *theory of anxiety neurosis* is rendered still more difficult by the fact that it merely corresponds to a fragment of a more comprehensive representation of the neuroses

The facts hitherto expressed concerning the anxiety neurosis already contain some starting points for an insight into the mechanism of this neurosis In the first place the obtaining the assumption that we deal with an accumulation *of excitement*, and then the very important

…ho was seized with an attack of palpitation on hearing of his father's death and who since that time suffered from an anxiety neurosis The case cannot be understood for up to that time this man was not nervous The death of the father well advanced in years did not occur under any peculiar circumstance and it *must be admitted* that the expected natural death of an aged father does not belong to those experiences which are wont to make [illegible]

appearing in other person after a short sexual injury of this nature and without the intervention of another trauma. The same judgment may be pronounced in the case of the woman who merges into an anxiety neurosis after the death of her child or in the case of the student who becomes disturbed by an anxiety neurosis while preparing for his final state examination. I find that here as there *the effect* is not explained by the reported aetiology One must not necessarily *overwork* himself studying and a healthy mother is wont to react to the death of her child with normal grief But,

fact that the anxiety underlying the manifestations of the neurosis is not of psychic derivation Such for example would exist if we found as a basis for the anxiety neurosis a justified fright happening once or repeatedly which has since supplied the source of the preparedness for the anxiety neurosis But this is not the case a former fright can perhaps cause an hysteria or a traumatic neurosis but never an anxiety neurosis As the *coitus interruptus* is rendered so prominent among the causes of anxiety neurosis I have thought at first that the source of the continuous anxiety was perhaps the repeated fear during the sexual act lest the technique will fail and conception follow But I have found that this state of mind of the man or woman during the *coitus interruptus* plays no part in the origin of anxiety neurosis that the women who are really indifferent to the possibilities of conception are just as exposed to the neurosis as those who are trembling at the possibility of it it all depends on which person suffers the loss of sexual gratification

Another starting point presents itself in the as yet unmentioned observation that in a whole series of cases the anxiety neurosis goes along with the most distinct diminution of the sexual libido or the psychic desire so that on revealing to the patients that their affliction depends on *insufficient gratification* they regularly reply that this is impossible as just now their whole desire is extinguished The indications that we deal with an accumulation of excitement that the anxiety which probably corresponds to such accumulated excitement is of somatic ori in so that somatic excitement becomes accumulated and furthermore that this *somatic excitement* is of a sexual nature and that it is accompanied by a decreased psychic participation in the sexual processes—all these indications I ay favour the expectation that the mechanism of the anxiety neurosis is to be found in the deviation of the somatic sexual excitement from the psychic and in the abnormal utilization of this excitement

This conception of the mechanism of anxiety neurosis will become clearer if one accepts the following view concerning the sexual process in man In the sexually mature male organism the somatic sexual excitement is—probably continuously—produced and this becomes a periodic stimulus for the psychic life To make our conceptions clearer we will add that this somatic sexual excitement manifests itself as a pressure on the wall of the seminal vesicle which is provided with nerve endings This visceral excitement thus becomes continuously increased but not before attaining a certain height is it able to overcome the resistances of the intercalated conduction as far as the cortex and manifest itself as psychic excitement Then the group of sexual ideas existing in the psyche becomes endowed with energy and results in a psychic state of libidinal tension which is accompanied by an impulse to remove this tension Such psychic unburdening is possible only in one way which I wish to designate as specific or adequate action This adequate action for the male sexual impulse consists of a complicated spinal reflex act which results in the unburdening of those nerve endings and of all *psychically formed preparations for the liberation of this reflex* Anything else except the adequate action would be of no avail for after the somatic sexual excitement has once reached the liminal value it continuously changes into psychic excitement that must by all means occur which frees the nerve endings from their heavy pressure and thus abolish the whole somatic excitement existing at the time and allow the subcortical conduction to reestablish its resistance

I will desist from presenting in a similar manner more complicated cases of the sexual process I will merely formulate the statement that this scheme can essentially be transferred to the woman despite the problem of the perplexity artificial retardation and stunting of the female sexual impulse In the woman too it can be assumed that there is a somatic sexual excitement and a state in which this excitement becomes psychic evoking libido and the impulse to specific action accompanied by the sensual feeling But we are unable to state what analogy there may be in the woman to the unburdening of the seminal vesicles

We can bring into the bounds of this representation of the sexual process the aetiology of actual neurasthenia as well as of anxiety neurosis Neurasthenia always originates whenever the adequate (action) unburdening is replaced by a less adequate one like the normal coitus under the most favourable conditions by a masturbation or spontaneous pollution while anxiety neurosis is produced by all factors which impede the psychic elaboration of the somatic sexual excitement The manifestations of anxiety neurosis are brought about by the fact that the somatic sexual excitement diverted from the psyche expends itself subcortically in not at all adequate reactions

I will now attempt to test the aetiological determinants suggested before in order to see whether they show the common character for ...ed by me. As the first aetiological factor in the man, I have mentioned intentional abstinence. Abstinence consists in foregoing the specific action which results from libido. Such foregoing may have two consequences: first the somatic excitement accumulates; second, which is more important, it then becomes diverted to another route where there is more chance for discharge than through the psyche. It will then finally diminish the libido and the excitement will manifest itself subcortically as anxiety. Where the libido does not become diminished, or the somatic excitement is expended in pollutions, or where it really becomes exhausted in consequence of repulsion, everything else except anxiety neurosis is formed. In this manner abstinence leads to anxiety neurosis. But abstinence is also the active process in the

...sublimation of the sexual affect another distracting psychic task. Through this psychic distraction too the libido gradually disappears, and the further course is then the same as in the case of abstinence. The anxiety in old age (*climacterium of men*) requires another explanation. Here the libido does not diminish, but, just as in the *climacterium* of women, such an increase takes place in the somatic excitement that the psyche shows itself relatively insufficient for the subjugation of the same.

The subsummation of the aetiological determinants in the woman, under the aspect mentioned, does not afford any greater difficulties. The case of the virginal fears is especially clear. Here the group of ideas with which the somatic sexual excitement should combine are not as yet sufficiently developed. In anaesthetically newly married women, the anxiety appears only if the first cohabitations awakened sufficient amount of somatic excitement. Where the local signs of such excitability (like spontaneous feelings of excitement, desire to micturate, etc.) are lacking the anxiety too stays away. The case of *ejaculatio praecox* or *coitus interruptus* is explained similarly to that in the man by the fact that the libido gradually disappears in the psychically ungratified act, whereas the excitement thereby evoked is subcortically expended. The formation of an

estrangement between the somatic and psychic in the discharge of the sexual excitement succeeds quicker in the woman than in the man and is more difficult to remove. The case of widowhood or voluntary abstinence as well as the case of *climacterium* adjusts itself in the woman as in the man, but in the case of abstinence there surely is in addition the intentional repression of the sexual ideas, for an abstinent woman struggling with temptation must often decide to suppress it. The abhorrence perceived by an elderly woman during her menopause against the immensely increased libido can have a similar effect.

The two aetiological determinants mentioned last can also be classified without any difficulty. The tendency to anxiety of the masturbator who becomes neurasthenic is explained by the fact that such persons easily merge into the state of abstinence after they have so long been accustomed to afford a discharge—to be sure an inadequate one—for every little quantity of somatic excitement. Finally the last case, the origin of anxiety neurosis through a severe illness (overwork, exhaustive nursing, etc.) aided by the efficacy of *coitus interruptus* readily permits this free interpretation. Through deviation, the psyche becomes here insufficient for the subjugation of the somatic sexual excitement, a task which continuously devolves upon it. We know how deeply the libido can sink under the same conditions and we have here a nice example of a neurosis which, *although it ... a sexual ... logy still ... ces a sexual mechanism*.

The conception here developed represents the symptoms of anxiety neurosis in a measure as *substitute* for the omitted specific action of sexual excitement. As a further cor—

gestion, etc. In the corresponding attack of anxiety of our neurosis, we have before us the dyspnoea, the palpitation, etc., of the coitus in an isolated and aggravated manner.

It can still be asked why the nervous system merges into a peculiar affective state of anxiety under the circumstances of psychic inadequacy for the subjugation of the sexual excitement. A hint to the answer is as follows: The psyche merges into the affect of anxiety when it perceives itself unfit to adjust an externally approaching task (danger) by a corresponding reaction; it merges into the neurosis of anxiety when it finds itself unable to equalize the en

fact that the anxiety underlying the manifestations of the neurosis is not of psychic derivation Such for example would exist if we found as a basis for the anxiety neurosis a justified fright happening once or repeatedly which has since supplied the source of the preparedness for the *anxiety neurosis* But *this is not* the case a former fright can perhaps cause an hysteria or a traumatic neurosis but never an anxiety neurosis As the *coitus interruptus* is rendered so prominent among the causes of anxiety neurosis I have thought at first that the source of the continuous anxiety was perhaps the repeated fear during the sexual act lest the technique will fail and conception follow But I have found that this *state of mind* of the man or woman during the *coitus interruptus plays no part in the origin of anxiety* neurosis that the women who are really indifferent to the possibilities of conception are just as exposed to the neurosis as those who are trembling at the possibility of it it all depends on which person suffers the loss of sexual gratification

Another starting point presents itself in the as yet unmentioned observation that in a whole *series of cases the anxiety neurosis goes along* with the most distinct diminution of the sexual *libido* or the psychic desire *o that* on revealing to the patients that their affliction depends on *insufficient gratification* they regularly reply that this is impossible as just now their whole desire is extinguished The indications that we deal with an accumulation of excitement that the anxiety which probably corresponds to such accumulated excitement is of somatic ori in so that somatic excitement becomes accumulated and furthermore that this somatic excitement is of a sexual nature and *that it is accompanied by a decreased psychic* participation in the sexual processes—all these *indications I say favour the expectation that* the mechanism of the anxiety neurosis is to be found in the deviation of the somatic sexual excitement from the psychic and in the abnormal utilization of this excitement

This conception of the mechanism of anxiety neurosis will become clearer if one accepts the following view concerning the sexual process in man In the sexually mature male organism the somatic sexual excitement is—probably continuously—produced and this becomes a *periodic* stimulus for the psychic life To make our conceptions clearer we will add that this somatic sexual *excitement* manifests itself as a pressure on the wall of the seminal vesicle which is provided with nerve endings This visceral excitement thus becomes continuously increased but not before attaining a certain height is it able to overcome the resistances of the intercalated conduction *as far as the cortex* and manifest itself as psychic excitement Then *the group of sexual ideas existing in the psyche* becomes endowed with energy and results in a psychic state of libidinal tension which is accompanied by an impulse to remove this tension Such psychic unburdening is possible only in one way which I wish to designate as specific or adequate action This adequate action for the male sexual impulse consists of a complicated spinal reflex act which results in the un*burdening of those nerve endings and of* all psychically formed preparations for the liberation of this reflex Anything else except the adequate action would be of no avail for after the somatic sexual excitement has once reached the liminal value it continuously changes into

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of others or receiving i format on concerning sexual processes.

In my first communication on the defence neuro-psychoses I failed to explain how the ex ert on of a hitherto healthy indi idual to forg t such traum tic happenings would re ult in the real intentional repression, and thus pen the door for the defence neurosis It can not de pend on the nature of the experience as other persons remain unaffe ted desp te the same mo tives Hysteria cannot the efore be fully ex plained by th effect of th trauma and we are fo ced to dm t that the capacity for hys teria already ex ted before the trauma.

This i d finite hysterical pred spos t on can ow wholly or partı lly be substit ted by the posthum s effe t of the infantil sexual t au ma. The epr ssio of the memory of a pain ful xual experience f mat rer years can take place nly in pers ns in whom this experience can bring into activity the memory emnants of a infantile trauma.

The prerequi te of bses ions is also a sexual infantile experie e but of different n ture than that of hysteria The et l gy of both de fense n uro ps choses w sh ws th follo relati n to th t l gy f b h

roses neurasthen a and anxiety neurosis As I have shown abo e both the latter neuroses are direct results of the sexual *noxae* alone while both defence neuro es are the direct results of sexual *noxae* which acted before the appearance of sexual maturity that is they are the results of the psychic memory remnant of those *noxae* The actual causes producing neurasthenia and anxiety neurosis s multaneously play the role of inciting cau es of the defence neuroses and on the other hand the specific causes of the defence neuroses the infant le traumas may simultaneously prepare the soil for the later developing neura the ia. F nally it not s ldom h istence of a neurasthenia or ued than

II The Essence and Mecha ism of Compuls on Neurosis

Sexual experiences of early childhood have the same significance in the aetiology of the compuls on neuro is as in hysteria st ll we no longer deal h re w th ual passi ty but with r aggressions and with rt cipation n sexual with sexual act v ce in the aetiol g uline sex eems to n neurosis on neurosis I ha e *hysterical symp-* a pleasurable ac p ecedent scene e is a lawful one gres ion always eduction But I omplete descrip- mpulsion neuro- l determinat on uls n n u os s nfantile trau on of the de

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proportionately greater frequency of hysteria in the female sex as even in childhood this sex is more subject to sexual assaults

The objection most frequently advanced against this result may be to the purport that sexual assaults on little children occur too frequently to give an aetiological value to its verification or that such experiences must remain ineffectual just because they concern a sexually undeveloped being and that one must moreover be careful not to obtrude upon the patient through the examination such alleged reminiscences or believe in the romances which they themselves fabricate To the latter objections I hold out the request that no one should really jud e with great certainty this obscure realm unless he has made use of the only method which can clear it up (the method of psycho analysis for bringing to consciousness the hitherto unconscious) The essential point in the first *doubts is settled by the observation that* it really is not the experiences themselves that act traumatically but their revival as reminiscences after the individual has entered into sexual maturity

My thirteen cases of hysteria were throughout of the graver kind they were all of long duration and some had undergone a lengthy *and unsuccessful hospital treatment Every one* of the infantile traumas which the analysis revealed for their severe cases had to be designated as severe sexual injuries some of them were indeed abominable Among the persons who were guilty of such serious abuse we have in the first place nurses governesses and other servants to whom children are left much too carelessly then in regrettable frequency come the teachers but in seven of the thirteen cases we dealt with innocent childish offenders mostly brothers who for years entertained sexual relations with their younger sisters The course of events always resembled some of the cases which could with certainty be tracked namely that the boy had been abused by a person of the feminine sex thus awakening in him prematurely the libido and that after a few years he repeated in sexual aggression on his sister the same procedures to which he himself was subjected

I must exclude active masturbation from the list of sexual injuries of early childhood as being pathogenic for hysteria That it is so very frequently found associated with hysteria is due to the fact that masturbation in itself is more frequently the result of abuse or seduction than one supposes It not seldom happens that both members of a childish pair later in life become afflicted by a defence neurosis the brother by obsessions and the sister by hysteria which naturally gives the appearance of a familial neurotic predisposition This pseudo heredity is now and then solved in a surprising manner I have had under observation a brother sister and a somewhat older cousin The analysis which I have undertaken with the brother showed me that he suffered from reproaches for being the cause of his sister s malady he himself was corrupted by hi cousin concerning whom it was known in the family that he fell a victim to his nurse

I can not definitely state up to what age sexual damage occurs in the aetiology of hysteria but I doubt whether sexual passivity can cause repression after the eighth and tenth year unless qualified for it by previous experiences The lower limit reaches as far as memory in general that is to the delicate age of one and one half or two years (two cases)[1] In a number of my cases the sexual trauma (or the num*ber of traumas) occurred during* the third and fourth year of life I myself would not len l credence to this peculiar discovery if it were not for the fact that the later development of the neurosis furnished it with full trustworthiness In every case there are a number of morbid symptoms habits and phobias which are only explainable by returning to those youthful experiences and the logical structure of the neurotic manifestation makes it impossible to reject the faithfully retained memories of childhood Except through psycho analysis it is of no avail to ask a hysterical patient about these infantile traumas their remnants can only be found in the morbid symptoms and not in conscious memory

All the experiences and excitements which prepare the way for or occasion the outbur t of hysteria in the period of *life* after puberty evidently act through the fact that they awaken the memory remnants of those infantile traumas which do not become conscious but lead to the liberation of affect and repression It is quite in harmony with this rôle of the later traumas not to be subject to the strict limitation of the infantile traumas but that both *in intensity* and quality *they can vary from* an actual exual assault to a mere approximation of the sexual such as perceiving the sexual acts

[1] I mys lf s rm se th t th f eq tly f b cated as a lts of hyst cal pers s bse l f b l t o s em nat g fr m th m mory tr f f tile traumas

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Th prerequi. te of obsessions is also a sexual infantile experience but of different nature than that of hysteri Th aet ology f both de fense euro-psych es now show th followi g relati n to the tiology of b th simpl neu

I rud th xiety ne ro (*Neur l gische Zentralbl tt* [895].) [See p 9 bo] I stated that y neu os wh ch ca lm t typically be comb ed w th hysteria can be ked ... he sexu l

A psychol gical theory f epress ought also to inf rm us hy nly d as f sexual co t ca be repressed. It m y be f rmul ed as f ll ws I is known tha ideas f sexu l ten prod cl g processes in the ge tal sembl g th al sexual experience It m y be ass med that h som men becomes tran formed ps h ci men As ...

II *The Essence and Mech nism of Compulsion Ne rosis*

Sexual experiences of early childhood have the sam significance in the aetiology of the compuls on neuros s as in hysteria still we no longer deal here w th exual passivity but with pleasurably accomplished aggres io s and with pleasurably experie ced participatio in sexual acts that s we deal he e w th sexual activ ity It s due to this d ffere ce in the aet olog cal relation that the masculine sex seems to be preferred in the compul on neuro s

In all my cases of compuls on neuros s I ha e f und bes des *a sub s l of hysterical symp t ms* which could be traced to a plea urable ac t on f exual pass vity fr m a precedent scene I presume that this coi c dence s a l wful one and that premature sexual aggressio always pres ppo es an experience of seductio But I am unable to pr se t as yet a complete description of the aeti logy of the compul on n u o-s s I o ly believe that the final determination as to whethe a hysteria or compuls on neuro is hould originate on the ba s of infantile trau mas d pe ds on the t mporal relatio of the de elopme t of the l b do

The e ence of the compuls on neurosis may be expres ed in the foll wi g simple formula *Obs o s are always t ansformed* rep oaches *et rn ng f om the epre sio wh ch alw ys efer to pl asurably accompl shed sexu al ac t on of childhood* I order to elucidate this sent ce t will be nec ss ry to de cribe the typ cal course f c mpulsio e i

In a first peri d—period of childish unmo-

tu y does co ncid w h puberty but occurs before the same (gh ten ye rs)

These theo es f pas i d t sexual tra mas have later bee gi en up by the th —Tr.

rality—the events containing the seeds of the later neurosis take place In the earliest childhood there appear at first the experiences of sexual seduction which later makes the repression possible and this is followed by the actions of sexual aggressions against the other sex which later manifest themselves as actions of reproach

This period is brought to an end by the appearance of the—often self ripened—sexual maturity A reproach then attaches itself to the memory of that pleasurable action and the connection with the initial experience of passivity makes it possible—often only after conscious and recollected effort—to repress it and replace it by a *primary symptom of defence* The third period that of apparent healthiness but really of *successful defence* begins with the symptoms of scrupulousness shame and diffidence

The next period of the disease is characterized by *the return of the repressed reminiscences* hence by the failure of the defence But it remains undecided whether the awakening of it is more frequently accidental and spontaneous or whether it appears in consequence of actual sexual disturbances that is as additional influences of the same But the revived reminiscences and the reproaches formed from them never enter into consciousness unchanged What becomes conscious as an obsession and obsessive affect and substitutes the pathogenic memory in the conscious life are compromise formations between the repressed and the repressing ideas

In order to describe clearly and probably convincingly the processes of repression the return of the repression and the formation of the pathological ideas of compromise we would have to decide upon very definite hypotheses concerning the substratum of the psychic occurrence and consciousness As long as we wish to avoid it we will have to rest content with the following rather figuratively understood observations Depending on whether the memory content of the reproachful action alone forces an entrance into consciousness or whether it takes with it the accompanying reproachful affect we have two forms of compulsion neurosis The first represents the typical obsessions the content of which attracts the patient s attention only an indefinite displeasure is perceived as an affect whereas for the content of the obsession the only suitable affect would be one of reproach The content of the obsession is doubly distorted when compared to the content of the infantile compulsive act First something actual replaces the past experience and second the sexual is substituted by an analogous non sexual experience These two changes are the results of the constant tendency to repression still in force which we will attribute to the *ego* The influence of the revived pathogenic memory is shown by the fact that the content of the obsession is still partially identical with the repressed or can be traced to it by a correct stream of thought If with the help of the psycho analytic method we reconstruct the origin of one individual obsession we find that one actual impression instigated two diverse streams of thought and that the one which passed over the repressed memory though incapable of consciousness and correction proves to be just as correctly formed logically as the other If the results of the two psychic operations disagree the contradiction between the two may never be brought to logical adjustment but as a compromise between the resistance and the pathological result of thought an apparently absurd obsession enters into consciousness beside the normal result of the thought If both streams of thought yield the same result they reinforce each other so that the normally gained result of thought now behaves psychically like an obsession *Wherever neurotic compulsion manifests itself psychically it originates from repression* The obsessions have as it were a psychical course of compulsion which is due not to their own validity but to the source from which they originate or to the source which furnishes a part of their validity

A second form of compulsion neurosis results if the repressed reproach and not the repressed content of memory forces a replacement in the conscious psychic life Through a psychic admixture the affect of the reproach can change itself into any other affect of displeasure and if this occurs there is nothing to hinder the substituting affect from becoming conscious Thus the *reproach* (of having performed in childhood some sexual actions) may be easily transformed into *shame* (if some one else becomes aware of it) into *hypochondriacal anxiety* (because of the physical harmful consequences of those reproachful acts) into *social anxiety* (fearing punishment from others)

one s own moral ability of resistance) etc Besides the memory content of the reproachful action may also be represented in conscious

ress or it may be altogether o cealed, which makes the diagno is ery difficult. Many cases which on superficial examination re taken as ordinary (neurasthenic) h pochondria often belong t this group of *compulsive affects* the very frequently so-called *periodic neurasthenia* or *periodic m lanchol a* especially se m to be explained by c mpul ve affects or obse ions a recognition not unimportant therapeutically

Beside these c mpr mise ympt ms which signify the return of the rep ess and hence a failure of the on inally achieved defence the compulsion neur is forms a series of ther symptoms of a t tally different origin The ego f on t those de

measur s which have perf rmed good service in the struggl carried on against the bsess ons and the bses in affects If these helps in the conflict of the defence really s cceed in repress ing anew the symptoms of return obtruding themsel es on th ego the compulsion then transmits itself on the protect e measures themsel es and p oduces a third form of the *compulsion neurosis* th *compulsive act on*. These are neve primary they never co tain anything else but a d fenc nev r an aggres sion Psycho-analysis hows that, despite their peculiarity they can always be fully explained by reduction to the compuls ve reminiscence which they oppose

One sample ins ead f ma y An leven year-old boy has obsessively rranged f himself the following ceremonial bef re oi g to bed He could ot f ll sleep les he related his m the mos minu ly

lyin on him sleep ng the side—because d ring

The secondary defence of the obsessions can be brought about by a forc ble deviation to other thou hts of pos ibly contrary content hence in case of succe s there is a *compulsive reasoni g* regularly concerning ab tract and *transcendental* subject because the repressed ideas always occupied themsel es with sen u ous ess Or the patient tries to become master of every compulsive idea through logical la bour and by appealing to his conscious mem ory this leads to *compuls ve think ng a d ex am ation* and to *doubti g mania* The priority of the perception before the memory in these examinations at first induces and then forces

in a gr ater number of defensi e measu s which are capable of being transformed into compulsive actions These can be grouped ac cord to their tendency We may ha e *meas ures of pen te ce* (ksome ceremonial and ob- servat on of umbers) of *p event on* (di erse

sc o is (dipsomania) Amo g these compulsi e acts and impulses the phobias play the greatest part as limitations of the patient s existence

There are cases in which we can observe how the compuls on becomes transferred from the id a o aff ct to the measure, and other cases in which th compulsi n oscillates between the returning symptoms of ec ndary defence. But there are also cases in which o obsessions are really formed but the repressed reminiscence immediately becomes replaced by the apparent primary defensive measure. Here that stage is attained at a bound which oth rwise ends the c urse of the compuls on neu osis only after the conflict of the defe ce. Grave cases of this affection end e ther with a fixat n f ceremo- nial actions gen ral doubting mania o in an existence of eccentricity c ditu ed by phobias

That the b ess ns and everything derived fr m them are n t believed is probably due to the f ct that the defence sympt m of *scrupu lousne* was f rmed during the first repression and gained compulsive validity The certainty of ha ing li ed morally th oughout th whole period of the su cessful defe ce makes t im poss'ble to gi e crede c to the reproach which the bsession really in olves. Only trans torily

reproach which h had to bear from his mothe up to

during the appearance of a new obsession and now and then in melancholic exhaustive states of the ego do the morbid symptoms of the re turn also enforce the belief The *compulsion* of the psychic formations here described has in general nothing to do with the recognition *through belief and is not to be mistaken for* that factor which is designated as *strength* or *intensity* of an idea Its main characteristic lies in its inexplicableness through psychic ac tivities of conscious ability and this character *undergoes to change* whether the idea to which the compulsion is attached is stronger or weak er more or less intensively *elucidated supplied with energy* etc

The reason for the unassailableness of the obsession or its derivative is due only to its connection with the repressed memory of early childhood for as soon as we succeed in making it conscious for which the psycho therapeutic methods already seem quite sufficient the com pulsion too becomes detached

III *Analysis of a Case of Chronic Paranoia*

For some length of time I *entertained* the idea that paranoia also—or the group of cases belonging to paranoia—is a defence psychosis that is like hysteria and obsessions it originates from the repression of painful reminiscences *and that the form of its symptoms is deter* mined by the content of the repression A spe cial way or mechanism of repression must be peculiar to paranoia perhaps just as in hys

[illegible] by way

s

accomplished (displacement along certain as sociative categories) I observed many cases which seemed to favour this interpretation but I had *not found any which demonstrated it un* til a few months ago when through the kindness of Dr J Breuer I subjected to psycho analy sis with therapeutic aims an intelligent woman of 32 whom no one will be able to refuse to designate as a chronic paranoiac. I report here some explanations gained in this work because I have no prospects of *studying* paranoia ex cept in very isolated examples and because I think it possible that these observations may instigate a psychiatrist for whom conditions are more favourable to give due justice to the ele ment of defence *in the present animated dis* cussion on the nature and psychic mechanism of paranoia It is of course far from my thoughts to wish to show from the following single observation anything but that this case is a defence psychosis and that in the group *of paranoia* there may be still others of a sim ilar nature

Mrs P thirty two years old married three years She is the mother of a two year-old child and does not de cend from nervous par ents but her si ter and brother whom I know are also neurotic It was doubtful whether he was not transitorily depressed and mistaken in her judgment *in the middle of her twentieth* year During the last years she was healthy and capacitated until she evinced the fir t symptoms of the present illness six months after the birth of her child She became se *cluded and suspicious showing* a disinclination towards social relations with the relatives of her husband and complained that the neigh bours in the little town now behaved towards her in a rather impolite and regardless man ner *Gradually these complaints grew in inten* sity she thought that there was something against her though she had no notion what it could be But there was no doubt that all the relatives and friends denied her respect and *did everything to aggravate her* She was try ing very hard to find out whence this came but could not discover anything Some time later she complained that she was watched that her thou hts were guessed and that every *thing that happened in her house* was known One afternoon she suddenly conceived the thought that she was watched during the eve ning while undressing After that she applied while undressing the most complicated precau *tionary measures She slipped into* her bed in the darkness and undressed only under cover As she avoided all social relations and took but little nourishment and was very depres ed she was sent in the summer of 1895 to a hydro- *therapeutic institute* There new symptoms ap peared and reinforced those already existing As early as the spring *while she was alone* with the servant girl she suddenly perceived a sensation in her lap and thought that the servant girl then had an unseemly thought This sensation became more frequent in the *summer it was almost continuous* and she felt her genitals as if one feels a heavy hand She then began to see pictures which fright ened her they were hallucinations of female nakedness especially an exposed woman s lap with hair occasionally she also saw male gen itals The picture of the hairy lap and the *organic sensation in the lap usually came con* jointly The pictures became very a ravating as she regularly perceived them when she was

in the company of a woman and the thou ht ac ompanying them was that she ees the woma in an indece t expo ure and that in the sam moment the w man sees the same p cture f her Simultaneously with these visual hallu cinations which, after the r first appearance in the hospital disappeared again for many months he began to be troubled w th ces which he did ot recognize and could n t ex plain. Wh n she was in the street he heard, "This s Mrs P—H r sh goes—Where does she g E ry one of her mo ements and ac tions were comme ted upon. Occasionally she heard threats and reproaches All these symptoms became worse wh n he wa in society or even in the street h th ref re hesitated about going ut she also stated that she ex perienced ausea t the th ught of food and as a result he became reduced in tality

I btained all this from her wh n he came und r my care in the winter of 189 I have presented the d tails of thi case in rder to give the impress on that we really deal here with a ery common f rm f chronic paranoia, the di gno is of which will agree w th the de tails of the symptoms and the patient s be ha our to be described later At that time sh ither concealed from me the delus ns for th interpretatio of the hallucinat ons o they

bout her hall cinations and towa d the end sh d d not say m ch bout the aggra ati ns and persecutions f om which sh uffe ed.

What I hall report about this patient con cerns the eti logy f the case and the mecha ni m of the hall cinat ons I discove d the etiology by applying Breu method exa tly as in hysteri f the investigat and re

oth rs by er ming certain res tan The patient immediat ly c rroborated this expect tion by beha ing d ring the analy exa tly like h steric, d und attentio t th p es sure f my hand he reprod ced th hts which s c ld t rem mbe ha ing had whi h she t first could t und rstand and whi h con tradicted her expectations The occurrence of mportant unconscious ideas was therefore also demonstrated in a ca e of para o a and I could hope to reconduct the compulsion of paranoia t repress on. It was only peculiar that the assertions which originated in the un conscious were usually heard inwardly or hallucinated by her as her voices.

Con erning the origin of the visual hallucina tions or at least the id p ctures I discov e ed the following The p cture of the female lap occurred almost always together with the organic sensation in the lap The latter however was mo e constant and often occurred without the p cture.

The first p ctures of feminine laps appeared in the hydro-therapeutic institute a few hours after she had ctually een a number of women naked in the bath hou e. They were there f re only simple reproductions of a real impres s n It may be assumed that these impress ons repe ted thems l es because something of great interest was connected with th m. She stated that he was at that t me ashamed of these women and that since she r called it she is a hamed of ha ing been seen naked. Ha ing been obliged to look upon this shame as some thing compulsive I concluded that according to the mechanism of defence an experien e must ha e here been rep essed in which he was n t ashamed and I requested her t allow those eminisc ces t emerge which belonged to the theme of sham She promptly rep oduced a series of scenes from h s venth to h r e hth year during which while bathing before her mother her s ter and her phys cian she was a hamed of her nakedness This series howeve reach d back to a scene her sixth year when sh dressed in the children s o m before going to sleep without feeling ashamed of her b other who was prese t. On questi n ing her t was found that th re were a numbe f such scenes and that f years the broth rs and ist rs we in the hab t of howing them sel es naked to ne an ther before retiring I ow understood the s gnificance f the sudden th ght f being watched on g ing to leep It was n unchanged fragment of the old re proa hful r miniscence and she was now try g to m k up in sham what he lost as a child

Th supposition that we d alt h with an *mour* of childhood so frequent in the a t o- logy f hysteria was strengthened by th fur ther progres f the analysis which also showed simultaneous s l t ns fo indi dual freque t

ly recurring details in the picture of paranoia The beginning of her depression commenced at the time of a disagreement between her hus band and her brother on account of which the latter no longer visited her She was always *much attached to this brother* and missed him very much at this time Besides this she spoke about an experience in the history of her dis ease during which for the first time every thing became clear that is during which she became convinced that her assumption about being generally despised and intentionally an noyed was true She gained this assurance dur ing a visit of her sister in law who in the course of conversation dropped the words If *such* a thing should happen to me I would not mind it Mrs P at first took this utterance unsus pectingly but when her visitor left her it seemed to her that these words contained a reproach meaning that she was in the habit of taking serious matters lightly and since that *hour* she was *sure* that she was *a victim* of common slander On asking her why she felt justified in referring tho e words to herself she answered that the tone in which her sister in law spoke convinced her of it—to be sure subsequently (This is really a characteristic detail of paranoia) I now urged her to recall *her sister in law s conversation before the ac* cusing utterance and it was found that she re lated that in her father s home there were all sorts of difficulties with the brothers and added the wise remark In every family many things happen which one would rather keep under cover and that if such a thing should happen to her she would take *it lightly* Mrs P had to acknowledge that her depression was connected with the sentences before the last utterance As she repressed both sentences which could recall her relations with her bro ther and retained only the last meaningless one she was forced to connect with it the feeling *of being reproached by her sister in law* but inasmuch as the contents of this sentence of fered absolutely no basis for such assumption she disregarded it and laid stress on the tone with which the words were pronounced It is probably a typical illustration of the fact that the misinterpretations of paranoia depend on *repression*

In a surprising manner it also explains her peculiar behaviour in making appointments with her brother and then refusing to tell him anything Her explanation was that she thought that if she only looked at him he must under stand her suffering as he knew the cause of it As this brother was really the only person who could know anything about the aetiology of her disease it followed that she acted from a mo tive which though she did not consciously understand seemed perfectly justified as soon as a new sen e was put on it from the uncon scious

I then *succeeded in causing her to reproduce* different scenes the culminating points of which were the sexual relations with her brother at least from her sixth to her tenth year During this work of reproduction the organic sensa tion in the lap joined in the discussion pre cisely as regularly observed in the analysis of *memory remnants of hysterical patients* The picture of a naked female lap (but now reduced to childish proportions and without hair) im mediately appeared or stayed away in accord ance with the occurrence of the scene in question in full light or in darkness The disgust for eating too was explained by a repulsive detail of these actions After we had gone through this series the hallucinatory sensations and picture disappeared without having thus far returned

I have thus learned that these hallucinations were nothing other than fragments from the content of the repressed experiences of child hood that is symptoms of the return of the repressed material

I now turned to the analysis of the voices Here it must before all be explained why such different remarks as Here goes Mrs P—She now looks for apartments etc could be o painfully perceived and how these harmless sentences managed to become distinguished by hallucinatory enforcement To begin with it was clear that these voices could not be hal lucinatory reproduced reminiscences like the pictures and sensations but rather thoughts which became loud

She heard the voices for the first time under *the following circumstances* With great tension she read the pretty story *The Heiterethei* by O Ludwig and noticed that while reading she was preoccupied with obtruding thoughts Im mediately after she took a walk on the high way and suddenly while passing a peasant s cottage the voices told her 'That is how the house of the Heiterethei looked! Here is the well and here is the bush! How happy she was in all her poverty! The voices then repeated

Wh th m g e cces of th t tm t was lat r m ed by cerb t sh d d t ga see th ff p t re f st g g ital b t he had the d th t st g rs w h gen tal as soo s th y w re beh d h

hole paragraphs of what she had just read ... it remained incomprehensible why house ... ish, and well of the H terether, and just such ... edifferent and most irrelevant passages of th ... romance should have obtruded themselves upon her attention with pathognomical strength. The analysis showed that while reading she at the same time entertained extraneous thoughts and that she was excited by totally different passages of the book. Against this material analogy between the couple of the romance and herself and her husband the reminiscence f ... intimate things of her married life and family secrets—against all these there arose a repressive resistance because they were connected with her sexual shyness by very simple and demonstrable treams of thoug t, and finally resulted in the awakening f old experiences f childhood. In consequence f the censor ship exercised by the repression, the harmless and idyllic passages connected with the objectionable ones by contrast and vicinity became reinforced in consciousness enabling them to become udible F r example the first repressed thought referred to the ... der to which the secluded heroine was subjected by her neighbours. Sh readily found in this an analogy to herself She too lived in small place had no interco rse with anybody and considered herself despised by her neighbours The suspicion against the neig bours was founded on the f ct that in the beginning of her married lif sh was bliged t content herself with a small partment. The wall of the bedroom, ear which stood th nuptial bed of the young ouple adj ...ed the neighbour s room. W h the beginn... of her marriage there awakened in her great sexual hyness. This was apparently due to an unconscious awakening of some reminiscences of childhood ... She was

against the neighbours.

The voices therefore owed their origin to the repression of thought which in the last analysis really ...ed reproaches on the occasion of an experience analogous to the infantile trauma they were ac rdingly symptoms f the return f the repression, but t the same time they were results f a compromise between the resistance f the ego and the f rce f the returning repression which in this case produced distortion beyond recognition. On othe occasions when analyz... voices in Mrs. P the distortion was less marked, still the words heard always showed a character of diplomatic uncertainty The annoying allusion was generally deeply hidden, the connection of the individual sentences was masked by a strange expression, unusual forms of speech, etc., characteristics generally common to the auditory hallucinations of paranoiacs, and in which I noticed the remnant of the compromise distortion. The expression, "There goes Mrs P she is looking for apartments in the street, signified, for example the threat that he will never recover for I promised her that after the treatment he would be able to return to the Little city where her husband was employed. She rented temporary quarters in Vienna for a few months.

On some occasions Mrs. P also perceived more distinct threats for example, concerning the relatives of her husband, the restrained expression of which still continued to contrast with the grief which such voices caused her Considering all that we otherwise know of paranoiacs I am inclined to assume a gradual relaxation of that resistance which weakens the reproaches, so that finally the defence fails completely and the original reproach the insulting word, which one wished to save himself returns in unchanged form I do not however know whether this is a constant course whether the censo of the express ons of reproach can not from the beginning stay away or persist t the end.

The only thing left is to utilize the explanations gained in this case of paranoia for a comparison of paranoia with compulsion neurosis Here as there the repress on was hown to be th n cleus of the psychic mechanism, and in both cases the repress on is a sexual experience of childhood. Th origin of every compulsion in this paranoia is in the repression and the symptoms of paran ia all w a similar classification as the one found justified in compulsion neurosis. Some symptoms also originate from the primary defence among which are all delusions of distrust susp cion, and persecution by others. In compuls on neurosis the initial reproach became repressed through the formation of the primary symptom of defence s lf distrust Moreover the reproach was recognized as justified, and for the purpose of adjustment, the validity acquired by the scrupulousness during the normal interval now guards against giving credence to the returning reproach in th form f n obsession. By the formation f the defence-symptom of *distrust in others* the

reproach in paranoia is repressed in a way which may be designated as *projection* the reproach is also deprived of recognition and as a retaliation there is no protection against the returning reproaches contained in the delusions

The other symptoms in my case of paranoia are therefore to be designated as symptoms of the return of the repression and as in the compulsion neurosis they show the traces of the compromise which alone permits an entrance into consciousness Such are the delusions of being observed while undressing the visual hallucination the perceptual hallucinations and the hearing of voices The memory content existing in the delusion mentioned is almost unchanged and appears only uncertain through utterance The return of the repression into visual pictures comes nearer to the character of hysteria than to the character of compulsion neurosis still hysteria is wont to repeat its memory symbols without modification whereas the paranoiac memory hallucination undergoes a distortion similar to that in compulsion neurosis An analogous modern picture takes the place of the one repressed (instead of a child s lap it was the lap of a woman upon which the hair were particularly distinct because they were absent in the original impression) Quite peculiar to paranoia but no further elucidated in this comparison is the fact that the repressed reproaches return as loud thoughts this must yield to a double distortion (1) a censor which either leads to a replacement through other associated thoughts or to a concealment by indefinite expressions and (2) the reference to modern which is merely analogous to the old thou hts

The third group of symptoms found in compulsion neurosis the symptoms of the secondary defence cannot exist as such in paranoia for no defence asserts itself against the returning systems which really find credence As a substitute for this we find in paranoia another source of symptom formation the delusions (symptom of return) reaching consciou ness through the compromise make great demands on the mental work of the ego before they can be unconditionally accepted As they themselves are not to be influenced the ego must adapt itself to them and hence the combining delusional formation the *delusion of interpretation* which results in the *transformation of the ego* corre ponds here to the symptoms of secondary defence of compulsion neurosis In this respect my case was imperfect as it did not at that time show any attempt at interpretation this only appeared later I do not doubt, however that if psycho analysis were also applied to that stage of paranoia another important result would be established It would probably be found that even the so-called *weakness of memory* in paranoiacs is tendentious that is it depends on the repression and serves its purpose Subsequently even those non patho enic memories which stand in opposition to the transformation of the ego become repressed and replaced this the symptoms of return imperatively demand.

CHAPTER 8
ON PSYCHO THERAPY

GENTLEMEN It is almost eight years since at the request of your deceased chairman Professor von Reder I had the pleasure of speaking in your midst on the subject of hysteria Shortly before (1895) I had published the *Studies in Hysteria* together with Dr J Breuer and, on the basis of a new knowledge for which we are thankful to this investigator I have attempted to introduce a new way of treating the neuroses Fortunately I can say that the endeavours of our *Studies* have met with succe that the ideas which they advance concerning the effects of psychic traumas through the restraining of affects as well as the concept of the hysterical symptoms as a displacement of excitement from the psychic to the physical—ideas for which we have coined the terms *ab reaction* and *conversion* are today generally known and understood In German speaking countries one cannot find any descriptions of hysteria in which these facts are not more or less recognized There is no psychiatrist who does not now at least take some note of these theories And yet as long as they were new these theories and these terms must have sounded strange enough

I can not however say the same about the therapeutic procedure which we have propo ed together with our theory It still struggles for recognition This may have its special reasons. The technique of the procedure was at that time still rudimentary I was unable to give those indications to the medical reader of our book which would enable him to accomplish this treatment But there were surely other causes of a general nature To many physicians psy cho therapy even today appears as a product of modern mysticism In comparison to our

Lect re d l red bef th Vienna Coll ge f Phys ci o Decembe 19 4

phys.co-c.emical remedies the application of w.ich is based on ph s ological in.ght psycho-t.erapy appears quite un cientific and unworthy f the interest of a true cient st You will, t.erefore all w me to peak to you on the subject of psycho-therapy in order to point out what part of t.is erdict can be des gnated as unjust or erroneous.

In the first place let me remind you that psycho-therapy is not a modern therapeutic procedure. On the contrary t s o e of the

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therapy f only because an ther ery impor tant party in the treatment—namely the pa tient—has n intent on of aband ning t You know how much we owe t the N cy school (Li'bault Bernheim) fo thes explanations W th ut our intention an indepe dent f ctor from th patient s psychic dispos ti n ent rs into the cti ty f every remedial agent in troduced by phys cians which though mostly fa ourable ften also a ts nhib tingly We ha e learned t apply to thi f cto the word *sg stion* and Moeb us taught us that the f l res of some of our remedies are t be as cribed t the disturbing infl ences of this ery powerful facto You doct rs ll of you constantly pract se psycho-th rapy even when ou do not know it do not intend it, but with one disadvantage—you l e e tirely to the pati nt th psychic f tors of your influ en It then be omes un o trollable t can not be di ded into doses and hence can not be increased. Is t t justifiable on the part f the doctor to master this fact to make in tentional use f t to direct and *enforce* t? It is othing but that, that scientifi psycho-th rapy expects f you.

In the third pla gentlemen I wi.h to call your ttention to well known f ct, nam ly that certai maladies and part cularly th psy ho-neuroses, are more cess bl t psy hic in.uences than t any ther remedies It is no modern talk, but a dictum of old physicians that these diseases are not cured by the drug but b the doctor—to wit by the personal ity of the physician in so far as he exerts a psychic influence I am well aware gentlemen that you are impressed with the idea which the esthete Vi.cher in his parody on *Faust (Faust der Tragod e III Teil)* endowed with this cla. cal express on "I know that the psy chical often acts on the moral.

But would it not be more adequate and frequently more correct to influence the moral part of the person with the moral that is with psychic means?

There are many ways and means of psycho-therapy All methods are good which produce the aim of the therapy Our usual consolation "You will soon be well again" with which we are so generous to our patients corresponds *to one of these psycho-therapeutic methods* only that on gaining a profounde insight into th neuroses we are not fo ced to limit our selves to this consolation alone We ha e de-veloped the technique of hypnot c suggestio of psycho-therapy through di ers on through practice and through the evocation of serv ce able affects I do not disdain any of them and would practise them all und r suitable con dit ons That I have *in reality restricted* my self t a in le therapeutic procedure to the method called by Breuer *cathart c* which I prefe to call *a alyt c* is s mply due to subjec

penetratingly and carries farthest through t one can produce the most prolific changes in the patient. If I relinqui.h for a mo ment the *therapeutic point of view* I can as sert that t is the most interesting and that it l e teaches us omething co c rning th

ences

Allow me now to correct me errors and furnish some explanat ns concerning th s cath artic or analytic method of psycho-therapy

(a) I notice that this method is often mis taken for the hypn tic ugge tive tre tment. I n t ce this by th f ct that quite f equently colleague whose confidant I am not by any

means send patients to me refractory patients of course with the request that I should hypnotize them Now for eight years I have not practised hypnotism (individual cases excepted) as a therapeutic aim and hence I return the patients with the advice that he who relies on hypnosis should do it himself In truth the greatest possible contrast exists between the suggestive and the analytic techniques that contrast which the great Leonardo da Vinci has expressed for the arts in the formulae *per via di porre* and *per via di levare* Said Leonardo the art of painting works *per via di porre* that is to say by placing little heaps of paint where they have not been before on the uncoloured canvas sculpturing on the other hand works *per via di levare* that is to say it takes away from the stone as much as covers the surface of the statute therein contained Quite similarly gentlemen the suggestive technique acts *per via di porre* it does not concern itself about the origin force and significance of the morbid symptoms but puts on something to wit the suggestion which it expects will be strong enough to prevent the pathogenic idea from expression On the other hand the analytic therapy does not wish to put on anything or introduce anything new but to take away and extract and for this purpose it concerns itself with the genesis of the morbid symptoms and the psychic connection of the pathogenic idea the removal of which is its aim This manner of investigation has considerably furthered our understanding I have so early given up the technique of suggestion and with it hypno is because I despaired of making the sug estion as strong and persistent as would be necessary for a lasting cure In all grave cases I noticed that the suggestions which were put on crumbled off again and then the disease on replacing it reappeared Besides I charge this technique with concealing from us the psychic play of forces It does not permit us to recognize the resistance with which the patients adhere to their malady with which they also strive against recovery and which alone can give us an understanding of their behaviour in life

(b) It seems to me that a very widespread mistake among my colleagues is the idea that one has yet asked me how I do it There can only be one reason for it they believe there is nothing to ask that it is a matter of course. I occasionally also hear with surprise that in this or that division of a hospital a young interne is requested by his chief to undertake a *psycho analysis* with a hysterical woman. I am convinced that he would not entrust him with the examination of an extirpated tumor without previously assuring himself that he is acquainted with histological technique Likewise I am informed that this or that colleague has made appointments with a patient for psychic treatment whereas I am certain that he does not know the technique of such a treatment He must therefore expect that the patient will bring him her secrets or he seeks salvation in some kind of a confession or confidence I should not wonder if the patient thus treated would be harmed rather than benefited. The mental instrument is really not at all easy to play On such occasions I can not help but think of the speech of a world renowned neurotic who really never came under a doctor's treatment and only lived in the fancy of the poet I mean Prince Hamlet of Denmark The king has sent the two courtiers Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to investigate him and rob him of his secret While he defended himself pipes were brought on the stage Hamlet took a pipe and requested one of his tormentors to play on it saying that it is as easy to play as to lie The courtier hesitated because he knew no touch of it and as he could not be moved to attempt to play the pipe Hamlet finally burst forth Why look you now how unworthy a thing you make of me! You would play upon me you would seem to know my stops you would pluck out the heart of my mystery you would sound me from my lowest note to the top of my compass and there is much music excellent voice in this little organ yet you can not make it speak Sblood! do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe? Call me what instrument you will though you can fret me you cannot play upon me

(c) You will have surmised from some of my observations that the analytic cure contains qualities which are far from an ideal therapy *Tuto cito incunde* the investigation and examination do not really mean rapidity of success and the allusion to the resistance has prepared you for the expectation of inconveniences Certainly the psycho-analytic method

dent I concluded this from the fact that of the many who interest themselves in my therapy and express a definite opinion on the same no

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makes high claims on the patient as w ll as the physician. From the first it requires the sac rifice of perfect candour it takes up much of his time and is therefore also xpen i e f r the physician t also means the l s of much time and, due t the t chniqu whi h he has to learn and practise t is quite laborious I even find t quite ju tified to employ more s t abl remedies s long as there is a prospect to achieve som thing with th m It comes to this point only if we gain by the m re laborious and cumbersome proced re cons derably more than by the short and easy ne the first is jus tified despite everything Just think gentlemen by how m ch the Finsen th rapy of lupus is more incon enient and expensi than the fo me ly used ca terization and craping and yet it means great progres merely because t achieves more it ctually cures the lupus rad ically I d not really wi h to carry through th comparison but psycho-analys s ca claim for itself a imilar pri ilege In reality I could develop and test my therapeuti m thod in gra e and in the gra est of cases only my ma terial at first con ted of patients who tried everything, unsucces fully and had pent years in asylums. I hardly gained no h experi nce to be ble t tell you h w m therapy beha es in those lighter episodi ally appearing di eases which we see cured under th m t di erse n fluences and also spontaneously Th psycho-analytic method wa reated fo patients who are permanently incapacit t d and ts triumph is t mak a gratifyin umbe of uch perma nently capacitated. Against this su cess all ex pense s insignificant. We can not conceal from oursel es what we were wont to disa ow to the patient namely that the s gnificance f a gra e neurosis f th indi idual subjected t t is ot less than any cachexia or any of the gen erally feared maladies.

(d) I view of the many practical limitations which I ha e encountered in my w k, I can hardly defi it ly enumerat the indications and ... t ment However ... bearer as a d... found ... mani ... psycho- ... or the ... on the treatment of neuropathi ... contrary t is limited by it. It is also not to be applied in persons who are not prompted by th ir own suffering to seek treatment but subject themsel es to it by order of their rel atives The characteristic feature upon which the usefulness of the psycho-analyt c treat me t depends the educability we will till ha e to cons der from another point of ew

If ne wishes to take a safe course he h uld limit his selection to persons of a nor mal tate f r in psycho-analytic procedures, it is from the n rmal that we seize upon the mo b d Psychoses confu onal states, and marked (I might say toxic) depress ns are unsuitable for a alysis, at lea t as it is prac tised toda I do n t think it at all imposs ble that with the proper changes in the procedure t will be po sible to di regard this contra indication and thus claim a psycho-therapy for the psychoses

3 The age of the patient also plays a part in th selection for the psycho-analytic treatment. P rsons ear or over the age of fifty lack, on th on hand the plastic ty f the psychic proc esses upon which the therapy depends (ld people re no longer educable) and on the other hand, the material which has to be elaborated and the duration of th treatment is immensely increased. The ea liest age limit is to be indi dually det rmined youthful persons e en be fore p berty are excellent subj cts for anal sis

4 One should not attempt psycho analysis when t is question of rap dly removing a threatening manifestation as for example in the case of an hysterical anorexia.

You ha e now gained the impression that the sphere of application of the analytic psycho-therapy is a ery limited one for you really heard m enumerate nothing but contra dica tions Nevertheless there remain sufficient cases and mo bid ates such as all chronic f rms of hysteri with remnant manifest tions th extens e realm of compul n states abu lias etc., on whi h this th rapy can be tried.

It is p eas n that part cularly the worthiest and highest devel ped perso can thus be most helped Where the analytic psycho-th rapy has ... complished but little n can chee fully as sert that any th treatment would ha e cer tainly resulted in n thing

refuse patient wh does n t possess certain degree f ed cation and whose harac r is t in measure reli ble. We must not forget that there are lso h althy persons who re ...

(e) You will surely wish to ask me about the possibility of doing harm through the ap plication of psycho analysis To this I will re ply that if you will judge justly you will meet this procedure with the same critical good feeling as you have met our other therapeutic methods and doing this you will have to agree with me that a rationally executed analytic treatment entails no dangers for the patient One who like a layman is accustomed to as cribe to the treatment everything occurring during the disease will probably judge differ ently It is really not so long since our hydro therapeutic institutes met with similar opposi tion Thus one who was advised to go to such a place became thoughtful because he had an acquaintance who entered the institute as nerv ous and there became insane As you may sur mise we dealt with cases of initial paresis who in the first stages could still be sent for hydro therapeutic help and who there merged into the irresistible cour e leading to manifest in sanity For the layman the water was the cause and author of this sad transformation Where it is a question of unfamiliar influences even doctors are not free from such mistaken judg ment I recall having once attempted to treat a woman by psycho therapy who passed a great part of her existence by alternating between mania and melancholia I begun to treat her at the end of a melancholia and everything seemed to go well for two weeks but in the third week she was again merging into a mania It was surely a spontaneous alternation of the morbid picture for two weeks is no time in which anything can be accomplished by psy cho therapy but the prominent—now deceased —physician who saw the case with me could not refrain from remarking that this chan e must have been due to the psycho therapy I am quite convinced that he would have been more critical under different conditions

(f) In conclusion gentlemen I must say to myself that it will not do to lay claim to your attention so long in favour of the analytic psy cho therapy without telling you of what this treatment consists and on what it is based To be sure I can only indicate it as I have to be brief This therapy is founded on the under standing that unconscious ideas—or rather the unconsciousness of certain psychic proce ses —are the main causes of morbid symptoms We share this conviction with the French school (Janet) which moreover by gross schematization reduces the hysterical symptom to an unconscious *idée fixe* Do not fear now that we will thus merge too far into this ob scurest philosophy Our unconscious is not quite the same as that of the philosophers and what is more most philosophers wish to know nothing of the *psychical unconscious* But if you will put yourselves in our position you will understand that the interpretation of the un conscious in patients psychic life into the con scious must result in a correction of their deviation from the normal and in an abrogation of the compulsion controlling their psychic life For the conscious will reaches as far as the conscious psychic processes and every psychic compulsion is substantiated by the unconscious You need never fear that the patient will be harmed by the emotions produced in entering from his unconscious into consciousness for you can theoretically readily understand that the somatic and affective activity of the emo tions which become conscious can never be come as great as those of the unconscious For we only control all our emotions by directing upon them our highest psychic activities and they are connected with consciousness

We can still choose another point of view for the understanding of the psycho-analytic treatment The revealing and interpreting of the unconscious takes place under constant re sistance on the part of the patient The emerg ing of the unconscious is connected with displeasure and owing to this displeasure it is continuously repulsed by the patient It is upon this conflict in the patient s psychic life that we encroach and if we succeed in prevailin upon him to accept something (for motives of better insight) which he has thus far repul ed (repressed) on account of the automatic ad justment of displeasure we have achieved in him a piece of educational work For it is really an education if we can induce a person to leave his bed early in the morning despite his unwil lingness to do so As such an after training for the overcoming of inner resistances you can conceive the psycho analytic treatment in quite a general manner

But in no sphere of the nervous patients is such an after training as essential as in the psychic elements of the sexual life For no where have culture and education produced as much harm as here and it is here as experi ence will show you that the controlling aetio logies of the neuroses are found The other aetiological element the constitutional contri bution is really given to us as something im mutable But this gives rise to an important demand on the doctor Not only must he be of

m_ldem_hed character—"morality is really a ma_er of course as the principal person in Theodor Vischer's A_ch Einer used to say—but he must have overcome in his own personality the mixture of lewdness and prudishness with which so many o_ers are wont to meet the sexual problems.

This is perhaps the place for a_o_her observation. I know that the empha_s which I laid on th_ exual role in the _nesis of t_e psychoneuroses has become widely known. But I also know tha_ restriction and nearer determinations are _f l_t_e use w_h the great public the multitude has little room in _s memory and generally retain_ from a _atement the bare nucleus thus creating for _tself an easily remembered extreme The same mi_h_ also have happened t_ some physicians whose faint notion _f my t_eory is that I trace back the neurosis in the last place t_ sexual privation. Of such there is surely no dearth under the vital condi_ons of our society But if that assumption were true, would it not seem obv_ous that, in order to avoid the roundabout way of the psych_c treatment a_d tend directly towards the cure we _hou_d directly recommend sexual activity as the remedy? I really do not know _t could induce me to suppress such conclusions if they were justi_ed. B_t the state _f a_airs is quit_ different. Sexual need o_ privation is merely one _f the factors playin_ a part in the mechanism of the neurosis and if it alone existed the resul_ would not be a disease but a dissipation. The othe_ equall_ indispensable factor which o_e is only too ready to f_rget, is the sexual repugnance of neurotics their inability to love _t is that psychic feature which I have designated as _repression. It is only from the con_ct between the two strivings t_a_ the neurotic malady _rigina_es, and _t is for this reason that the adv_ce for sexual activity can really only seldom be designa_ed as good in cases _f psychoneuroses.

Allow me to con_lude w_h this guarded remark. Let us hope t_at, with an interest for psychotherapy pur_ed _f all hostile prejudice you will help us t_ d_ som_ good in the treatment of the severe cases of psychoneuroses.

CHAPTER 9

MY VIEWS ON THE R_LE O_ _EXUALITY IN THE AETIOLOGY OF THE NEUROSIS

I AM of the opinion t_at my theory on the aetiological significa_ce of the sexual factor in the neuroses can b_ best appreciated by follow_i_g its development I will by no means make any e_ _rt to deny that it pa_sed throu_h an evolution d_ring which it underwent a cha_ge My colleagues can find the _ssura_ce in this admission that this theory is no_hing other than the resu_t of continued a_d pain_taking experiences. In contradi_inction to this, whatever origin_es from speculation can certainl_ appear complete at on_ go a_d continue unchanged.

Originally the theory h_d reference only to the morbid pictures comprehended as *neurasthenia* in which I found two types which occasionally appeared pure and which I described as *actual _eurasthen_a* and *anxiety neurosis* For it was alwa_s kn_wn that sexual factors could p_ay a part in the causation of these forms, but they were found neither regularly effective nor d_d we think of conced_ng to them a precedence over other _etiological i_nuences. I was above all *surprised* _t the frequency of coarse d_turbances in th_ *v_a sexualis* of nervous patients. The more I was in quest of such disturbances du_ng which I remembered that all men conceal the truth in things sexual, and the more _kilful I became in continu_g the examin_ion despite the incipient negation, the more regularly such disease-f_rmin_ factors were di_covered in the sexual life, until _t seemed to me that they were but little _hort of universal. But one must from the first be prepared f_ _imilar frequent occurrences of sexual irregularities under th_ stress of the social ... fore only place less value on the regular demonstration _f sexual *noxae* than on _ther experiences which appeared to me to be less equ_vocal. It was found t_at the form of the malady be_t neura_thenia or a_xiety neurosis _h_ws a constant re_ation to the f_rm of the sexual injury In the typical cases of neurasthenia, we _ould always demonstra_e masturbation or accumulated pollutions whil_ in anxiety neurosis we cou_d find such f_ctors as *coitus interrupt_us* frus'rated excitement, etc. The f_ctor of insufficient discharge of generated fluid seemed to be common to both Only after this experience which is easy t_ gain and very often confirmed, had I the courage to claim for the sexual i_uences a prominent place in the _etiology of the neurosis. It also happened that the mixed forms of neura_thenia and anx

From Löwenfeld, Sexualleben und Nervenleiden, 3rd., 906.

iety neurosis occurring so often showed the admixture of the aetiologies accepted for both and that such a bipartition in the form of the manifestations of the neurosis seemed to accord well with the polar characters of sexuality (male and female)

At the same time while I assigned to sexuality this significance in the origin of the simple neurosis I still professed for the psychoneuroses (hysteria and obsessions) a purely psychological theory in which the sexual factor was no differently considered than any other emotional sources Together with J Breuer and in addition to observations which he had made on his hysterical patients fully a decade before I have studied the mechanism of the origin of hysterical symptoms by the awakening of memories in hypnotic states We obtained information which permitted us to cross the bridge from Charcot s traumatic hysteria to the common non traumatic hysteria We reached the conception that the hysterical symptoms are permanent results of psychic traumas and that the amount of affect belonging to them was pushed away from conscious elaboration by special determinations thus forcing an abnormal road into bodily innervation The terms *strangulated affect conversion* and *ab reaction* comprise the distinctive characteristics of this conception

In the close relations of the psycho neuroses to the simple neuroses which can go so far that the diagnostic distinction is not always easy for the inexperienced it could happen that the cognition gained from one sphere has also taken effect in the other Leaving such influences out of the question the deep study of the psychic traumas al o leads to the same results If by the *analytic* method we continue to trace the psychic *traumas from which the hysterical symptoms* are derived we finally reach to experiences which belong to the patient s childhood and concern his sexual life This can be found even in such cases where a banal emotion of a non sexual nature has occasioned the outburst of the disease Without taking into account these sexual traumas of childhood we could neither explain the symptoms find their determination intelligible nor guard against their recurrence The incomparable significance of exual experiences in the aetiology of the psychoneuroses *seems therefore firmly* established and this fact remains until today one of the main supports of our theory

If we represent this theory by saying that the course of the life long hysterical neurosis lies in the sexual experiences of early childhood which are usually trivial in themselves it surely would sound strange enough But if we take cognizance of the historical development of the theory and transfer the main content of the same into the sentence Hysteria is the expression of a special behaviour of the sexual function of the individual and that this behaviour was already decisively determined by the first effective influences and experiences of childhood we will perhaps be poorer in a paradox but richer in a motive for directing our attention to a hitherto very neglected and most significant after-effect of infantile impressions in general

As I reserve the question whether the aetiology *of hysteria (and compulsion neurosis) is* to be found in the exual infantile experiences for a later more thorough discussion I now return to the construction of the theory expressed in some small preliminary publications in the years 1895 1896 The bringing into prominence of the assumed aetiological factors permitted us at the time to contrast the common neuroses which are maladies with an actual aetiology with the psychoneuroses which aetiology was in the first place to be sought in the sexual experiences of remote times The theory culminates in the sentence *In a normal* vita sexualis *no neurosis is possible*

If I still consider today this sentence as correct it is really not surprising that after ten years labour on the knowledge of these relations I passed a good way beyond my former point of view and that I now think myself in a position to correct by detailed exp rience the imperfections the displacements and the misconceptions from which thi theory *then suf*fered By chance my former rather meagre material furnished me with a great number of cases in which infantile histories sexual seduction by grown up persons or older children played the main role I overestimated the frequency of these (otherwise not to be doubted) occurrences the more so because I was then in no position to distinguish definitely the deceptive memories of hysterical patients concerning their childhood from the traces of the real processes whereas I have since then learned to explain many a seduction fancy as an attempt at defence against the reminiscences of their *own sexual activity (infantile* masturbation) The emphasis laid on the *traumatic* element of the infantile sexual experience disappeared with

See ch pt 7 bo e d "Th A tiol gy of Hysteria *C ll t d P p s I*

this explanation, and it remained obvious that the infantile sexual activities (be they spontaneous or provoked) dictate the course of the later sexual life after maturity. The same explanation, which really corrects the most significant of my original errors, perforce also changed the conception of the mechanism of the hysterical symptoms. These no longer appeared as direct descendants of repressed memories of infantile sexual experiences, but between the symptoms and the infantile impressions there cropped in the fancies (or fabrications of memory) of the patients which were mostly produced during the years of puberty and which, on the one hand, are raised from, and over the infantile memories and, on the other hand, are immediately transformed into symptoms. Only after the introduction of the element of hysterical fancies did the structure of the neurosis and its relation to the life of the patient become transparent. It also resulted in a veritable surprising analogy between these unconscious hysterical fancies and the romances which became conscious as delusions in paranoia.

After this correction, the *infantile sexual traumas* were in a sense surpassed by the *infantilism of sexuality*. A second modification of the original theory was not remote. With the accepted frequency of seduction in childhood there also disappeared the enormous emphasis on the accidental influences of sexuality to which I wished to shift the main role in the causation of the disease without, however, denying constitutional and hereditary factors. I even hoped to solve thereby the problem of the selection of the neurosis, that is, to decide by the details of the sexual infantile experience the form of the psychoneurosis into which the patient may merge. Though with reserve I thought at that time that passive behaviour during these scenes results in the specific predisposition for hysteria, while active behaviour results in compulsion neurosis. This conception I was later obliged to disclaim completely, though some facts of the supposed connection between passivity and hysteria and activity and compulsion neurosis, can be maintained to some extent. With the disappearance of the accidental influences of experiences the elements of constitution and heredity had to regain the upper hand, but, diverging from the view generally in vogue, I placed the *sexual constitution* in place of the general neuropathic predisposition. In my recent work, *The Contributions to the Theory of Sex* I have attempted to discuss the varieties of this sexual constitution, the components of the sexual impulse in general, and its origin *from the contributory sources* of the organism.

Still in connection with the changed conception of the *sexual infantile traumas* the theory continued to develop in a course which was already indicated in the publications of 1894–1896. Even before sexuality was installed in its proper place in the aetiology I had already stated as a condition for the pathogenic efficaciousness of an experience that the latter must appear to the ego as unbearable and thus evoke an exertion for defence. To this defence I have traced the psychic splitting—or as it was then called, the splitting of consciousness—of hysteria. If the defence succeeded, the unbearable experience with its resulting affect was expelled from consciousness and memory, but under certain conditions the thing expelled which was now unconscious, developed its activity, and, with the aid of the symptoms and their adhering affect, it returned into consciousness so that the disease corresponded to a failure of the defence. This conception had the merit of entering into the play of the psychic forces and hence approximated the psychic processes of hysteria to the normal, instead of shifting the characteristic of the neurosis into an enigmatic and no-further analyzable disturbance.

Further inquiries among persons who remained normal furnished the unexpected result that the sexual histories of their childhood need not differ essentially from the infantile life of neurotics, and that especially the role of seduction is the same in the former, so the accidental influences receded still more in comparison to the factors of *repression* (which I began to use instead of *defence*). It really does not depend on the sexual excitements which an individual experiences in his childhood, but above all on his reactions towards these experiences, and whether these impressions responded with *repression* or not. It could be shown that spontaneous sexual manifestations of childhood were frequently interrupted in the course of development by an act of repression. The sexual maturity of neurotic individuals thus regularly brings with it a fragment of *sexual repression* from childhood, which manifests itself in the requirements of real life. Psychoanalysis of hysterical individuals shows that the malady is the result of the conflict between the libido and the sexual repression and that their symptoms have the value of a compromise between both psychic streams.

First published in 1905

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Firs p b ished in 905

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d ence ha e then h ys-

teria. If the defence ucceeded, the u arable experience with its resulting ffect was expelled from co..sciousness a..d memory but under certain c nditions the thing expelled which was now uncon..cious, developed its act v a. d with the aid of the sympt ms and their adher ing affect it returned into consciousness so that the disease corresponded to a fa lure of the defence This concept on had the merit of entering into the play of the ps ch c forces and hence approximated the psychic processes of h steria to the normal in..tead of hifting the characteri..tic of the neurosis into an en gmatic and no-furthe an l zable di.tu bance

Further inquiries among persons who remained normal furni hed the unexpected result that the sexual hi tories of the ch. dhood need not differ essent ally from the fantile l fe of neurotics, and that especially the rô e of sed c tio is the same in the f rmer so the acci d tal infl ences receded st'll more i com pari..on to the factors of *r pression* (which I

abo e all o his re ct ons towards these experi- nces and wh ther these impres ons respond ed with *r pression* or not It could be hown that po taneous sexual man fest ti of child hood were frequentl in errupted in the co rs of d velopment by an act of repress on The sexual maturity of neurotic ind iduals thus regularl b ings with it a fragme t of *sexu..l re sion* from childhood wh. h manifes s it elf in the requireme ts f real life Psycho-analy sis of h st rical indi d al h ws that the ma..ady the esult of the conflict between the lib d and the sexual repres d that thei symptoms ha e th alue of a compromise between bo..h psychi streams.

Without a comprehensive discussion of my conception of repression I could not explain any further this part of the theory It suffices to refer here to my *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* where I have made an attempt to throw some light on the somatic processes in which the essence of sexuality is to be sought I have stated there that the constitutional predisposition of the child is more irregularly multifarious than one would expect that it deserves to be called *polymorphous perverse* and that from this predisposition the so called normal behaviour of the sexual functions results through a repression of certain components By referring to the infantile character of sexuality I could form a simple connection between normal perversions and neurosis The normal resulted through the repression of certain partial impulses and components of the infantile predisposition and through the subordination of the rest under the primacy of the genital zones for the service of the function of procreation The perversions corresponded to disturbances of this connection due to a superior compulsive like development of some of the partial impulses while the neurosis could be traced to a marked repression of the libidinous strivings As almost all perversive impulses of the infantile predisposition are demonstrable as forces of symptom formation in the neurosis in which however they exist in a state of repression I could designate the neurosis as the *negative* of the perversion

I think it worth emphasizing that with all changes my ideas on the aetiology of the psychoneuroses still never disavowed or abandoned two points of view to wit the estimation of *sexuality* and *infantilism* In other respects we have in place of the accidental influences the constitutional factors and instead of the pure psychologically intended *defence* we have the organic *sexual repression* Should anybody ask where a cogent proof can be found for the asserted aetolo ical significance of sexual factors in the psychoneuroses and argue that since an outburst of these diseases can result from the most banal emotions and even from somatic causes a specific aetiology in the form of special experiences of childhood must therefore be disavowed I mention as an answer for all these arguments the psycho analytic investigation of neurotics as the source from which the disputed conviction emanates If one only makes use of this method of investigation he will discover that the *symptoms represent the whole or a partial sexual manifestation of the patient* from the sources of the normal or perverse partial impulses of sexuality Not only does a good part of the hysterical symptomatology originate directly from the manifestations of the sexual excitement not only are a series of erogenous zones reinforcing infantile attributes raised in the neurosis to the importance of genitals but even the most complicated symptoms become revealed as the converted representations of fancies having a sexual situation as a content He who can interpret the language of hysteria can understand that the neurosis only deals with the repres ed sexuality One should however understand the sexual function in its proper sphere as circumscribed by the infantile predisposition Where a banal emotion has to be added to the causation of the disease the analysis regularly shows that the sexual components of the traumatic experience which are never missing have exercised the pathogenic effect

We have unexpectedly advanced from the question of the causation of the psychoneuroses to the problem of its nature If we wi h to take cognizance of what we have discovered by psycho analysis we can only say that the nature of these maladies lies in disturbances of the sexual processes in those processes of the organism which determine the formation and utilization of the sexual libido We can hardly avoid imagining these processes in the last place as chemical so that we can recognize in the so called actual neuroses the somatic effects of disturbances in the sexual metabolism while in the phychoneuroses we recognize besides the psychic effects of the same disturbances The resemblance of the neuroses to the manifestations of intoxication and abstinence following certain alkaloids and to Basedow s and Addison s diseases obtrudes itself clinically without any further ado and just as these two disea es should no more be described as *nervous diseases* so will the genuine neuroses soon have to be removed from this class despite their nomenclature

Everything that can exert harmful influences in the processes serving the sexual function therefore belongs to the aetiology of the neurosis In the first place we have the noxae directly affecting the sexual functions insofar as they are accepted as injuries by the sexual constitution which is changeable through culture and breeding In the second place we have all the different noxae and traumas which may also injure the sexual processes by injuring the organism as a whole But we must not forget that

...ional problem of the neuroses is at

almost ... multiplicity of aetiological factors reinto ... ing one another and which can not be brou ht in contrast to one an ther It is for that reason that the state of neurotic illness is not sharply separated from the normal. The disease is the result f summation and the measure of the etiological determinations can be compl ted from any one part. To seek the a tiology f the neurosis exclu ely in heredity or in the con stitu on, would be o less one ded than to attempt to raise to the aetiology the accidental influences of exuality alone even though the explanations show that the nature of this mala dy lies only in a disturbance of the sexual proc esses of the organism

CHAPTER 10
HYSTERICAL FA CIES A D THEIR RELATIO S TO BISEXUALITY

THE delusional formations of paranoiacs con taining the greatness and sufferings of th r own ego which manifest themselves quite typ cally in almost mo otonous forms ar uni ersally familiar Furtherm re through num rous c m munications we becam acquaint d with the pe culiar organizations by means of which certain perverts put int operatio th ir sexual gratifi cations, be it in fancy or reality On the other hand, *it may sound rather no el to som to* hea that quite analogous psychic formations regularly appea in all psychoneuroses espe cially in hysteria, and that these so-called hys terical fancies show mportant relations to the causation of eurotic sympt ms

Of the same so ce and of the normal proto type re all these fantasti creations so-called reveries of y uth, which ha already gained rtain onsiderat in th literature though ot sufficient one They are pe haps equally frequent in both sexes in girls and *women they* seem to be wholly of erotic nature whil in men they are f an eroti amb t us nature Yet even in me the importan f th erotic f ct r is not t be put in the second place fo on examining more closely the reveries of men we generally learn that all these hero c acts are accomplished that all these successes are ac quired in order to please a woman and to be preferred to other men These fancies are wish gratifications which emanate from pri ation *and longing They are* justly named *day d eams* f r they gi e the key for the understanding of night dreams in which the nucleus of the dream format on is produced by just such complicat ed disfigured day fancies which are misunder stood by the co scious psychic judgment

These day dreams are garnished with great interest, are cautiou ly nurtured and coyly guarded as if they were numbered among the mo t intimate estates of personal ty On the street however the day d eamer can be read ily recognized by a sudden as if bsent minded, smile by talking t himself or by a running like acceleration of hi gait where n he desig nates the acme f the imaginary s tuation.

All hysterical attacks which I ha e been thus far able to examine proved *to be of such in oluntary incursions of day dreams.* Observa tion lea es no doubt that such fancies may ex ist as unconscious or conscious and whenever they become unc n cious they may lso be come pathogenic, that is they may express themsel es *in symptoms* and attacks Under fa vourable co ditions it is possible for conscious ness to seize su h unc nscious fancies. One f my patients, whose attention I ha e called to her fancies narrated that once while n the street she *suddenly* found herself in tears, and rap dly reflecting o er the cause f her weep ing th fancy became clear to her She fancied herself in delicate relationship with a piano vir tuoso familiar in the city but whom she did not know personally In her fancy he bore him a child (she was childless) and he then deserted her leaving her and her child in misery At this passag of the romance she burst into tears

The unconsci us fancies are either from the first un on cious having been formed in the *unconsci us, or which is m re frequently* the case they were on nscious fancies day dreams and were then intentionally f rgotten merging into the unconscious by *pression* Their ont nt then e the remained the same or und rwent a transf rmation so that the present unco cious fancy represents a descendant of th ce consci us one Th unc nscio f ncy stands in ery important rel ti n to the sex ual lif f the person t is really identical with that fancy which helped it tow rds sexual grat

H. Ellis imila ly expresses h mself ... cit
C mpare Freud, *I terpr t on f Dr m*

ification during a period of masturbation The masturbating act (in the broader ense the onanistic) then consisted of two parts the evo cation of the fancy and the active performance of self gratification at the height of the same This combination is familiarly in it elf a kind of soldering Originally this action was a pure ly auto-erotic undertaking for the pleasure ob tained from a certain so called *erogenous* part of the body Later this action blended with a *wish pre entation from the phere of object* love and served for a partial realization of the situation in which this fancy culminated If then the person forgoes in this manner the masturbo fantastic gratification the action re mains undone the fancy however changes from a conscious to an unconscious one If no other manner of sexual gratification occurs if the person remains abstinent and does not suc ceed in sublimating his libido that is in divert ing the sexual excitement to a higher aim we then have the conditions for the refreshment of the unconscious fancy It then grows exuber antly and with all the force of the desire for love at least a fragment of its content becomes a morbid symptom

The unconscious fancies are then the nearest psychical first steps of a whole series of hys terical symptoms The hysterical symptoms are nothing other than unconscious fancies brought to light by *conversion* and insofar as they are somatic symptoms they are frequently enough taken from the spheres of the sexual feelings and motor innervations which originally accom panied the former still conscious fancies In this way the disuse of onanism is really made retrogressive and the final aim of the whole pathological process the restoration of the pri mary sexual gratification though it never be comes perfect in a manner always achieves a certain resemblance

The interest of him who studies hysteria turns directly from the symptoms to the fan cies from which the former originate The tech nique of psycho analysis gives the means of finding out from the symptoms these uncon scious fancies and of bringing them back to the patient s consciousness In this way it was

perverts Those who lack examples of such na ture need only recall the historical achievements of the Roman Caesars whose frenzies were nat urally only conditioned by the unrestricted po-tency of the fancy-creator The delusional for mations of paranoiacs are the same but they are phantasies which immediately become con scious and are borne by the sado masochistic components of the sexual instinct Complete counterparts of these can also be found in cer tain unconscious phantasies of hysterics It is a familiar practically important fact that hys terics express their phantasies not as symptoms but as conscious realization and in this way *they feign and commit murders assaults and* sexual aggressions

All that can be found out about the sexuality of the psychoneurotic can be ascertained by psycho analytic investigation which leads from the obtrusive symptoms to the hidden uncon scious phantasies It also furnishes the fact of this small preliminary communication which is to be reported here

Probably because of the difficulties which stand in the way of the effort of the uncon scious phantasies to express themselves the re lation of the phantasies to the symptoms is not simple but rather manifoldly complicated As a rule i e in a fully developed and long stand ing neurosis a symptom does not correspond to one unconscious phantasy but to a number of such and indeed not in arbitrary but in law ful combination To be sure in the beginning of the disease all these complications are not yet developed

For the sake of general interest I pass over the connection of this communication and add a series of formulæ which strive progressively to exhaust the nature of hysteria They do not contradict one another but correspond partly to more complete and sharper conceptions and part ly to the application of different points of view

1 The hysterical symptom is the memory symbol of certain effective (traumatic) impres sions and experiences

2 The hysterical symptom is the associa tive return of this traumatic experience or a substitute produced by *conversion*

3 The hysterical symptom—like all other psychic formations—is the expression of a wish realization

4 The hysterical symptom is the realization of one of the unconscious phantasies servin as a wish fulfillment

5 The hysterical symptom serves as a sex ual gratification and represents a part of the

Cf Three C t ib t s to the Th o y f Se

Th sam h ld tru f th rel t betwee the *l t t* th ghts of the d eam d the lements f the *m f t* co t t f th dream See the Chapt the D m W k l th th *r I terpr tat of D e m p* 52 below

sexual life of the individual (corresponding to one of the components of his sexual impulse)

6 The hysterical symptom corresponds to the return of one form of the sexual gratification which was real in infantile life but had been repressed *since then*

7 The hysterical symptom results as a compromise between two opposing affects or impulses one of which strives to bring to realization a partial impulse or a component of the sexual constitution, while the other strives to suppress the same

8 The hysterical symptom may represent diverse unconscious non-sexual impulses but cannot dispense with the sexual meaning

It is the seventh among these determinants which expresses most exhaustively the nature of the hysterical symptom as a realization of an unconscious phantasy and it is the eighth which evaluates in fitting manner the significance of the sexual factor Some of the preceding formulæ are contained as first steps in this formula.

In view of these relations between symptoms and phantasies one can readily reach from the psycho-analysis of the symptoms to the knowledge of the components of the sexual impulse controlling the individual, just as I have shown in the *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* But in some cases this examination gives rather unexpected results It shows that many symptoms cannot be solved by one unconscious sexual phantasy by a series of phantasies in which the most significant and most primitive is of a sexual nature but that in order to solve the symptoms two sexual phantasies are required, of the masculine and one of the feminine character so that one of these phantasies corresponds to a homosexual impulse. The theory expressed in formula seven is in no way affected by this novelty so that an hysterical symptom necessarily corresponds to a compromise between a libidinal and repressed emotion, but, besides that, it can correspond to a union of two libidinal phantasies of contrary sexual characters

I refrain from giving examples for this theory Experience has taught me that short analyses compressed into the form of an abstract can never make the desired impression for which they were intended. The communication of fully analyzed cases must, however be reserved for another place

I therefore content myself with the fact of formulating the theory and elucidating its meaning

9. An hysterical symptom is the expression on the one hand of a masculine and, on the other hand of a feminine unconscious sexual phantasy

I expressly observe that I am unable to adjudge to this theory the same general validity that I claimed for the other formulæ *As far as* I can see it neither fits into all symptoms of a single case *nor into all cases* On the contrary it is not difficult to find cases in which the contrary sexual emotions have found separate [illegible] hat the symptoms

[illegible]

terical symptoms can attain and can only be expected in a long-standing neurosis wherein a great amount of organization has taken place.

The demonstrable bisexual significance of hysterical symptoms in many cases is indeed an *interesting* confirmation of the assertion formulated by me that the supposed bisexual predisposition of man can be especially recognized in psychoneurotics by means of psycho-analysis Quite an analogous process from the same sphere is that in which the masturbator in his conscious phantasies attempts to live *through in his imagination the fancied* situations of both the man and the woman Other counterparts are found in certain hysterical crises in which the patients play both roles lying at the basis of sexual phantasies thus for example one of the cases under my observation pressed his garments to his body with one *arm (as a woman) and with the other* arm attempted to tear them off (as a man) This contradictory simultaneity determines for the most part the incomprehensiveness of the situation otherwise so plastically represented in the attack and is excellently suited for the concealment of the affective unconscious phantasy

In psycho-*analytical treatment* it is very important to be prepared for the bisexual meaning of a symptom It should not be at all surprising or misleading when a symptom remains

Indeed, J Sadger who recently discovered the theory in question independently by psycho-analysis claims for [illegible] general validity (*Die Bedeutung der psychoanal* [illegible] *F eud Zentralbl. f Nerv P ych* [illegible])

Freud, *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*

apparently undiminished in spite of the fact that one of its sexual determinants is already solved It may still be based on the unsuspected contrary sexual element Moreover during the treatment of such cases we can observe how the patient makes use of this convenience While analyzing one of the sexual meanings he continually switches his thoughts into the sphere of the contrary meaning as if onto an adjacent track

The Sexual Enlightenment of Children [1]

An Open Letter t Dr M. Furst Editor of *Soziale Medizin und Hygiene*

DEAR SIR When you ask m fo an expres on of opinion on the matt r of sexual enli hten men for children, I assum that what y u wan is the independent opinion f an di nd ual physician whose professional work offers him special opportunities f r tudying the subject, and n t regular c ventional treatise dealing with all the mass of literature that has grown up around t. I am ware that ou ha e and not e I

regard the psycho-sexual constitution and cer tain norm in th sexual life as the most im portant causes of th neurotic disorders that are so common. My *Three Contrib t ons to the Th ory f Sex* in which I describe the components of which the sexual instinct is made up, and the disturbances which may occur in its development int the functi n f sexuality has recently received f vourable mention in your journal.

I am, therefore t answer the questions whethe children may be given any information at all in regard t the f cts of sexual life and t what and in what wa this should be done Now I t m confes at the outset that discussion with regard to the econd and third points seems to m perfectly reasonabl but that t m mind it is quit in ceivable how the first of these questions could eve be the sub ct f d bat What can be the aim of withholding from children, let us say from young peop. this information bout the sex ual li f human beings? Is it fea of arousing interest in su h matters prem turely be fore t spontaneously stirs in them Is t hope of retarding by con ealment of this kind the development of the sexual instinct in general, until h time as t can find s way in o the onl chann ls open t t in th civilized social order Is t supposed that children would h w interest understanding for the f cts and riddles of sexual lif if they were t promp ed

from which th ir parents and teacher would keep them apart as lo g as possible?

I am really at a loss to say which of these ca be th mot e f r the customary concealment from children of everything c nnected with sex. I nl know that these arguments are o e and all equall foolish, and that I find t difficult to pay them the c mpliment of serious refutation. I remember howeve that n the letters of that great thinker and friend f hu manity Multatuli I once found a few l es which are more than adequate as an answer

To my mind it seems that certain things re altogether too much wrapped in mystery It is well to keep the fa t es of children pure but their purity will n t be preserved by ig orance On the co trary I believe that concealment leads a girl r boy to uspect the truth more than ever Curiosity leads to prying into things which would ha e roused little or no i erest if they were talked of openl with

which things he has already surmised re treat

that the hild is already in er while his par ents till believe he does n t know what sin is

I d ot know h w the case could be better stated th ugh perhaps ne might amplify it. It is urely n thing else but habitual prudery and a guilty nscience in themselves abou sexual matters which causes adul t adopt this attitud of myst ery towards children possibly however a pi ce f theoretical ign ran on th part, to be counteracted only by fresh inf rmation, is also respon ibl It is comm nly

[1] *Collected P per* II first published in *S ial Medizin und H giene* Vol. II, 907 reprinted in *Sammlung* Zweite Folge.

Multatuli, *Brie* (906) I, 6

believed that the sexual instinct is lacking in children and only begins to arise in them when the sexual organs mature This is a grave error equally serious from the point of view both of theory and of actual practice It is so easy to correct it by observation that one can only wonder how it can ever have arisen As a matter of fact the new born infant brings sexuality with it into the world certain sexual sensations attend its development while at the breast and during early childhood and only very few children would seem to escape some kind of sexual activity and sexual experiences before puberty A more complete exposition of this statement can be found in my *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* to which reference has been made above The reader will learn that the specific organs of reproduction are not the only portions of the body which are a source of pleasurable sensation and that Nature has stringently ordained that even stimulation of the genitals cannot be avoided during infancy This period of life during which a certain degree of directly sexual pleasure is produced by the stimulation of various cutaneous areas (eroto enic zones) by the activity of certain biological impulses and as an accompanying excitation during many affective states is designated by an expression introduced by Havelock Ellis as the period of auto erotism Puberty merely brings about attainment of the stage at which the genitals acquire supremacy among all the zones and sources of pleasure and in this way presses erotism into the service of reproduction a process which naturally can undergo certain inhibitions in the case of those persons who later on become perverts and neurotics this process is only incompletely accomplished On the other hand the child is capable long before puberty of most of the mental manifestations of love for example tenderness devotion and jealousy Often enough the connection between these mental manifestations and the physical sensation of sexual excitation is so close that the child cannot be in doubt about the relation between the two To put it briefly the child is long before puberty a being capable of mature love lacking only the ability for reproduction and it may be definitely asserted that the mystery which is set up withholds him only from intellectual comprehension of achievements for which he is psychically and physically prepared

The intellectual interest of a child in the riddle of sexual life his desire for knowledge finds expression at an earlier period of life than is usually suspected If they have not often come across such cases as I am about to mention parents must either be afflicted with blindness in regard to this interest in their children or when they cannot overlook it must make every effort to stifle it I know a splendid boy now four years old whose intelligent parents abstain from forcibly suppressing one side of the child s development Little Herbert who has certainly not been exposed to any seducing influence from servants has for some time shown the liveliest interest in that part of his body which he calls his wee wee maker When only three years old he asked his mother Mamma have you got a weewee maker too? His mother answered, Of course what did you think? He also asked his father the same question repeatedly At about the same age he was taken to a barn and saw a cow milked for the first time Look milk is coming out of the weewee maker! he called in surprise At the age of three and three quarters he was well on the way to establish correct categories by means of his own independent observation He saw how water is run off from a locomotive and said See the engine is making weewee but where is its wee wee maker? Later on he added thoughtfully Dogs and horses have weewee makers but tables and chairs don t have them Recently he was watching his little sister of one week old bein bathed and remarked Her weewee maker is still tiny it will get big er when she grows (I have heard of this attitude towards the problem of sex difference in other boys of the same age) I must expressly assert that Herbert is not a sensual child nor even morbidly di posed in my opinion since he has never been frightened or oppressed with a sense of guilt he gives expression quite ingenuously to what he thinks

The second great problem which exercises a child s mind—probably at a rather later date —is that of the origin of children and is usually aroused by the unwelcome arrival of a baby brother or sister This is the oldest and most burning question that assails immature humanity those who understand how to interpret myths and legends can detect it in the riddle which the Theban Sphinx set to Oedipus The answers usually given to children in the nursery wound the child s frank and genuine spirit of investigation and generally deal the first blow at his confidence in his parents from this time onwards he commonly begins to mistrust grown up people and keeps to himself

what interests him most. The following letter may show how torturing this very curiosity may become in older children. It was written by a motherless girl of eleven and a half who had been puzzling over the problem with her younger sister.

DEAR AUNT MALI: Please will you be so kind as to write and tell me how you got Chris or Paul. You must know because you are married. We were arguing about it yesterday and we want to know the truth. We have nobody else to ask. When are you coming to Salzburg? You know, Aunt Mali, we simply can't imagine how the stork brings babies. Trudel thought the stork brings them in a shirt. Then we want to know too, how the stork gets them out of the pond, and why one never sees babies in ponds. And please will you tell me, too, how you know beforehand when you are going to have one. Please write and tell me all about it. Thousands of kisses from all of us.

Your inquiring niece

LILY

I do not think that this touching request brought the two sisters the information they wanted. Later on the writer developed the neurosis that arises in unanswered unconscious questions—obsessive speculating.

I do not think that there is even one good reason for denying children the information which their thirst for knowledge demands. To be sure, if it is the purpose of educators to stifle the child's power of independent thought as early as possible, in order to produce that good behaviour which is so highly prized, they cannot do better than deceive children in sexual matters and intimidate them by religious means. The stronger characters will, it is true, withstand these influences; they will become rebels against the authority of their parents and later against every other form of authority. When children do not receive the explanations for which they turn to their elders, they go on tormenting themselves in secret with the problem, and produce attempts at solution in which the truth they have guessed is mixed up in the most extraordinary way with grotesque inventions; or else they whisper confidences to each other which, because of the sense of guilt in the youthful inquirers, stamp everything sexual as horrible and disgusting. These infantile sexual theories are well worth collecting and examining. After these experiences children usually lose the only proper attitude to sexual questions, many of them never to find it again.

It would seem that the overwhelming majority of writers, both men and women, who have dealt with the question of explaining sexual matters to children have expressed themselves in favour of enlightenment. The clumsiness, however, of most of their proposals how and when this enlightenment should be carried out leads one to conclude that they have not found it very easy to venture this admission. As far as my knowledge of the literature goes, the charming letter of explanation which a certain Frau Emma Eckstein gives as written to her ten-year-old boy stands out conspicuously.[1] The customary method is obviously not the right one. All sexual knowledge is kept from children as long as possible, and then on one single occasion an explanation, which is even then only half the truth and generally comes too late, is proffered them in mysterious and solemn language. Most of the answers to the question, 'How can I tell my children?' make such a pitiful impression, at least upon me, that I should prefer parents not to concern themselves with the explanation at all. It is much more important that children should never get the idea that one wants to make more of a secret of the facts of sexual life than of any other matter not suited to their understanding. To ensure this it is necessary that from the very beginning everything sexual should be treated like everything else that is worth knowing about. Above all, schools should not evade the task of mentioning sexual matters; lessons about the animal kingdom should include the great facts of reproduction, which should be given their due significance, and emphasis should be laid at the same time on the fact that man shares with the higher animals everything essential to his organization. Then, if the atmosphere of the home does not make for suppression of all reasoning, something similar to what I once overheard in a nursery would probably occur oftener. A small boy said to his little sister: 'How can you think the stork brings babies! You know that man is a mammal; do you suppose that storks bring other mammals their young too?' In this way the curiosity of children will never become very intense, for at each stage in its inquiries it will find the satisfaction it needs. Explanations about the specific circumstances of human sexuality and some indication of its social significance should be provided before the child is eleven years old. The age of confirmation would be a more

[1] Emma Eckstein, *Die Sexualfrage in der Erziehung des Kindes*, 1904.

[2] The original has also: *Am Schluss des Volksschulunterrichtes und vor Eintritt in die Mittelschule*.—TR.

suitable time than any other at which to instruct the child who already has full knowledge of the physical facts involved in those social obligations which are bound up with actual gratification of this instinct A gradual and progressive course of instruction in sexual matters such as this at no period interrupted in which the school takes the initiative seems to me to be the only method of giving the necessary information that takes into consideration the development of the child and thus successfully avoids ever present dangers

I consider it a most significant advance in the science of education that in France in place of the catechism the State should have introduced a primer which gives the child his first instruction in his position as a citizen and in the ethical obligations which will be his in time to come The elementary instruction provided there however is seriously deficient in that it includes no reference to sexual matters Here is the omission which stands in such need of attention on the part of educators and reformers In those countries which leave the education of children either wholly or in part in the hands of the priesthood the method urged would of course not be practicable No priest will ever admit the identity in nature of man and beast since to him the immortality of the soul is a foundation for moral training which he cannot forgo Here again we clearly see the unwisdom of putting new wine into old bottles and perceive the impossibility of carrying through a reform in one particular without altering the foundations of the whole system

The Future Prospects of Psycho-Analytic Therapy[1]

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL CONGRESS AT NUREMBERG IN 1910

Since the objects for which we are assembled here today are mainly practical, I shall choose a practical theme for my introductory address and appeal to your interest as medical, not as scientific, men. I can imagine what your opinion about the success of our therapy probably is, and I assume that most of you have already passed through the two stages which all beginners go through, that of enthusiasm at the unexpected increase in our therapeutic achievements, and that of depression at the magnitude of the difficulties which stand in the way of our efforts. Whichever of these stages in development, however, each of you may happen to be going through at the moment, my intention today is to show you that we have by no means come to the end of our resources for combating the neuroses and that we may expect a substantial improvement in our therapeutic prospects before very long.

This improvement will come, I think, from three sources:

1. From internal progress.
2. From increased prestige.
3. From the general effect of our work.

1. Under internal progress I understand advances (a) in our analytical knowledge, (b) in our technique.

(a) Advances in our knowledge. We are, of course, still a long way from knowing all that is required for an understanding of the unconscious minds of our patients. Now it is clear that every advance in our knowledge means an increase in the power of our therapy. As long as we understood nothing we accomplished nothing; the more we understand the more we shall achieve. At its beginning, psycho-analytic treatment was inexorable and exhaustive. The patient had to say everything himself, and the physician's part consisted of urging him on incessantly. Today things have a more friendly air. The treatment is made up of two parts—out of what the physician infers and tells the patient, and out of the patient's work of assimilation, of working through what he hears. The mechanism of our curative method is indeed quite easy to understand. We give the patient the conscious idea of what he may expect to find (*bewusste Erwartungsvorstellung*) and the similarity of this with the repressed unconscious one leads him to come upon the latter himself. This is the intellectual help which makes it easier for him to overcome the resistances between conscious and unconscious. Incidentally I may remark that it is not the only mechanism made use of by the analytic method; you all know the far more powerful one which lies in the use of the *transference*. I intend soon to undertake an exposition of these various factors which are so important for an understanding of the cure, in a practice of psycho-analysis. And further, in speaking to you I need not rebut the objection that the way in which we practise the method today obscures its testimony to the correctness of our hypotheses; you will not forget that this evidence is to be found elsewhere, and that a therapeutic procedure cannot be performed in the same way as a theoretical investigation.

Now let me refer briefly to various fields in which we both have much to learn that is new and do actually make new discoveries daily. First of all, there is the matter of symbolism in dreams and in the unconscious—a fiercely contested subject, as you know! It is no small credit to our colleague, W. Stekel, that, indifferent to all the objections of our opponents, he has undertaken a study of dream-symbolism. In this there is indeed much still to learn; my *Interpretation of Dreams*, which was written in 1899, awaits important amplification from researches into symbolism.

I will say a few words about one of the symbols that has lately been recognized. Not long ago it came to my knowledge that a psychologist whose views are not too distant from ours had remarked to one of us that we undoubtedly overestimated the hidden sexual significance of dreams: his most frequent dream was of going upstairs and there could certainly be nothing sexual about that. Our attention be-

[1] Collected Papers, ii. First published in Zentralblatt, Bd. I. Reprinted in Sammlung, Zweite Folge.

ing thus drawn to it we began to study the incidence of stairs steps and ladders in dreams and soon could establish the fact that stairs and such things are certainly a symbol of coitus The underlying element which the two things have in common is not difficult to discover one climbs an acclivity in rhythmic movements accompanied by increasing breathlessness and in a few rapid leaps can be down again Thus the rhythm of coitus reappears in climbing steps We will not forget to adduce the usages of speech in this connection It shows us that *mounting* is used quite simply as a symbol for the sexual act In German one says the man is a *Steiger nachsteigen* In French the steps of a stair are called *marches un vieux marcheur ein alter Steiger* both mean an old profligate The dream material from which these newly recognized symbols are derived will in due time be put before you by the committee we are about to form for collecting and studying symbols An account of another interesting symbol of the idea of *rescue* and its changes in significance will appear in the second volume of our *Jahrbuch* However I must break off here or I shall not reach my other points

Every one of you will know from his own experience the total change in one s attitude to a new case when once one has thoroughly mastered the structure of some typical cases of illness Assuming now that we had narrowly defined the regular elements in the composition of the various forms of neurosis just as we have already succeeded in doing for hysterical symptom formation how much more assured we should be in our prognoses! Just as an obstetrician knows by examining the placenta whether it has been completely expelled or whether noxious fragments of it still remain so we should be able independently of the success of the cure and the patient s present condition to say whether the work had been completely carried to an end or whether we had to expect relapses and fresh onsets of illness

(*b*) I will hasten on to the innovations in the field of technique where indeed nearly everything still awaits definitive settlement and much is only now beginning to come clear There are now two aims in psycho analytic technique to save the physician effort and to open up for the patient the freest access to his unconscious You know that our technique has been transformed in important respects At the time of the cathartic treatment we set ourselves the aim of elucidating the symptoms then we turned away from the symptoms to discovering the *complexes* to use Jung s indispensable word now however our work is aimed directly at finding out and overcoming the *resistances* and we can with justification rely on the complexes coming to light as soon as the resistances have been recognized and removed Some of you have since shown a desire to formulate and classify these resistances Now I beg you to examine your material and see whether you can confirm the following statement In male patients the most important resistances to the treatment seem to be derived from the father complex and to express themselves *in fear of the father and in defiance and incredulity towards him*

Other innovations in technique relate to the physician himself We have begun to consider the *counter transference* which arises in the physician as a result of the patient s influence on his unconscious feelings and have nearly come to the point of requiring the physician to recognize and overcome this counter transference in himself Now that a larger number of people have come to practise psycho-analysis and mutually exchange their experiences we have noticed that every analyst s achievement is limited by what his own complexes and resistances permit and consequently we require that he should begin his practice with a self analysis and should extend and deepen this constantly while making his observations on his patients Anyone who cannot succeed in this self analysis may without more ado regard himself as unable to treat neurotics by analysis

We are also now coming to the opinion that the analytic technique must undergo certain modifications according to the nature of the disease and the dominating instinctual trends in the patient Our therapy was in fact first designed for conversion hysteria in anxiety hysteria (phobias) we must alter our procedure to some extent The fact is that these patients cannot bring out the material necessary for resolving the phobia so long as they feel protected by retaining their phobic condition One cannot of course induce them to give up their protective measures and work under the influence of anxiety from the beginning of the treatment One must therefore help them by interpreting their unconscious to them until they can make up their minds to do without the protection of their phobia and expose themselves to a now comparatively moderate degree of anxiety Only when they have done so does the material necessary for achieving solution of

the phobia become access ble Other modifica tions of technique which seem to me not yet ready for discu s on will be equired in the tre tm t of obsess o al neuro is In this con necti n ery important quest ons arise which are n t yet el c dated how far the i stincts m ol ed n the co flict in the pat e t are to be allowed some gratificat on during the treat ment, and what diffe e ce t th n m l es wheth er these impul es re cti e (sadistic) o pas si (masochistic) n natu e

I h pe yo ha e r ce ed the mpre s n th t hen all that ca at present b m rely gl mpsed is known and when we ha e established all the impro eme ts i t chniqu t wh h deeper experi nce with our pat ents m st lead us then our med cal pra t e will r ach a d gree of precision and ce ta ty of succ ss which is not to be had i all m d cal specialties

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very few lized perso a e capabl of ex isting witho t r liance n th s or a e eve capable of coming t a independ nt op io Y can ot exagg rat the intens ty f mans inner rre l t d cra ng for au th nty Th ext ordin ry increase in the neu roses s the powe f el gio has wa ed may gi you som ind c tion of t The m po e hm t f th ego d t the tr me dous effort ep s o dem ded of every divid ual by lt e m y be of the principal ca ses of thi t te f things

Hitherto th w ght f uthority with ts en rm si gg st te fo e has be n aga st us All ou th rape tic s cce s ha e been a hi ed in sp te of th s gge t o it s sur p g that a y suc was t be h d at all in the cumsta es I will t l t m s lf go t to th e t t f d scrib n to y u the a e eable th th t h ppened du g the time wh I al p ese t d psy ho-an ly I know that whe I a s d my pat t th t I knew h w to rel th m perman tly f th suff n gs they looked ound my modest abode thought of my t of f me and ho a d rega ded me lik m who po se ses an f llible ys tem in gambling pl of whom pe ple say that f he could d wh t he p fesse he would look very diff rent N r was t re lly at ll pl asant t perat on people's minds whil c lleagues wh d ty t was to assist took a pleasur in sp tting int th field f operatio and while at the first signs of blood or restless ness in him the patient s relatives threatened o e An operation may surely cause reactions in surgery we became used to that long ago N body believ d in me in fact just as even today ery few believe in us under such con ditions many an attempt was bound to fail To estimate the ncrease in our therapeutic capac it es that w ll ensue when general recognition is acco ded us you should think of the differ ent pos tions of gynæcologists in Turkey and in the West All that a woman s phys c a may do the e is to feel the pulse of an arm which is stretched out to h m through a hole in the wall And his curati e re ults are in proportion t the inaccess bil ty of their object our op pone ts i the West wish to restrict our ac cess over our pat ents minds to something ery sim lar But now that the force of public op n ion drives s ck women to the gynæcolo ist he has become their helper and sa our Now do not say that even if the w ght of publ c op n o comes to our aid and so much increases our successes that will in no way prove the al dity of our hypotheses Suggest on is sup posed to be abl to do anythi g and our suc ces es would then be results of suggestion and not of psych analysis Publ c opin on is at pres t suggesting hydropathic cures d et cures el ctricity cure for nervous perso s but that does n t en ble the m asures to remove the neu oses It w ll be seen whether psycho ana lytic treatment can accompl sh more than they

But now to be sure I must damp the ardour f yo r expect ti ns The community will not hasten to grant a thority to s It s bound to offer es ta c to us for we adopt a critical att tude towards it we accuse it of pl yin a great part itself in c us g th neuroses Ju t as w m k anv s ngle pers n ur e emy by disc er g what s rep ssed in him, so the c mmun ty cann t re po d with sympathy to a r l ntl s expo ure f it injurious ffects and d ficienc be aus we destroy illus ns we are cused of ndangeri g deals It seems th f re th t th state of things fr m which I xpect ch great dvantages for our thera peut c result will never arrive And yet th t t on s not s h pel ss s on m ght think t th p es t t m Pow rf l though th fe l d the s lf intere t of men may be yet int llect is a powe too It has not, pe haps th power th t makes tself f lt imm di t ly but that s ll the m certa n in the end Th most mordant verities e hea d at last aft th inte ests they injure and the emoti ns

they rouse have exhausted their frenzy It has always been so and the unwelcome truths which we psycho analysts have to tell the world will undergo the same fate Only it will not come very quickly we must be able to wait

3 Finally I have to explain to you what I mean by the general effect of our work and how I come to set my hopes on it This consists in a very remarkable therapeutic constellation which could perhaps not be repeated anywhere else and which will appear strange to you too at first until you recognize in it something you have long been familiar with You know of course that the psychoneuroses are substitutive gratifications of instincts the existence of which one is forced to deny to oneself and others Their capacity to exist depends on this distortion and disguise When the riddle they hold is solved and the solution accepted by the sufferers these diseases will no longer be able to exist There is hardly anything quite like it in medicine in fairy tales you hear of evil spirits whose power is broken when you can tell them their names which they have kept secret

Now in place of a single sick person put the whole community of persons liable to neuroses persons ill and persons well in place of the acceptance of the solution in the first put a general recognition in the second and a little reflection will show you that this substitution cannot alter the result at all The success which the therapy has with individuals must appear in the many too Diseased people cannot let their various neuroses become known—their apprehensive overanxiousness which is to conceal their hatred their agoraphobia which betrays disappointed ambition their actions which represent self reproaches for evil intentions and precautions against them—when all their relatives and every stranger from whom they wish to conceal their thoughts and felings know the general meaning of these symptoms and when they themselves know that the manifestations of their disease produce nothing which others cannot instantly understand The affect however will not be merely that they will conceal their symptoms—a design by the way which would be impossible to execute for this concealment will destroy the purpose of the illness Disclosure of the secret will have attacked at its most sensitive point the *aetiological equation* from which the neuroses derive brought about by the indiscretions of physicians but an end of producing these illnesses.

If this hope seems utopian to you you may remember that certain neurotic phenomena have already been dispelled by this means although only in quite isolated instances Think how common hallucinations of the Virgin Mary were in peasant girls in former times So long as such a phenomenon brought a flock of believers and resulted perhaps in a chapel being built on the sacred spot the visionary state of these maidens was inaccessible to influence To-day even the priesthood has chan ed its attitude to such things it allows police and medical men to visit the seer and since then the Virgin appears very seldom Or allow me to study the same processes that I have been describing as taking place in the future in an analogous situation which is on a smaller scale and consequently more easily appreciated Suppose that a number of ladies and gentlemen in good society had planned a picnic at an inn in the forest one day The ladies make up their minds that if one of them wants to relieve a natural need she will say aloud that she i going to pick flowers but a wicked fellow hears of this secret and has printed on the programme which is sent round to the whole party— If the ladies wish to retire they are requested to say that they are going to pick flowers Of course after this no lady will think of availing herself of this flowery pretext and other freshly devised formulas of the same kind will be seriously compromised by it What will be the result? The ladies will own up to their natural needs without shame and none of the men will take exception to it Let us return to the erious aspect of our problem A number of people who find life s conflicts too difficult to solve have taken flight into neurosis and in this way won an unmistakable although in the end too costly advantage through illness What would these people have to do if their flight into illness were barred by the indiscreet revelations of psycho analysis? They would have to be honest own up to the instincts that are at work in them face the conflict fight for what they want or go without and the tolerance from the community which is bound to ensue as a result of psycho analytical knowledge would help them in their task

Let us remember however that it is not for us to advance upon life as fanatical hygienists or therapeutists We must admit that this ideal prevention of all neurotic illness would not be advantageous to every individual A good num

ber of those who now take flight into illness would not support the conflict under the conditions we have assumed but would rapidly succumb or would commit some outrage which would be worse than if they themselves fell ill of a neurosis. The neuroses have in fact their biological function as defensive measures and their social justification the *advantage through illness* that they provide is not always a purely subjective one. Is there one of you who has not at some time caught a glimpse behind the scenes in the causation of a neurosis and had to allow that it was the least of the evils possible in the circumstances? And should one really require such sacrifices in order to exterminate the neuroses while the world is all the same full of other inextinguishable miseries?

Should we therefore abandon our efforts to explain the hidden meaning of neurotic manifestations regarding it as dangerous to the individual and harmful to the interest of society should we give up drawing the practical conclusion from a piece of scientific insight? No I think that nevertheless our duty lies in the other direction. The *advantage through illness* provided by the neuroses is indeed on the whole and in the end detrimental to the individual as well as to society. The distress that our work of revelation may cause will affect but a few. The change to a more honest and honourable attitude in the world in general will not be bought too dearly by these sacrifices. But above all all the energies which are today consumed in the production of neurotic symptoms to serve the purposes of a world of phantasy out of touch with reality will even if they cannot at once be put to uses in life help to strengthen the outcry for those changes in our civilization from which alone we can hope for better things for our descendants.

I will let you go therefore with the assurance that you do your duty in more than one sense by treating your patients psycho-analytically. You are not merely working in the service of science by using the only and irreplaceable opportunity for discovering the secrets of the neuroses you are not only giving your patients the most efficacious remedy for their sufferings available at the present time but you are contributing your share to that enlightenment of the many from which we expect to gain the authority of the community in general and thus to achieve the most far reaching prophylaxis against neurotic disorders

Observations on "Wild" Psycho-Analysis[1]

A FEW days ago an elderly lady under the pro tection of a female friend called upon me for a consultation complaining of anxiety states She was in the second half of the forties fairly well preserved and had obviously not yet fin ished with her womanhood A divorce from her last husband had been the occasion exciting the anxiety states but the anxiety had become greatly intensified according to her account since she had consulted a young physician in the suburb she lived in for he had informed her that her sexual desires were the cause of her anxiety He said that she could not tolerate the loss of intercourse with her husband and so there were only three ways by which she could recover her health—she must either re turn to her husband or take a lover or satisfy herself Since then she had been convinced that she was incurable for she would not return to her husband and the other two alternatives were repugnant to her moral and religious feel ings She had come to me however because the doctor had said that I was responsible for this new opinion and that she had only to come and ask me to confirm what he said and I should tell her that this and nothing else was the truth The friend who was with her a still older pinched and unhealthy looking woman then implored me to assure the patient that the doc tor was mistaken It could not possibly be true for she herself had been a widow for many years and had remained respectable without suffering from anxiety

I will not dwell on the awkward predica ment in which I was placed by this visit but instead will consider the conduct of the prac titioner who sent this lady to me First how ever it will be as well to adopt a cautious atti tude which may possibly not be superfluous—indeed we will hope so Long experience has taught me—as it may others—not to accept straight away as true what patients especial ly nervous patients relate about their physi cian A neurologist not only easily becomes the object of many of the patient s hostile feelings whatever method of treatment he employs he must also sometimes resign himself to accept ing respon ibility by a kind of projection for the buried repressed wishes of his nervous patients That such accusations then nowhere find more credence than amon other physi cians is a melancholy but a significant circum stance

I have some grounds therefore for hoping that this lady gave me a tendenciously distorted account of what her physician had said and that I do a man who is unknown to me an in justice by connecting my remarks about 'wild psycho analysis with this incident But all the same by doing so I may perhaps prevent others from acting wrongly towards their patients

Let us suppose therefore that her medical practitioner spoke to the patient exactly as she reported of him Everyone will at once vouch safe the criticism that if a physician holds it necessary to discuss the question of sexuality with a woman he must do o with tact and consideration Compliance with this demand however coincides with carrying out certain of the *technical* regulations of psycho analysis moreover the physician in question was igno rant of a number of the *scientific* principles of psycho analysis or had misapprehended them and thus showed how little understanding of its nature and purposes he had in fact acquired.

We will begin with the second of these with his scientific errors His advice to the lady shows clearly in what sense he understands the expression *sexual life*—in the popular sense namely in which by sexual needs nothing is meant but the need for coitus or analogous acts producing orgasm and emission of sexual secre tions The physician cannot have been unaware however that psycho analysis is commonly re proached with having extended the connotation of the term *sexual* far beyond its usual range The fact is undisputed whether it may justly be used as a reproach shall not be discussed here In psycho analysis the term *sexuality* comprises far more it goes lower and also higher than the popular sense of the word This extension is justified genetically we reckon as belonging to *sexual life* all expressions of tender feeling which spring from the source of prim itive sexual feelings even when those feelings have become inhibited in regard to their orig inal sexual aim or have exchanged this aim for another which is no longer sexual For this rea son we prefer to speak of *psycho sexuality* thus laying stress on the point that the mental

[1] *Collected Pap* II first p bl hed *Z t L bl tt* Vol. 1 191 repr ted i *Samml g* D tte Folge.

factor should not be overlooked or under-esti mated. We use the word sex ty in the same comprehensive sense as tha in which the German language uses the word *lieben* (to love) And we have lon known that a mental lack of satisfaction with all consequences can exist where there is no lack of normal sexual intercourse as therapeutists too, we have constantly t remember that the unsatisfied sexual trends (the substitute satisfactions of which in the form f nervous symptoms we have to comba) can ften find onl very in adequate outlet in co us or other sexual cts

Anyone n t aware this psycho-anal tical point of view has no right to call to his aid psycho-anal tical theories c ncerned with the aetiological significance of sexuality By emphasizing exclusively th somatic factor in sexuality he certainl implifies the problem greatly but he alone must bear the responsibility f r what he does.

A second and equally gross misunderstanding is discernible behind the physician s advice

It is true that psycho-analysis puts forward lack f sexual satisf ction the cause of nervous disorders. B does o also go much further than this Is its teaching to be ignored as too complicated when it declares that nervous symptoms arise from a conflict between two forces—on the one hand, th libido (which is for the most part ressive) and on the other a too severe version from sexuality or a repression No one who remembers this second factor which is by no means sec dary in importance can ever believe that sexual satisf c tion in itself constitutes a remedy of general reliability for the sufferings f neurotics A good number f nervous persons are indeed, either in the ctual circumsta ces or al ogether in capa f satisfaction. If they were capa of it, if they were without their inner resistances, the strength f the instinct itself would point the wa t satisf ction f r them even though no ph cian re ommended it. What is the good, therefore advice such as that supposed to have been given t this lady by her physician?

Even if it could be justified scientifically it is not advice that s can carry out. If she had had no inner resistances against onanism or against liaison, she would f course have adop ed one f these measures long before Or does the physician think that woman over f rty has never heard f such thing as taking lover or does he overestimate his influence so much as t think that she could never decid upon such step without medical recommendation?

All this seems very simple and yet it must be admitted that there is one factor which often complicates the issue in forming a judgment. Some nervous sta es which we call the *actual* neuroses such as typical neurasthenia and pure forms of anxiety-neurosis, obviously depend on the physical f ctor in sexual life, and we have no certain knowledge of the part played in them by the mental factor and by repression. In such cases i is natural that the physician should first consider some *actual* therapy some alteration in the physical sexual way of life, and he does so with perfect justification if his diagnosis is correct. The lady who consulted the young physician complained chiefly of anxiety-states and so he probably assumed that she was suffering from an *anxiety-neurosis* and felt justified in recommending an actual therapy to her Again a convenient misapprehension! A person suffering from anxiety is not for that reason necessarily suffering from anxiety neurosis a diagnosis of cannot be based on its name one has to know what manifesta ons are comprised in an anxiety-neurosis and be able to distinguish it from other pathological

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on who took into considerati n the possibility of anxiety-hysteria in this cas would have fallen into the error of neglecting the mental f ctors as this physician did with his three alternatives.

Oddly enough, the three therapeutic alternatives of this would be psycho-analyst leave no room for—psycho-analysis This woman can only be cured of her anxiety by returning to her husband, or by satisf ing her needs by onanism or with a lover And where does analytic treatment come in the treatment which we regard as th first remedy in anxiety sta es

This brings us to the *technical* errors to be remarked in the way that, according t our assumption, this physician proceeded. The idea that a neurotic is suffering from a sort f ignorance and that f one removes this ignorance by telling him f cts (about the causal connection of his illness with his life, about his experiences in childhood, and so on) h must recover is an idea that has long been superseded, and one derived from superficial appearances. The pathological f ctor is not his ignorance in

itself but the root of this ignorance in his *in ner resistances* it was they that first called this ignorance into being and they still maintain it now In combating these resistances lies the task of the therapy Telling the patient what he does not know because he has repressed it is only one of the necessary preliminaries in the therapy If knowledge about his uncon scious were as important for the patient as the inexperienced in psycho analysis imagine it would be sufficient to cure him for him to go to lectures or read books Such measures however have as little effect on the symptoms of nervous disease as distributing menu cards in time of famine has on people s hun er The analogy goes even further than its obvious ap plication too for describing his unconscious *to the patient is regularly followed* by intensifi cation of the conflict in him and exacerbation of his symptoms

Since however psycho analysis cannot dis pense with making this disclosure to patients it prescribes that two conditions are to be fulfilled before it is done First by preparatory work the repressed material must have come very near to the patient s thoughts and secondly he must be sufficiently firmly attached by an affective relationship to the physician (trans ference) to make it impossible for him to take fresh flight again

Only when these two conditions are fulfilled is it possible to recognize and to overcome the resistances which have led to the repression and the ignorance Psycho analytic measures therefore cannot possibly dispense with a fair ly long period of contact with the patient and attempts to bully the patient during his first consultation by brusquely telling him the hid den things one infers behind his story are tech nically reprehensible they mostly lead to their own doom too by inspiring in the patient a hearty dislike for the physician and putting an end to any further influence

Besides all this one may sometimes make a false inference and one is never in a position to discover the whole truth In psycho analysis these exact technical precautions take the place of a vague demand implying a peculiar talent for medical tact

It is not enough therefore for a physician to know a little of what psycho analysis has discovered he must also have familiarized himself with its technique if he wishes his med ical practice to be guided by a psycho analytic point of view This technique is even today not to be learnt from books and it is certainly not to be discovered independently without great sacrifices of time labour and success It is to be learnt like other medical measures from those who are already proficient in it In form ing a judgment on the incident that I took as a starting point for these remarks therefore it is a matter of some significance that I do not know the physician who is said to have given the lady such advice and have never be fore heard his name

Neither for myself nor for my friends and co workers is it pleasant to claim in this way a monopoly in the use of psycho analytic tech nique But in face of the danger to patients and to the cause of psycho analysis which one foresees in this wild psycho analysis we have no other choice In the spring of 1910 we founded an International Psycho Analytical As sociation in which the members admit their participation by allowing publication of their names in order to be able to repudiate respon sibility for what is done by those who do not belong to us and yet call their methods psycho analysis For as a matter of fact wild ana lysts of this kind do more harm to the cause of psycho analysis than to individual patients I have often found that a clumsy feat of a sim ilar kind led to good results in the end although it first produced an exacerbation of the pa tient s condition Not always but still often When he has abused the physician enough and feels impervious enough to any further influ ence of the kind his symptoms give way or he decides to take some step leading to re covery The final improvement then comes of itself or is ascribed to some entirely harmless treatment by another physician to whom the patient turned afterwards In the case of the lady whose complaint against her doctor we have heard I should say that in spite of all the wild psycho analyst did more for her than some highly respected authority who might have told her she was suffering from a *vaso-motor neurosis* He did force her attention to the real cause of her trouble or in that direc tion and in spite of all her struggles that can not be without some favourable results But he has done himself harm and helped to inten sify the prejudices which patients feel owing to their natural resistances against the ways of psycho analysts And this can be avoided.

The Interpretation of Dreams

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Contents The Interpretation of Dreams

The Interpretation of Dreams

FOREWORD TO THE THIRD E GLI H EDITION

I 1909 G Stanley Hall in ited me to Clark Un ersity in W rce t r to gi the first lec tures on ps cho-anal sis In the same ear Dr ... f

m American intellectual u e in th future a large part of this result w ll ha e t be attrib ted to this and other acti ities f Dr Brill s

Hi first translation of *The Interpr tatio of D* m ppeared m 9 3 S n then much has ... been

time ... RE D

V enna Ma ch 15 1931

PREF CE TO THE THIRD (GERMAN) EDITION

WHEREAS th re was a spa of nin years be tween th first and second ed ti ns f this book, th eed f third edition w appa e t when litt more than a year had elapsed I ought to be gratified by this cha ge but f I was unwil ling prev u ly t ttrib te the gl ct of my w k t its mall lu I cannot take the i ter est which is w making ts appearance as p oof of ts quality

Th ad ance f scientifi knowled has not left *Th I terpr t tion f D m* unt ched When I wrote thi book in 899 the e wa as yet no sexual theory and the analysis of th m re mpl cated f rms f the psy h u roses wa till m its infancy The nterp ta tio f d ams was intended as an expedi t t f cilitat th psych l gical analy s f th eu ose but ince then a profounder understand ing f th euroses has contributed t wa ds th omprehens f the dream. Th doctrin f dream int rp et t tself has ev l ed in a di rection whi h wa sufficiently empha ized in the first editi of this book. F om my own e pene ce and the works of Stekel and other writers I ha e since learned to appreciate more accuratel the s gnific nce of symbo m in dreams (or rather uncon ci us thou ht) In the ourse of years a ma s of data ha accumu lated which demands con derat on. I ha e en dea o ed to deal with these inn at by interpolations i the text and footnotes If these additi ns do not always quite adjust them el es to th framew rk of the treat e, or f the earlier text does not everywhere come up to the tand ard of ur present knowledge I mu t beg indul gence fo this deficiency ince it is only the result a d nd cat on of the i creasingly r p d ad an e of ou sc enc I w ll even enture to predict the dir ction in which further editions of thi book— hould the e be a demand for them—m y di erge from pre ious ed t ons Dream interpretat on mu t seek a closer un on with the rich material f poetry myth and pop ul r d m a d it mu t deal mo e faithfully than has hith rto been po s ble with the rela tions of dreams to the neuroses and to mental derangeme t

Herr Otto Rank has afforded me aluable as tance in the electi n of supplementary examples and has rev sed the p oofs of th s ed tion. I ha to thank him and ma y other c lleagues for the con ribut ons and co ec t s

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND (GERMAN) EDITION

THAT there hould ha e been a demand f r a seco d editi n f this bo k—a book which cann t be described as easy to read—before th compl t f its first d cade is not to be xplained by the int rest f the p ofes nal circles to which I was ddress myself My psychiatric lleagu s ha e t appa ently at tempted t look beyond th ast ishment which may t first ha e been aroused by my novel co ept o f the dream and the profess onal philo oph rs wh re anyhow c ustomed to disposing f th dream in few sentences— m tl the same—as suppl m t t the states of consci sness ha e ev d tly failed t real ize that prec ly in this conn ction t was pos ible to make all mann f deducti ns, such as mu t l d to a fundame tal modificatio of our

Om ted in bseq t editions.

psychological doctrines The attitude of the scientific reviewers was such as to lead me to expect that the fate of the book would be to fall into oblivion and the little flock of faithful adherents who follow my lead in the therapeutic application of psycho analysis and interpret dreams by my method could not have exhausted the first edition of this book I feel therefore that my thanks are due to the wider circle of cultured and inquiring readers whose sympathy has induced me after the lapse of nine years once more to take up this difficult work which has so many fundamental bearings

I am glad to be able to say that I found little in the book that called for alteration Here and there I have interpolated fresh material or have added opinions based on more extensive experience or I have sought to elaborate individual points but the essential passages treating of dreams and their interpretation and the psychological doctrines to be deduced therefrom have been left unaltered subjectively at all events they have stood the test of time Those who are acquainted with my other writings (on the aetiology and mechanism of the psychoneuroses) will know that I never offer unfinished work as finished and that I have always endeavoured to revise my conclusions in accordance with my maturing opinions but as regards the subject of the dream life I am able to stand by my original text In my many years work upon the problems of the neuroses I have often hesitated and I have often gone astray and then it was always the interpretation of dreams that restored my self confidence My many scientific opponents are actuated by a wise instinct when they decline to follow me into the region of oneirology

Even the material of this book even my own dreams defaced by time or superseded by means of which I have demonstrated the rules of dream interpretation revealed when I came to revise these pages a continuity that resisted revision For me of course this book has an additional subjective significance which I did not understand until after its completion It reveals itself to me as a piece of my self analysis as my reaction to the death of my father that is to the most important event the most poignant loss in a man s life Once I had realized this I felt that I could not obliterate the traces of this influence But to my readers the material from which they learn to evaluate and interpret dreams will be a matter of indifference

Where an inevitable comment could not be fitted into the old context I have indicated by square brackets that it does not occur in the first edition

Berchtesgaden 1908

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IN this volume I have attempted to expound the methods and results of dream interpretation and in so doing I do not think I have overstepped the boundary of neuro pathological science For the dream proves on psychological investigation to be the first of a series of abnormal psychic formations a series whose succeeding members—the hysterical phobias the obsessions the delusions—must for practical reasons claim the attention of the physician The dream as we shall see has no title to such practical importance but for that very reason its theoretical value as a typical formation is all the greater and the physician who cannot explain the origin of dream images will strive in vain to understand the phobias and the obsessive and delusional ideas or to influence them by therapeutic methods

But the very context to which our subject owes its importance must be held responsible for the deficiencies of the following chapters The abundant lacunae in this exposition represent so many points of contact at which the problem of dream formation is linked up with the more comprehensive problems of psychopathology problems which cannot be treated in these pages but which if time and powers suffice and if further material presents itself may be elaborated elsewhere

The peculiar nature of the material employed to exemplify the interpretation of dreams has made the writing even of this treatise a difficult task Consideration of the methods of dream interpretation will show why the dreams recorded in the literature on the subject or those collected by persons unknown to me were useless for my purpose I had only the choice between my own dreams and those of the patients whom I was treating by psychoanalytic methods But this later material was inadmissible since the dream processes were undesirably complicated by the intervention of neurotic characters And if I relate my own dreams I must inevitably reveal to the gaze of strangers more of the intimacies of my psychic life than is agreeable to me and more than seems fitting in a writer who is not a poet but a scientific investigator To do so is painful but unavoidable I have submitted to the necessity for otherwise I could not have

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demon trated my psychological co clusions Sometim of course I could not re is the temptatio to m tigate m indi ret ons by mi ons and s bstituti s b t wh rever I ha e done so the alu of the example c ted has been very definitely diminished I can only ex press the hope that my readers will understand my d fficult pos tion, and will be indulgent a d further that all those perso s who are in any wav c ncern d i the dreams recorded will not eek to fo b d o r dream l fe at all events to exercise freed m of thought!

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f signific ce a d o which may be a ign d to a pecific place in th psych c acti ties of the waking state F rthe I hall endea our to el cidate the p esses which und lie the strang ne s a d obs urity of dreams and to ded c from these p ocesses th nat re of the psych c fo ces wh s o flict r cooperat n is responsible fo o r dreams. Thi do e my in vestigat n wil terminat s t will ha e reached the po nt wh re the pr blem of the dream merg s into m e c mp be e pr b lems a d to ol e these w must ha e ecourse t m t rial f diff e t kind

I shall n t ft ha e ccas o to et r t e ther I ep te f thou and of e rs f e dea ou little progre s ha bee m de the ci entific d rsta d g f d eams This fact has bee o iversally cknowl dged by previou writers o the subj ct th t t seems hardly necessary to q te indiv dual opinions The reade w ll fi d in the wo ks listed t the e d f th wo k many tim lating bservations and plenty f mt re tin material relating to bj t b t littl n thin that oncern th t n t re f the d e m that l es defini ly any f ts gmas Th ed cated layman, of rse kn w e en l ss of th m tt

Th c pt o of the dream that was held in prehi t ges by prim t peopl a d th in en e which t m y ha e rted the form t of the eptu ns of the uni rse a d of the ul s a theme of ch great int t that t is nly with r l ctance that I refrain from dealing with t in these pages. I will refe th read t th well known w ks of Sir John Lubbock (Lord A ebury) Herbert Spencer E B Tylor a d ther wr ters I w ll o ly add that we all not real ze the impo tance of these p obl ms and peculatio s u t l we have com plet d t ta k of dream interp etat on that lies be o e us

A em n cence of the concept of the dream that w h d i p tive t me seems to und r lie the ev lution of the dream which was cur rent am the peoples f clas cal antiquity They took t fo gra ted that dr ams were re l ted to the wo ld of the upernatural be gs in whom they bel eved and that they b ught

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dreams and in the impre o s wh ch they pro duced n the dre mer made t, f c urse ery difficult to formulate a cohe t co cept on of th m, and nece sitated man fold diff ren ia tio s a d gr up-format ons a cordin to their val e and reliab lity The valu tio of dreams by the d dual philo ophers of ant quity n t urally d pe ded n the mporta ce which they were prepared to attribute to manticism in gen ral.

I th two wo ks of Ari totle in wh ch there is mention of dreams the are already regarded as co stituting a problem of psychol gy We are t ld that the dream is not god e t, that t is not of divin but of demon origi Fo nature is really demoni not divine that is to say the d eam is not upernatural re el tion but bject to th laws of the h man p rit wh ch has of c rs a kin hip w th the di e Th dream d fi ed a th psychi ct ty of the l epe a much as he is l ep Ari totle w s quai ted with ome of th char cteri tics of the d eam l fe fo example he knew that a d am c ert th sl ght e tions pe c ed l ep into intense ensat ns (o magines th t on walking through fi e a d feels hot if this o th t part f th body be omes only

The f llow g rema k re based on B hsen sch careful essay T um und T umdeutung im Al er um (B l 868)

quite sli htly warm) which led him to conclude that dreams might easily betray to the physician the first indications of an incipient physical change which escaped observation during the day

As has been said those writers of antiquity who preceded Aristotle did not regard the dream as a product of the dreaming psyche but as an inspiration of divine origin and in ancient times the two opposing tendencies which we shall find throu hout the ages in respect of the evaluation of the dream life were already perceptible The ancients distinguished between the true and valuable dreams which were sent to the dreamer as warnin s or to foretell future events and the vain fraudulent and empty dreams who e object was to misguide him or lead him to destruction

Gruppe speaks of such a classification of dreams citing Macrobius and Artemidorus Dreams were divided into two classes the first class was believed to be influenced only by the present (or the past) and was unimportant in respect of the future it included the ενυκνια (*insomnia*) which directly reproduce a given idea or its opposite e g hun er or its satiation and the φαντασματα which elaborate the given idea phantastically as e g the nightmare *ephialtes* The econd class of dreams on the other hand was determinative of the future To this belonged

1 Direct prophecies received in the dream (χρηματισμός oraculum)
2 the foretelling of a future event (ὅραμα visio)
3 the symbolic dream which requires interpretation (ονειρος somnium)

This theory survived for many centuries

Connected with these varying estimations of the dream was the problem of dream interpretation Dreams in general were expected to yield important solutions but not every dream was immediately understood and it was impossible to be sure that a certain incomprehensible dream did not really foretell something of importance so that an effort was made to replace the incomprehensible content of the dream by somethin that should be at once comprehensible and significant In later antiquity Artemidorus of Daldis was regarded as the greatest authority on dream interpretation His comprehensive works must serve to compensate us for the lost works of a similar nature The pre scientific conception of the dream which obtained among the ancients was of course in perfect keeping with their general conception of the universe which was accustomed to project as an external reality that which posses ed reality only in the life of the psyche Further it accounted for the main impression made upon the waking life by the morning memory of the dream for in this memory the dream as compared with the rest of the psychic content seems to be something alien coming as it were from another world It would be an error to suppose that theory of the supernatural origin of dreams lacks followers even in our own times for quite apart from pietistic and mystical writers—who cling as they are perfectly justified in doing to the remnants of the once predominant realm of the supernatural until these remnants have been swept away by scientific explanation—we not infrequently find that quite intelli ent persons who in other respects are averse from anything of a romantic nature go so far as to base their religious belief in the existence and co operation of superhuman spiritual powers on the inexplicable nature of the phenomena of dreams (Haffner) The validity ascribed to the dream life by certain schools of philosophy—for example by the school of Schelling—is a distinct reminiscence of the undisputed belief in the divinity of dreams which prevailed in antiquity and for some thinkers the mantic or prophetic power of dreams is still a subject of debate This is due to the fact that the explanations attempted by psychology are too inadequate to cope with the accumulated material however strongly the scientific thinker may feel that such superstitious doctrines should be repudiated

To write a history of our scientific knowledge of the dream problem is extremely difficult because valuable though this knowled e may be in certain respects no real progress in a definite direction is as yet discernible No

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G ech che Mytholog u d Rel g sge h ht p 390

real foundation of verified results has hitherto been established on which future investigators might continue to build. Every new author approaches the same problems afresh, and from the very beginning. If I were to enumerate each the various contributions of the authors, giving a survey of the opinions which each has held concerning the problems of the dream, I should be quite unable to draw a clear and complete picture of the present state of our knowledge on the subject. I have therefore preferred to base my method of treatment on themes rather than on authors, and in attempting the solution of each problem of the dream I shall cite the material found in the literature of the subject.

But as I have not succeeded in mastering the whole of this literature—for it is widely dispersed, and interwoven with the literature of other subjects—I must ask my readers to rest content with my survey as it stands, provided that no fundamental fact or important point of view has been overlooked.

Until recently most authors have been inclined to deal with the subjects of sleep and dreams in conjunction, and together with these they have commonly dealt with analogous conditions of psycho-pathological nature and other dream-like phenomena, such as hallucinations, visions, etc. In recent works, on the other hand, there has been a tendency to keep more closely to the theme and to consider as a special subject the separate problems of the dream-life. In this change I should like to perceive an expression of the growing conviction that enlightenment and agreement in such obscure matters may be attained only by a series of detailed investigations. Such a detailed investigation, and one of a special psychological nature, is expounded in these pages. I have had little occasion to concern myself with the problem of sleep, as this is essentially a physiological problem, although the changes in the functional determination of the psychic apparatus should be included in a description of the sleeping state. The literature of sleep will therefore not be considered here.

A scientific interest in the phenomena of dreams as such leads us to propound the following problems, which to a certain extent, are interdependent on one another:

A. *The Relation of the Dream to the Waking State*

The naive judgment of the dreamer on waking assumes that the dream—even if it does not come from another world—has at all events transported the dreamer into another world. The old physiologist Burdach, to whom we are indebted for a careful and discriminating description of the phenomena of dreams, expressed this conviction in a frequently quoted passage (p. 474): "The waking life with its trials and joys, its pleasures and pains, is never repeated; on the contrary, the dream aims at relieving us of these. Even when our whole mind is filled with one subject, when our hearts are rent by bitter grief, or when some task has been taxing our mental capacity to the utmost, the dream either gives us something entirely alien, or it selects for its combinations only a few elements of reality, or it merely enters into the key of our mood, and symbolizes real things." J. H. Fichte (I, 541) speaks in precisely the same sense of supplementary dreams, and calls them one of the secret, self-healing benefits of the psyche. L. Strümpell expresses himself to the same effect in his *Natur und Entstehung der Träume*, a study which is deservedly held in high esteem: "He who dreams turns his back upon the world of waking consciousness" (p. 16). "In the dream the memory of the orderly content of waking consciousness and its normal behaviour is almost entirely lost" (p.). "The almost complete and unencumbered isolation of the psyche in the dream from the regular normal content and course of the waking state ..." (p. 19).

Yet the overwhelming majority of writers on the subject have adopted the contrary view of the relation of the dream to waking life. Thus Haffner (p. 19): "To begin with, the dream continues the waking life. Our dreams always connect themselves with such ideas as have shortly before been present in our consciousness. Careful examination will nearly always detect a thread by which the dream has linked itself to the experiences of the previous day." Weygandt (p. 6) flatly contradicts the statement of Burdach. "For it may often be observed, apparently, indeed, in the great majority of dreams, that they lead us directly back to everyday life, instead of releasing us from it." Maury (p. 56) expresses the same idea in a concise formula: "*Nous rêvons de ce que nous avons vu, dit, désiré ou fait.*"* Jessen in his *Psychologie* published in 18 (p.) is rather more explicit: "The content of dreams is always more or less determined by the per

* We dream of what we have seen, said, desired, or done.—Ed.

sonality the age ex station in life education and habits and by the events and experiences of the whole past life of the individual

The philosopher I G E Maas adopts the most unequivocal attitude in respect of this question (*Uber die Leidenschaften* 1805) Experience corroborates our assertion that we dream most frequently of those things toward which our warmest passions are directed This shows us that our passions must influence the generation of our dreams The ambitious man dreams of the laurels which he has won (perhaps only in imagination) or has still to win while the lover occupies himself in his dreams with the object of his dearest hopes All the sen ual desires and loathings which lumber in the heart if they are stimulated by any cause may combine with other ideas and give rise to a dream or these ideas may mingle in an already existing dream

The ancients entertained the same idea concerning the dependence of the dream content on life I will quote Radestock (p 139) When Xerxes before his expedition again t Greece was dissuaded from his re olution by good counsel but was again and again incited by dreams to undertake it one of the old rational dream interpreters of the Persians Artabanus told him and very appropriately that dream images for the most part contain that of which one has been thinking in the waking state

In the didactic poem of Lucretius *On the Nature of Things* (IV 962) there occurs this passage

Et quo quisque fere studio dei ctus adhaeret aut qi bus n rebus multum sumus ante mo ati atque ea ratio e fu t co te ta magis me s i somn s eadem ple umque videmu ob causi dici causas agere et compone e leges duperatores pugna e ac p o l a ob e etc etc

Cicero (*De Divinatione* II LXVII) says in a similar strain as does also Maury many centuries later *Maximeque reliquiae rerum earum moventur in animis et agitantur de quibus vigilantes aut cogitavimus aut egimus*

The contradiction between these two views concerning the relation between dream life and waking life seems indeed irresolvable Here we may usefully cite the opinion of F W Hildebrandt (1875) who held that on the whole the peculiarities of the dream can only be described as a series of contrasts which apparently amount to contradictions (p 8) The first of these contrasts is formed by the *strict isolation or seclusion* of the dream from true and actual life on the one hand and on the other hand by the continuous encroachment of the one upon the other and the constant dependence of the one upon the other The dream is something absolutely divorced from the reality experienced during the waking state one may call it an existence hermetically sealed up and insulated from real life by an unbridgeable [illegible]

fundamentally has nothing in common with real life Hildebrandt then asserts that in falling asleep our whole being with its forms of existence disappears as through an invisible trapdoor In one s dream one is perhaps making a voyage to St Helena in order to offer the imprisoned Napoleon an exquisite vintage of Moselle One is most affably received by the ex-emperor and one feels almost sorry when on waking the interesting illusion is destroyed But let us now compare the situation existing in the dream with the actual reality The dreamer has never been a wine merchant and has no desire to become one He has never made a sea voyage and St Helena is the last place in the world that he would choose as the destination of such a voya e The dreamer feels no sympathy for Napoleon but on the contrary a strong patriotic aver ion And lastly the dreamer was not yet among the living when Napoleon died on the island of St Helena so that it was beyond the realms of possibility that he should have had any personal relations with Napoleon The dream experience thus appears as *something entirely foreign interpolated* between two mutually related and successive periods of time

Nevertheless continues Hildebrandt the apparent contrary is just as true and correct I believe that side by side with this seclusion and insulation there may still exi t the most intimate interrelation We may therefore justly say Whatever the dream may offer us it derives its material from reality and from the psychic life centered upon th s reality However extraordinary the dream may seem it can never detach itself from the real world and its

Commu cated by Winte stei t th *Z t lbl tt f r P ycho ly*

A d wh t b th p r t to wh h l gs w th d t wh t e th thi g wh h w h been cc pl d m ch th p t th m d b th m t t po th t p rs t it i g rally th s m th g th t w eem t t d m pl d s t ple d the r ca e d llat l w g ral t co t d a d gage batl —E

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most sublime as well as ts most rid culous co structio s must al ays borrow th ir elementary mat rial eith f om that which our eyes ha e beheld in the outer world or from that which ha already found a plac ome here in our w king thoughts in other w rds it must be taken from that which we h e lready experi enced ith r objecti ely or subjecti ely

B *The Material of D eams—Memo y i D e ms*

That all the m terial compo ing the content of a d am s somehow d ri ed from xperie ce that it is eproduced r *remembe d* in the dream—this at l ast may be accepted as an in co testable fact Yet it would be wrong to as sume that such a connection between the dream-c nte t and reality will be easily obv us from a comparison between the two On the c ntrary the connect on must be carefully sought and in qut a n mb r of cases t may for a l g while lud di c ery The re s n for this s to be found in a number of pecul ties evinced by the faculty of m mory in d eams which peculiarities though g rally

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stat as be g part of n knowledg an ex pen ce One remembers clearly e ugh hav ing dream d of the thing in q estion, but e cannot recall the act al experience or the time of its occurrence The dream r is therefore in the d k as to th sou e which the dream has tapped and is ev tempted to bel e e in an independ t prod cti acti ty on the part of th dream until, ften l g afterw rds a fresh episode e t s th m m ry of that f rmer e pen c which had been gi en up for lost and so reveals the sourc f the dream. On th re fore f rced t dmit that in th dream some thi g was kn wn and rem mbered that cannot be rem mbered in the waking state

Delbœuf relates f m his own experience an especially impress e example of this ki d He saw in hi dream th ourtyard of hi h use covered with snow and f und the e tw l ttle lizards half froze and b ried in the snow Be ing l e of animal he p ked them up warm d them and put them back into the hole i the wall which was reserved especially for them He al.o ga e them a few fronds of a l t tl fern which was growing on the wall and of whi h he knew they were very fond. In the dream he knew the name of the plant *Asplen um ruta muralis* The dream cont nued return ing after a di re sion to the lizards and to his aston shment Delbœuf saw two other little liz a ds fall ng upon what was left of the ferns On turning his eyes to the open fields he saw a fifth and a sixth lizard making for the hole in the wall and finally the whole road was covered by a proces on of l zards all wandering in the same directio

In his waking state Delbœuf knew only a few Latin ames of plants and nothing of a y *As plen m* To his great surprise he discovered that a fern of this name did actually exist and that the c rrect name was *Asplem m ruta mu aria* whi h th dream had slightly distorted An acc dental c incidence was of co rse incon cei able yet where he got his knowledge of the name *Asplen. m* in the dream remained a mystery to him

The dream occurred in 1862 Sixteen years late while at the house of one of his friends the philos pher noticed a small album contain ing dri d plants such as are sold as souvenirs to vis tors in ma y parts of Sw tze la d A sud den recollect on came to him he opened the h barium discovered therein the *Asplem m* of his d eam and recognized his own hand writing in the acc mp yi Latin name The connect on could n w be traced In 1860 two ye rs befo e th d te of the lizard dream one of his frie d s sisters while on her wedding jo rney had paid a vis t to Delbœuf She had with h r at the time this very album whi h was inte ded for her broth r and Delbœuf had tak the trouble to write at the dictation of a botani t the Latin name under each of the dried plants.

The same good fortune which gave this ex ample ts unusual val e enabled Delbœuf t trace yet anoth r portion f this d eam t ts f rg tt n s e One day in 1877 he came upon an old l me of an illustrated periodical in which he f und the whole proces on of lizards p ctured just as he had dre mt of it in 862 Th volume b re the date 1861 and Delbœuf rem mbered that he had subscribed to the jour nal since it first ppearan e.

That dreams ha e at th r dispo.al recolle tions which are ina c ss'ble to the waking tate s su h em kabl d th etically impor tant f t that I sh uld like t draw attenti n

V schde even mai tai that i has fte been bserved tha In one dreams one speak f re gn l n guages more fluentl nd w th grea pu ty tha in the wakl g state

to the point by recording yet other *hypermnesic* dreams Maury relates that for some time the word *Mussidan* used to occur to him during the day He knew it to be the name of a French city but that was all One night he dreamed of a conversation with a certain person who told him that she came from Mussidan and in answer to his question as to where the city was she replied Mussidan is the principal town of a district in the department of Dordogne On waking Maury gave no credence to the information received in his dream but the gazetteer showed it to be perfectly correct In this case the superior knowledge of the dreamer was confirmed but it was not possible to trace the forgotten source of this knowledge

Jessen (p 55) refers to a very similar incident the period of which is more remote Among others we may here mention the dream of the elder Scaliger (Hennings l c p 300) who wrote a poem in praise of the famous men of Verona and to whom a man named Brugnolus appeared in a dream complaining that he had been neglected Though Scaliger could not remember that he had heard of the man he wrote some verses in his honour and his son learned subsequently that a certain Brugnolus had at one time been famed in Verona as a critic.

A hypermnesic dream especially remarkable for the fact that a memory not at first recalled was afterwards recognized in a dream which followed the first is narrated by the Marquis d Hervey de St Denis I once dreamed of a young woman with fair golden hair whom I saw chatting with my sister as she showed her a piece of embroidery In my dream she seemed familiar to me I thought indeed that I had seen her repeatedly After waking her face was still quite vividly before me but I was absolutely unable to recognize it I fell asleep again the dream picture repeated itself In this new dream I addressed the golden haired lady and asked her whether I had not had the pleasure of meeting her somewhere Of course she replied don t you remember the bathing place at Pornic? Thereupon I awoke and I was then able to recall with certainty and in detail the incidents with which this charming dream face was connected

The same author recorded that a musician of his acquaintance once heard in a dream a melody which was absolutely new to him Not until many years later did he find it in an old collection of musical compositions though still he could not remember ever having seen it before

I believe that Myers has published a whole collection of such hypermnesic dreams in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* but these unfortunately are inaccessible to me I think everyone who occupies himself with dreams will recognize as a very common phenomenon the fact that a dream will give proof of the knowledge and recollection of matters of which the dreamer in his waking state did not imagine himself to be cognizant In my analytic investigations of nervous patients of which I shall speak later I find that it happens many times every week that I am able to convince them from their dreams that they are perfectly well acquainted with quotations obscene expressions etc and make use of them in their dreams although they have forgotten them in their waking state I shall here cite an innocent example of dream hypermnesia because it was easy to trace the source of the knowledge which was accessible only in the dream

A patient dreamed amongst other things (in a rather long dream) that he ordered a *kontus ówka* in a cafe and after telling me this he asked me what it could be as he had never heard the name before I was able to tell him that *kontus ówka* was a Polish liqueur which he could not have invented in his dream as the name had long been familiar to me from the advertisements At first the patient would not believe me but some days later after he had allowed his dream of the cafe to become a reality he noticed the name on a signboard at a street corner which for some months he had been passing at least twice a day

I have learned from my own dreams how largely the discovery of the origin of individual dream-elements may be dependent on chance Thus for some years before I had thought of writing this book I was haunted by the picture of a church tower of fairly simple construction which I could not remember ever having seen I then suddenly recognized it with absolute certainty at a small station between Salzburg and Reichenhall This was in the late nineties and the first time I had travelled over this route was in 1886 In later years when I was already busily engaged in the study of dreams I was quite annoyed by the frequent recurrence of the dream image of a certain peculiar locality I saw in definite orientation to my own person—on my left—a dark space in

See Vaschide p 232
Vaschide p 233

which a number of grotesque sand tone figures tood out. A glimm ring rec llection which I did n t quit believe told m that it was the entran e t a bee -cellar but I could expl in ne ther the m aning nor the origin of this dream-p cture In 907 I happened to go to P dua which t my regret I had been unable t usit c 189 My first usit to this beau tiful uni rsity city had been unsati fact ry I had been un ble to ee Gi tto s frescoes in the church of the Madonna dell Arena I set ut for the church, but turned ba k on being inf rmed that t was cl sed for the day On my seco d vi t tw l e years later I tho ht I ... mpensate myself for this disappoint

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plac with its sandsto e figures which I had so ften seen in my dream It w s in f ct the e trance to a esta rant ga den

On of the urc f om whi h dreams draw material for r p ducti n—material f which some part s not recalled or utilized in our waking th ughts—is to be f und in childhood Here I will cit only a few of the authors wh ha e observed and empha ized this f ct

Hild brandt (p 3) It has alre dy bee expres ly dmitted that a dream ometimes brings b ck t the mind with a wonderful power of eproductio rem te and even f gotten experiences f m the ea lie t periods of e s lif

trumpell (p 40) 'The subj ct bec mes more int resting till wh n we remember how the dream sometimes drags out as it were from th deepest and densest psychic d pos ts hi h lat r years ha piled upon the earliest expen ces of hildhood the p ctures of cer tain persons places and things, quite intact and in all thei original freshness This is con fined t merely t s h imp es ns as were dly pe cei ed at th time f th r occu re we e associated with intense psycho logical al es t recur later th dream as ctual remin cen es whi h gi plea re to the waking mind. On the trary the depths f th dream-mem ry rath co tain such im g s f persons places things and early expe riences as the posses ed b t little c nsci es and psychi val whatsoeve r ha e lo g in lost both, and therefore appea to tally trange and unkn wn both in the dream d in the waking stat until their e ly ori gin is re ealed

Volkelt (p 119) It is especially to be re ma ked how readily infantile and youthful rem ini cences enter into our dreams What we have long cea ed to think about what has long sinc lost all importance for us is constantl recalled by the dream

Th control which the dream e ercises over material from our childhood, most of which, as is well known falls into the lacunae of our con scious memory is respon ble for the p oduc tion of interesti g hypermne c dreams of which I shall cite a few more examples

M ury rel tes (p. 92) that as a child he often went from his nati e city Meaux, to the ne ghbouring Trilport, where his father was u perintending the construction of a bridge One night a dream transported him to Trilport and he was o ce m re playing in the treets there A man app oached him wearing a sort of uni form Maury a ked him hi name and he in troduced him elf saying that his name was C, and that he was a bridge-guard. On waking Maury who still doubted the actuality of the rem niscence asked his old servant who had been with him in his childhood whether she remembered a man of this name Of course was the eply he used to be w tchman o the brid which your father was building then

Maury records n ther example which dem on trates no le s clearly the reliab lity of the reminis cences of hildhood that emerge in our dreams M F wh as a child had li ed in M ntbri on decided after an absence of twen ty fi e years to vis t his h me and the old fri nd f his family The night befo e his de parture he d eamt that he had reached his des tinat on and that near Montbri on he met a man whom he did not know by s ght and who told him that he was M. F a friend of his father s. The dreamer remembered that as a child he had known a gentleman of this name but waking h could n lo ger recall his fea tures Sev ral days lat ha g actually ar ri ed at M tbrison, he f und one more th locality f his dream which he had thought was unknown to him and the e h met a man wh m he at one recognized as the M F of his dream with only this diff enc that the real pers n was ry much older than his dream im ge.

H re I mi ht relate one f my own dream in whi h th recalled impre sion takes the f rm of an as ociation. In my d eam I saw a man wh m I recognized while dreaming as the d ct f my native town. His f was not

to the point by recording yet other *hypermnesic* dreams Maury relates that for some time the word *Mussidan* used to occur to him during the day He knew it to be the name of a French city but that was all One night he dreamed of a conversation with a certain person who told him that she came from Mussidan and in answer to his question as to where the city was she replied Mussidan is the principal town of a district in the department of Dordogne On waking Maury gave no credence to the information received in his dream but the gazetteer showed it to be perfectly correct In this case the superior knowledge of the dreamer was confirmed but it was not possible to trace the forgotten source of this knowledge

Jessen (p 55) refers to a very similar incident the period of which is more remote Among others we may here mention the dream of the elder Scaliger (Hennings l c p 300) who wrote a poem in praise of the famous men of Verona and to whom a man named Brugnolus appeared in a dream complaining that he had been neglected Though Scaliger could not remember that he had heard of the man he wrote some verses in his honour and his son learned subsequently that a certain Brugnolus had at one time been famed in Verona as a critic.

A hypermnesic dream especially remarkable for the fact that a memory not at first recalled was afterwards recognized in a dream which followed the first is narrated by the Marquis d Hervey de St Denis I once dreamed of a young woman with fair golden hair whom I saw chatting with my sister as she showed her a piece of embroidery In my dream she seemed familiar to me I thought indeed that I had seen her repeatedly After waking her face was still quite vividly before me but I was absolutely unable to recognize it I fell asleep again the dream picture repeated itself In this new dream I addressed the golden haired lady and asked her whether I had not had the pleasure of meeting her somewhere Of course she replied don t you remember the bathing place at Pornic? Thereupon I awoke and I was then able to recall with certainty and in detail the incidents with which this charming dream face was connected

The same author recorded that a musician of his acquaintance once heard in a dream a melody which was absolutely new to him Not until many years later did he find it in an old collection of musical compositions though still he could not remember ever having seen it before

I believe that Myers has published a whole collection of such hypermnesic dreams in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* but these unfortunately are inaccessible to me I think everyone who occupies himself with dreams will recognize as a very common phenomenon the fact that a dream will give proof of the knowledge and recollection of matters of which the dreamer in his waking state did not imagine himself to be cognizant In my analytic investigations of nervous patients of which I shall speak later I find that it happens many times every week that I am able to convince them from their dreams that they are perfectly well acquainted with quotations obscene expressions etc and make use of them in their dreams although they have forgotten them in their waking state I shall here cite an innocent example of dream hypermnesia because it was easy to trace the source of the knowledge which was accessible only in the dream

A patient dreamed amongst other things (in a rather long dream) that he ordered a *kontus ówka* in a cafe and after telling me this he asked me what it could be as he had never heard the name before I was able to tell him that *kontus ówka* was a Polish liqueur which he could not have invented in his dream as the name had long been familiar to me from the advertisements At first the patient would not believe me but some days later after he had allowed his dream of the cafe to become a reality he noticed the name on a signboard at a street corner which for some months he had been passing at least twice a day

I have learned from my own dreams how largely the discovery of the origin of individual dream elements may be dependent on chance Thus for some years before I had thought of writing this book I was haunted by the picture of a church tower of fairly simple construction which I could not remember ever having seen I then suddenly recognized it with absolute certainty at a small station between Salzburg and Reichenhall This was in the late nineties and the first time I had travelled over this route was in 1886 In later years when I was already busily engaged in the study of dreams I was quite annoyed by the frequent recurrence of the dream image of a certain peculiar locality I saw in definite orientation to my own person—on my left—a dark space in

See Vasch d p 232
Vaschide p 233

waking state has quite recently excited them?

We can readily understand how the strange preference shown by the dream memory for the indifferent and therefore disregarded details of daily experience must commonly lead us altogether to overlook the dependence of dreams on the waking state or must at least make it difficult for us to prove this dependence in any individual case. Thus it happened that in the statistical treatment of her own and her friend's dream, Miss Whiton Calkins found that 11 per cent of the entire number showed no relation to the waking state. Hildebrandt was certainly correct in his assertion that all our dream images could be genetically explained if we devoted enough time and material to the tracing of their origin. To be sure, he calls this "a most tedious and thankless job. For most often it would lead us to ferret out all sorts of psychically worthless things from the remotest corners of our storehouse of memory, and to bring to light all sorts of quite indifferent events of long ago from the oblivion which may have overtaken them an hour after their occurrence." I must, however, express my regret that this discerning author refrained from following the path which at first seemed so unpromising, for it would have led him directly to the central point of the explanation of dreams.

The behaviour of memory in dreams is surely most significant for any theory of memory whatever. It teaches us that "nothing which we have once psychically possessed is ever entirely lost" (Scholz, p. 34); or as Delbœuf puts it, *"que toute impression même la plus insignifiante laisse une trace inaltérable indéfiniment susceptible de reparaître au jour"*,[1] a conclusion to which we are urged by so many other pathological manifestations of mental life. Let us bear in mind this extraordinary capacity of the memory in dreams in order the more keenly to realize the contradiction which has to be put forward in certain dream theories to be mentioned later, which seek to explain the absurdities and incoherences of dreams by a partial forgetting of what we have known during the day.

It might even occur to one to reduce the phenomenon of dreaming to that of remembering, and to regard the dream as the manifestation of a reproductive activity unresting even at night, which is an end in itself. This would seem to be in agreement with statements such as those made by Pilcz, according to which definite relations between the time of dreaming and the contents of a dream may be demonstrated, inasmuch as the impressions reproduced by the dream in deep sleep belong to the remote past, while those produced towards morning are of recent origin. But such a conception is rendered improbable from the outset by the manner in which the dream deals with the material to be remembered. Strümpell rightly calls our attention to the fact that repetitions of experiences do not occur in dreams. It is true that a dream will make a beginning in that direction, but the next link is wanting; it appears in a different form, or is replaced by something entirely novel. The dream gives us only fragments of reproductions; this is so far the rule that it permits of a theoretical generalization. Still there are exceptions in which an episode is repeated in a dream as completely as it can be reproduced by our waking memory. Delbœuf relates of one of his university colleagues that in a dream he repeated in all its details a perilous drive in which he escaped accident as if by a miracle. Miss Calkins mentions two dreams, the contents of which exactly reproduced an experience of the previous day, and in a later chapter I shall have occasion to give an example that came to my knowledge of a childish experience which recurred unchanged in a dream.[2]

C. Dream Stimuli and Sources

What is meant by dream stimuli and dream sources may be explained by reference to the popular saying, "Dreams come from the stomach." This notion covers a theory which conceives the dream as resulting from a disturbance of sleep. We should not have dreamed if some disturbing element had not come into play during our sleep, and the dream is the reaction against this disturbance.

The discussion of the exciting causes of dreams occupies a great deal of space in the literature of dreams. It is obvious that this problem could have made its appearance only after dreams had become an object of biological investigation. The ancients, who conceived of dreams as divine inspiration, had no need

[1] That every impression, even the most insignificant, leaves an ineradicable mark, indefinitely capable of reappearing by day.—Ed.

[2] From subsequent experience I am able to state that it is not at all rare to find in dreams reproductions of unimportant occupations of everyday life, such as packing trunks, preparing food in the kitchen, etc., but in such dreams the dreamer himself emphasizes not the character of the recollection, but its "reality"—"I really did this during the day."

distinct but his features were blended with those of one of my schoolmasters whom I still meet from time to time What association there was between the two persons I could not discover on waking but upon questioning my mother concerning the doctor I learned that he was a one eyed man The schoolmaster whose image in my dream obscured that of the physician had also only one eye I had not seen the doctor for thirty-eight years and as far as I know I had never thought of him in my waking state although a scar on my chin might have reminded me of his professional attentions

As though to counterbalance the excessive part which is played in our dreams by the impressions of childhood many authors assert that the majority of dreams reveal elements drawn from our most recent experiences Robert (p 46) even declares that the normal dream generally occupies itself only with the impressions of the last few days We shall find indeed that the theory of the dream advanced by Robert absolutely requires that our oldest impressions should be thrust into the background and our most recent ones brought to the fore However the fact here stated by Robert is correct this I can confirm from my own investigations Nelson an American author holds that the impressions received in a dream most frequently date from the second day before the dream or from the third day before it as though the impressions of the day immediately preceding the dream were not sufficiently weakened and remote

Many authors who are unwilling to question the intimate connection between the dream content and the waking state have been struck by the fact that the impressions which have intensely occupied the waking mind appear in dreams only after they have been to some extent removed from the mental activities of the day Thus as a rule we do not dream of a beloved person who is dead while we are still overwhelmed with sorrow (Delage) Yet Miss Hallam one of the most recent observers has collected examples which reveal the very opposite behaviour in this respect and upholds the claims of psychological individuality in this matter

The third most remarkable and at the same time most incomprehensible peculiarity of memory in dreams is shown in the selection of the material reproduced for here it is not as in the waking state only the most significant things that are held to be worth remembering but also the most indifferent and insignificant details In this connection I will quote those authors who have expressed their surprise in the most emphatic language

Hildebrandt (p 11) For it is a remarkable fact that dreams do not as a rule take their elements from important and far reaching events or from the intense and urgent interests of the preceding day but from unimportant incidents from the worthless odds and ends of recent experience or of the remoter past. The most shocking death in our family the impressions of which keep us awake long into the night is obliterated from our memories until the first moment of waking brings it back to us with distressing force On the other hand the wart on the forehead of a passing stranger to whom we did not give a moment s thought once he was out of sight finds a place in our dreams

Strumpell (p 39) speaks of cases in which the analysis of a dream brings to light elements which although derived from the experiences of yesterday or the day before yesterday were yet so unimportant and worthless for the waking state that they were forgotten soon after they were experienced Some experiences may be the chance heard remarks of other persons or their superficially observed actions or fleeting perceptions of things or persons or isolated phrases that we have read etc

Havelock Ellis (p 727) The profound emotions of waking life the questions and problems on which we spend our chief voluntary mental energy are not those which usually present themselves at once to dream consciousness It is so far as the immediate past is concerned mostly the trifling the incidental the forgotten impressions of daily life which reappear in our dreams The psychic activities that are awake most intensely are those that sleep most profoundly

It is precisely in connection with these characteristics of memory in dreams that Binz (p 45) finds occasion to express dissatisfaction with the explanations of dreams which he himself had favoured And the normal dream raises similar questions Why do we not always dream of mental impressions of the day before instead of going back without any perceptible reason to the almost forgotten past now lying far behind us? Why in a dream does consciousness so often revive the impression of indifferent memory pictures while the cerebral cells that bear the most sensitive records of experience remain for the most part inert and numb unless an acute revival during the

actually fallen on to the floo Gregory relates that h o ce appl d a hot water bottle to his feet and dreamed of taking a trip to the summit of Mount Etna where he f und the heat of th il almo t unbearable After ha m bl te appli d to his h ad another man d eamed of being calped by I d ans st ll an othe whose hirt was damp dreamed th t he was dragged through a tream An att ck of gout c sed patient t b h e that he was in the hand of the I quisitio d uffering the pains of tort (Macnish)

The gume t that there s a resemblance betwee the dream stim lu and the dre m c t t wo ld be onfirmed f by a syst m tic induct n of stimuli we should ucceed in pro d cing dre m c rre po ding to these stimuli Ac ording t Macn h su h experime t h d al eady bee m de by G ron d Buzare ngues H l ft hi kn e exposed a d d e m d of tra ellin n mail-coa h by n ght He re ma ked in thi conne tion that tra ellers were well ware how c ld the kn e become in a c ch t ght On an th occasi n he left th back of his head un o ered d dre med that h wa taki g part in a religi u cer m ny in the open a r I the c untry wher he l ed t wa custom ry to keep the head always c ered ex ept on cc ns of this kind

M ury ports f sh bservat on o elf i d ced d eams of his own. (A umber f other experim ts were un ces ful)

1 H was t ckled with feather o his lips and th tip of hi no e H dreamed f an wf l t rture iz., that a ma k f pitch was stu k t his f ce a d then f rc bly torn off bringi g the skin with t

2 Sciss rs w wh tt d again t a pa r of twee rs H hea d bell ringing then s u ds of tumult whi h took h m b ck to the d ys of th Revol ti f 848

3 Eau de C logne was h ld to his no trils. H f und himself in Cai o in th h p of J hann Maria F rina This was foll w d by fantasti dv tur s whi h he was ot bl to recall.

4 Hi n k was lightly p ched. He dreamed that a blister w being ppli d and thought of doct wh had tre t d him in childh od

5 A h t iron was brought nea his f ce He d eamed that *h ffeurs* had broken into the h use and were fo cing the cupant t gi e up the m ey by thrusting th f t into braz rs Th D chesse d Abrantes whose secretary he imagined himself to be th n entered the room

6 A drop of water was allowed to fall on to his forehead He ma ned himself in Italy per spir hea il and drin n the whi e w ne of Orvieto

7 When the l ht of a candle screened w th red paper was allowed to fall on his face he dreamed f thunder of heat and of a torm at sea which h once witnessed n the Engl sh Channel

Hervey Weygandt and thers ha e made at tempt to produce dreams experimentall

Many ha e ob rved the striki g k ll of the dream in i terwea ng i to its structure sud den imp e sio s from the outer world n uch a manner as to repre ent a gradu lly approaching c ta trophe (Hildebra dt) In former years this author relates I occasionally made use of an l rm-clo k in o der to wake punctually at a c rtain ho r in th mornin It pr bably happe ed hundreds of times that the sound of this *instrument fitted into an apparently* very l ng and connected dream as though the entire dre m had been espec ally des gned for it as thou h it fo nd in this sou d its appropriate and log cally ndi pensable climax its evitable de ouement.

I shall presently ha e occa on to cite three of these alarm-cl ck dreams in a different con nect on

Volkelt (p 68) relates A composer once dreamed th t he was teachi g a class and was just explaini g something t his pup ls When h had fini hed h turned to one of the boys with the question Did you und rstand me? The boy cried ut like o e posses ed Oh ja! Annoyed by this he reprimanded his pupil for sh uti *But now the entire class was* cream ing Orj then Eurjo nd finally Feuerjo He was then aro sed by the actual fire alarm in the treet

G rni r (T té d s facultés de l âme 186) on the a th nty f Radestock elates that N poleo I whil sl ep ng in a carriage was aw kened fr m a dream by an expl s n which *took him ba k to the* c oss ng of the Taglia m t and the bombardme t of the Austrians o that h st rted up crying We ha been und rmined

Ch ff ur were bands f robbers in the V ndée ho resorted to this f rm f rt re.

m t rribl s enes of m d and finally he hims lf was summo ed bef re the Trib nal

to look for stimuli for them a dream was due to the will of divine or demonic powers and its content was the product of their special knowledge and intention Science however immediately raised the question whether the stimuli *of dreams were single or multiple and this* in turn led to the consideration whether the causal explanation of dreams belonged to the region of psychology or to that of physiology Most authors appear *to assume that disturb*ance of sleep and hence dreams may arise from various causes and that physical as well as mental stimuli may play the part of dream excitants Opinions differ widely in preferring this or the other factor as the cause of dreams and in classifying them in the order of importance

Whenever the sources of dreams are completely enumerated they fall into the following four categories which have also been employed in the classification of dreams (1) external *(objective) sensory stimuli (2) internal (sub*jective) sensory stimuli (3) internal (organic) physical stimuli (4) purely psychical sources of excitation

1 *External sensory stimuli*

The younger Strumpell the son of the philosopher whose work on dreams has already more than once served us as a guide in considering the problems of dreams has as is well known recorded his observations of a patient afflicted with general anaesthesia of the skin and with paralysis of several of the higher sensory organs This man would laps into sleep whenever the few remaining sensory paths between him*self and the outer world were closed* When we wish to fall asleep we are accustomed to strive for a condition similar to that obtaining in Strumpell s experiment We close the most important sensory portals the eyes and we endeavour to protect the other senses from all stimuli or from any change of the stimuli already acting upon them We then fall asleep although our preparations are never wholly successful For we can never completely insulate the sensory organs nor can we entirely abolish the excitability of the sensory organs themselves That we may at any time be awakened by intenser stimuli should prove to us that the mind has *remained in constant communica*tion with the external world even during sleep The sensory stimuli that reach us during sleep may easily become the source of dreams

There are a *great many* stimuli of this nature ranging from those unavoidable stimuli which are proper to the state of sleep or occasionally admitted by it to those fortuitous stimuli which are calculated to wake the sleeper Thus a strong light may fall upon the eyes a noise may be heard or an odour may irritate the mucous membranes of the nose In our unintentional movements durin sleep we may lay bare parts of the body and thus expose them to a sensation of cold or by a change of *position we may excite sensations* of pressure and touch A mosquito may bite us or a slight nocturnal mischance may simultaneously attack more than one sense organ Observers have called attention to a whole series of dreams in which the stimulus ascertained on waking and some part of the dream content corresponded to such a degree that the stimulus could be recognized as the source of the dream

I shall here cite a number of such dreams collected by Jessen (p 527) which are traceable to more or less accidental objective sen*sory stimuli Every noise indistinctly perceived* gives rise to corresponding dream representations the rolling of thunder takes us into the thick of battle the crowing of a cock may be transformed into human shrieks of terror and the creaking of a door may conjure up dreams of burglars breaking into the house When one of our blankets slips off us at night we may dream that we are walking about naked or falling into water If we lie diagonally across the bed with our feet extendin beyond the edge we may dream of standing on the brink of a terrifying precipice or of falling from a great height Should our head accidentally get under the pillow we may imagine a huge rock overhanging us and about to crush us under its weight An accumulation of semen produces voluptuous dreams and local pains give rise to ideas of suffering ill treatment of hostile attacks or of accidental bodily injuries

Meier (*Versuch einer Erklarung des Nachtwandelns* Halle 1758 p 33) once dreamed of being attacked by several men who threw him flat on the ground and drove a stake into the earth between his first and second toes While imagining this in his dream he suddenly awoke and felt a piece of straw sticking between his toes The same author according to Hemmings (*Von den Traumen und Nachtwandlern* Weimar 1784 p 58) dreamed on another occasion when his nightshirt was rather too tight round his neck that he was being hanged In his youth Hoffbauer dreamed of having fallen from a high wall and found on waking that the bedstead had come apart and that he had

actually fallen on to the floor. Gregory relates that he once applied a hot water bottle to his feet and dreamed of taking a trip to the summit of Mount Etna, where he found the heat of the soil almost unbearable. After having a blister applied to his head, another man dreamed of being scalped by Indians; still another whose shirt was damp dreamed that he was dragged through a stream. An attack of gout caused a patient to believe that he was in the hands of the Inquisition, and suffering the pains of torture (Macnish).

The argument that there is a resemblance between the dream stimulus and the dream content would be confirmed if by a systematic induction of stimuli we should succeed in producing dreams corresponding to these stimuli. According to Macnish such experiments had already been made by Girou de Buzareingues. He left his knee exposed and dreamed of travelling on a mail-coach by night. He remarked in this connection that travellers were well aware how cold the knees become in a coach at night. On another occasion he left the back of his head uncovered and dreamed that he was taking part in a religious ceremony in the open air. In the country where he lived it was customary to keep the head always covered except on occasions of this kind.

Maury reports fresh observations on self-induced dreams of his own. (A number of the experiments were unsuccessful.)

1 He was tickled with a feather on his lips and on the tip of his nose. He dreamed of an awful torture; that a mask of pitch was stuck to his face and then forcibly torn off, bringing the skin with it.

2 Scissors were whetted against a pair of tweezers. He heard bells ringing, then sounds of tumult which took him back to the days of the Revolution of 1848.

3 Eau de Cologne was held to his nostrils. He found himself in Cairo in the shop of Johann Maria Farina. This was followed by fantastic adventures which he was not able to recall.

4 His neck was lightly pinched. He dreamed that a blister was being applied and thought of a doctor who had treated him in childhood.

5 A hot iron was brought near his face. He dreamed that *chauffeurs*[1] had broken into the house and were forcing the occupants to give up their money by thrusting their feet into braziers. The Duchess d'Abrantès, whose secretary he imagined himself to be, then entered the room.

6 A drop of water was allowed to fall on to his forehead. He imagined himself in Italy perspiring heavily and drinking the white wine of Orvieto.

7 When the light of a candle screened with red paper was allowed to fall on his face, he dreamed of thunder, of heat, and of a storm at sea which he once witnessed in the English Channel.

Hervey, Weygandt and others have made attempts to produce dreams experimentally.

Many have observed the striking skill of the dream in interweaving into its structure sudden impressions from the outer world in such a manner as to represent a gradually approaching catastrophe (Hildebrandt). "In former years," this author relates, "I occasionally made use of an alarm-clock in order to wake punctually at a certain hour in the morning. It probably happened hundreds of times that the sound of this instrument fitted into an apparently very long and connected dream, as though the entire dream had been especially designed for it, as though it found in this sound its appropriate and logically indispensable climax, its inevitable denouement."

I shall presently have occasion to cite three of these alarm-clock dreams in a different connection.

Volkelt (p. 68) relates: "A composer once dreamed that he was teaching a class and was just explaining something to his pupils. When he had finished he turned to one of the boys with the question: 'Did you understand me?' The boy cried out like one possessed: 'Oh ja!' ... for ... in the street."

Garnier (*Traité des facultés de l'âme*, 1865) on the authority of Radestock relates that Napoleon I while sleeping in a carriage was awakened from a dream by an explosion which took him back to the crossing of the Tagliamento and the bombardment of the Austrians, so that he started crying: "We have been undermined."

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some terrible scenes of murder, and finally he himself was summoned before the Tribunal.

[1] Chauffeurs were bands of robbers in the Vendée who resorted to this form of torture.

There he saw Robespierre Marat Fouquier Tinville and all the sorry heroes of those terrible day he had to give an account of him

which did was sen enormous

crowd he was led to the place of execution He mounted the scaffold the executioner tied him *to the plank it tipped over and the knife of the* guillotine fell He felt his head severed from his trunk and awakened in terrible anxiety only to find that the head board of the bed had *fallen* and had *actually* struck the cervical vertebrae just where the knife of the guillotine would have fallen

This dream gave rise to an interesting discussion initiated by Le Lorrain and Egger in *the Revue Philosophique as to whether and* how it was possible for the dreamer to crowd

stimuli occurring in sleep are among the most *firmly* established of all the sources of dreams they are indeed the only stimuli of which the layman knows anything whatever If we ask an educated person who is not familiar with the literature of dreams how dreams originate he is certain to reply by a reference to a case known to him in which a dream has been explained after waking by a recognized objective stimulus Science however cannot stop here but is incited to further investigation by the observation that the stimulus influencing the senses during sleep does not appear in the dream at all in its true form but is replaced by *some other representation* which is in some way related to it But the relation existing between the stimulus and the resulting dream is according to Maury *une affinité quelconque mais qui n est pas unique et exclusive* (p 72) If we read for example three of Hildebrandt s alarm clock dreams we shall be compelled to ask why the same casual stimulus evoked so *many different results* and why just these results and no others

(P 37) I am taking a walk on a beautiful spring morning I stroll through the green meadows to a neighbouring village where I see numbers of the inhabitants going to church wearing their best clothes and carrying their hymn books under their arms I remember that it is Sunday and that the morning service will soon begin I decide to attend it but as I am rather overheated I think I will wait in the churchyard until I am cooler While reading the various epitaphs I hear the sexton climbing the church tower and I see above me the small bell which is about to ring for the beginning of service For a little while it hangs *motionless then it* begins to swing and suddenly its notes resound so clearly and penetratingly that my sleep comes to an end But the notes of the bell come from the alarm clock

A second combination It is a bright winter day the streets are deep in snow I have promised to go on a sleigh ride but I have to wait some time before I am told that the sleigh is at *the door Now I am preparing to get into the* sleigh I put on my furs the foot warmer is put in and at last I have taken my seat But still my departure is delayed At last the reins are *twitched* the horses start and the sleigh bells now violently shaken strike up their familiar music with a force that instantly tears the gossamer of my dream Again it is only the shrill note of my alarm clock

Yet a third example I see the kitchen maid walking along the passage to the dining room with a pile of several dozen plates The porcelain column in her arms seems to me *to be in* danger of losing its equilibrium Take care I exclaim you will drop the whole pile! The usual retort is naturally made—that she is used to such things etc Meanwhile I continue *to* follow her with my anxious gaze and behold at the threshold the fragile plates fall and crash and roll across the floor in hundreds of pieces But I soon perceive that the endless din is not really a rattling but a true ringing and with this ringing the dreamer now becomes aware that the alarm clock has done its duty

The question why the dreaming mind misjudges the nature of the objective sensory stimulus has been answered by Strumpell and in an almost identical fashion by Wundt their

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sory impression is recognized by us and correctly *interpreted—that is it is classed with* the memory group to which it belongs according to all previous experience if the impression is strong clear and sufficiently prolonged and if we have sufficient time to submit it to those mental processes But if these conditions are not fulfilled we mistake the object which gives

A t f r lat wh h is h w ther n q e or e clus e—ED

rise to the impression, and on the basis of this impression we construct an illusion. If one takes a walk in an open field and perceives distinctly a distant object, it may happen that one will at first take it for a horse. On closer inspection the image of a cow resting may obtrude itself, and the picture may finally resolve itself with certainty into a group of people sitting on the ground. The impressions which the mind receives during sleep from external stimuli are of a similarly indistinct nature; they give rise to illusions because the impression evokes a greater or lesser number of memory images through which it acquires its psychic value. As for the question, in which of the many possible spheres of memory the corresponding images are aroused, and which of the possible associative connections are brought into play, that—to quote Strumpell again—is indeterminable, and is left, as it were, to the caprices of the mind.

Here we may take our choice. We may admit that the laws of dream-formation cannot really be traced any further, and so refrain from asking whether or not the interpretation of the illusion evoked by the sensory impression depends upon still other conditions; or we may assume that the objective sensory stimulation encroaching upon sleep plays only a modest rôle as dream-source, and that other factors determine the choice of the memory image to be evoked. Indeed, on carefully examining Maury's experimentally produced dreams, which I have purposely cited in detail, one is inclined to object that his investigation traces the origin of only one element of the dreams, and that the rest of the dream-content seems too independent and too full of detail to be explained by a single requirement, namely, that it must correspond with the element experimentally introduced. Indeed, one even begins to doubt the illusion theory, and the power of objective impressions to shape the dream, when one realizes that such impressions are sometimes subjected to the most peculiar and far-fetched interpretations in our dreams. Thus M. Simon tells of a dream in which he saw persons of gigantic stature seated at table, and heard distinctly the horrible clattering produced by the impact of their jaws as they chewed their food. On waking he heard the clatter of a horse's hooves as it galloped past his window. If in this case the sound of the horse's hooves had revived ideas from the memory-sphere of *Gulliver's Travels*, the sojourn with the giants of Brobdingnag, and the virtuous horse-like creatures—as I should perhaps interpret the dream without any assistance on the author's part—ought not the choice of a memory sphere so alien to the stimulus to be further elucidated by other motives?

Gigantic persons in a dream justify the assumption that the dream deals with a scene from the dreamer's childhood. This interpretation of the dream as a reminiscence of *Gulliver's Travels* is by the way a good example of how interpretation should not be made. The dream-interpreter should not permit his own intelligence to operate in disregard of the dreamer's impressions.

2. Internal (subjective) sensory stimuli

All objections to the contrary notwithstanding, we must admit that the rôle of the objective sensory stimuli as producers of dreams has been indisputably established, and if, having regard to their nature and their frequency, these stimuli seem perhaps insufficient to explain all dream pictures, this indicates that we should look for other dream sources which act in a similar fashion. I do not know where the idea first arose that together with the external sensory stimuli the internal (subjective) stimuli should also be considered, but as a matter of fact this has been done more or less explicitly in all the more recent descriptions of the aetiology of dreams. I believe, says Wundt (p. 363), that an important part is played in dream illusions by those subjective sensations of sight and hearing which are familiar to us in the waking state as a luminous chaos in the dark field of the vision, and a ringing, buzzing

etc. Here the luminous dust in the dark field of vision has assumed fantastic forms, and the many luminous points of which it consists are embodied in our dreams in as many single images, which, owing to the mobility of the luminous chaos, are seen as moving objects. This is perhaps the reason of the dream's decided preference for the most varied animal forms, for owing to the multiplicity of such forms they can readily adapt themselves to the subjective luminous image.

The subjective sensory stimuli as a source of dream have the obvious advantage that, unlike objective stimuli, they are independent of external accidents. They are, so to speak, at the disposal of the interpretation whenever they are required. But they are inferior to the

objective sensory stimuli by the fact that their claim to the role of dream inciters—which observation and experiment have established in the case of objective stimuli—can in their case be verified with difficulty or not at all The main proof of the dream inciting power of subjective sensory stimuli is afforded by the so called hypnogogic hallucinations which have been described by Johann Muller as phantastic visual manifestations They are those very vivid and changeable pictures which with many people occur constantly during the period of falling asleep and which may linger for a while even after the eyes have been opened Maury who was very subject to these pictures made a thorough study of them and maintained that they were related to or rather identical with dream images This had already been asserted by Johann Muller Maury maintains that a certain psychic passivity is necessary for their origin that it requires a relaxation of the intensity of attention (p 59) But one may perceive a hypnogogic hallucination in any frame of mind if one falls into such a lethargy for a moment after which one may perhaps wake up until this oft repeated process terminates in sleep According to Maury if one wakes up shortly after such an experience it is often possible to trace in the dream the images which one has perceived before falling asleep as hypnogogic hallucinations (p 134) Thus Maury on one occasion saw a series of images of grotesque figures with distorted features and curiously dressed hair which obtruded themselves upon him with incredible importunity during the period of falling asleep and which upon waking he recalled having seen in his dream On another occasion while suffering from hunger because he was subjecting himself to a rather strict diet he saw in one of his hypnogogic states a plate and a hand armed with a fork taking some food from the plate In his dream he found himself at a table abundantly supplied with food and heard the clatter of the diners forks On yet another occasion after falling asleep with strained and painful eyes he had a hypnogogic hallucination of microscopically small characters which he was able to decipher one by one only with a great effort and on waking from sleep an hour later he recalled a dream in which there was an open book with very small letters which he was obliged to read through with laborious effort

Not only pictures but auditory hallucinations of words names etc may also occur hypnogogically and then repeat themselves in the dream like an overture announcing the principal motif of the opera which is to follow

A more recent observer of hypnogogic hallucinations G Trumbull Ladd follows the same lines as Johann Muller and Maury By dint of practice he succeeded in acquiring the faculty of suddenly arousing himself without opening his eyes two to five minutes after gradually falling asleep This enabled him to compare the disappearing retinal sensations with the dream images remaining in his memory He assures us that an intimate relation between the two can always be recognized inasmuch as the luminous dots and lines of light spontaneously perceived by the retina produce so to speak the outline or scheme of the psychically perceived dream images For example a dream in which he saw before him clearly printed lines which he read and studied corresponded with a number of luminous spots arranged in parallel lines or to express it in his own words The clearly printed page resolved itself into an object which appeared to his waking perception like part of an actual printed page seen through a small hole in a sheet of paper but at a distance too great to permit of its being read Without in any way underestimating the central element of the phenomenon Ladd believes that hardly any visual dream occurs in our minds that is not based on material furnished by this internal condition of retinal irritability This is particularly true of dreams which occur shortly after fallin asleep in a dark room while dreams occurring in the morning near the period of waking receive their stimulus from the objective light penetrating the eye in a brightly lit room The shifting and infinitely variable character of the spontaneous luminous excitations of the retina exactly corresponds with the fitful succession of images presented to us in our dreams If we attach any importance to Ladd s observations we cannot underrate the productiveness of this subjective source of stimuli for visual images as we know are the principal constituents of our dreams The share contributed by the other senses excepting perhaps the sense of hearing is relatively insignificant and inconstant

3 *Internal (organic) physical stimuli*

If we are disposed to look for the sources of dreams not outside but inside the organism we must remember that almost all our internal organs which in a state of health hardly remind us of their existence may in states of excitation—as we call them—or in disease become

a source of the most painful sensation and must therefore be put on a par with the exter ... ts of pain and sensation. Strumpell, ... f miliar

ms sat and it s c mpelled ... be influenced by certain stimulatin mpres ons originating in parts of the body and in alter ations f the body of which t is uncon cious m the waking tate. Even Aristotle declares r to be quit possib e that a dream may draw our attention to incipient morb d co d tions which we ha e n n ticed in the waking tate (own t the exaggerated intensity of the im pres ns experienced in the dream and some medical auth rs wh certainl did n t believe m t prophetic nature of dreams ha e ad m ted the significance of dreams at least in so far the predicting of disease is concerned. [Cf M Simon, p. 31 and many earlier writ rs[1]])

E en m ur days there seems to be no lack of a thenticated examples of such diagnostic chievements on th part f dreams. Thus Tis cites from Artigues (*Essai sur la valeur ... logiq e d s R v*) the history of wom an of forty-three who during several years of parently perfect health, was troub ed with nxiet -dreams and in whom a medical exam na o subsequently revealed an incipient af fecti f the heart, to which sh presently succumbed.

Serious derangements of the int rnal organs clearl excit dreams in quite numbe of per sons. Th freq ency of nxiety-dreams in dis eases of th heart and lungs has been generally realized indeed, this functi of the dream h s mphasized by so many wri ers that I shall here content myself with a reference to the li erature of the subject (Rade tock, Spitta Maury M Simon Tiss) Tissié even believes that the d seased organs impress upon the dream-conte t its characterist c fea tures. The dream of persons uffering from diseases of the heart are generally ery brief and end in a terrified awakenin death under terribl circum tances almost always find a place n their o t t Those uffering from di eases of the lungs dream of suffocation of being crushed, and of flight and a great many of them are subj ct to the familiar nightmare —which by the wa Borner has succeeded in inducin erimentall by lying on the face and co eri g the mouth and nostrils In diges- ti e di tu bances the dream contains ideas from the sphere of gustatory enjoyment and disgust. Finally the influence of sexual excite ment on the dream-content is ob ous enough in every e s experience and pro des the tronge t confirmation of the whole theory of dream instigation by rganic ensation

Moreo er if we tudy th literature of dreams it becomes quite ev dent that some writers (M ury Weygandt) ha e been led to the udy of dream problems by the influence the r own pathological tat has had on the conte t of their dreams.

The enlargement of the number of dream urces by such undeniabl t blished f cts is, however not so important s one might be led to uppose f dreams are fter all, phenom ena which occur in health persons—pe haps in all persons and every night—and a patho- logical tat of th organs is evidently n t one of the indispensable cond t ons For u h w ever th que tio is not whe ce particular dreams originat but rather what is the excit in cause of ordinary dreams in normal peopl ?

But we ha e only to go a tep farthe t find ource of dreams which i m re prolific than any of those mentioned above and which promises indeed t be inexhaustible. If it is es- tablished that th bodily rgan become in sick es , n exciti source of dreams and if we admit that the mind, when diverted during sleep from the outer wo ld, can devote more of i s ten on to the int ri of the body we may readily assume that the organs need n t n cessarily become diseased in rder to permit stimuli which in one way another grow into dream images, t reach th sleeping mind. What in the waking tat w vaguel perceive as general sensation, perceptibl by its quali ty alone—a sensation to which, in the opinion

Cf bove, p 37

1 addition to the diagnostic value on f dreams (e g by Hippocrates) mention mus lso be made f their therapeutic significance in antiquity

Among the Greeks there were dream oracles, which were vouchsafed patients quest f recovery The pa e be ook himse f the templ f Apollo or Aesculapius there he was subjected to various cere- monies bathed, rubbed nd perf med. A sta e f ex tation having been thus induced, he was made to l down in the tem on the ski f sacrificial ram. H f ll asleep and dreamed f remedies which he sa in thei na ral form in symbolic images which the pries afterwards interpreted.

For f rther re erences concerning the remedial dreams f the Greeks f Lehmann i, Bouché- Leclerq Hermann, *G te d Al ert d G* § *P v talter* § 35 6 Böttinger in Sprengel *Be z Gesch d Med* ii, p 3 et seq W Lloyd *M g ne m and M smeri m in A tiq ity* London 87 Dollinger *Heidentum und Judentum* p 3

of physicians all the organic systems contribute their share—this general sensation would at night attain a greater potency and acting through its individual components would constitute the most prolific as well as the most usual source of dream representations We should then have to discover the laws by which organic stimuli are translated into dream representations

This theory of the origin of dreams is the one most favoured by all medical writers The obscurity which conceals the essence of our being—the *moi splanchnique* as Tissie terms it—from our knowledge and the obscurity of the origin of dreams correspond so closely that it was inevitable that they should be brought into relation with one another The theory according to which the organic sensations are responsible for dreams has moreover another attraction for the physician inasmuch as it favours the aetiological union of the dream with mental derangement both of which reveal so many points of agreement in their manifestations since changes in the general organic massive sensation and in the stimuli emanating from the internal organs are also considered to have a far reaching significance as regards the origin of the psychoses It is therefore not surprising that the organic stimulus theory can be traced to several writers who have propounded this theory independently

A number of writers have followed the train of thought developed by Schopenhauer in 1851 Our conception of the universe has its origin in the recasting by the intellect of the impressions which reach it from without in the moulds of time space and causality During the day the stimuli proceeding from the interior of the organism from the sympathetic nervous system exert at most an unconscious influence on our mood At night however when the overwhelming effect of the impressions of the day is no longer operative the impressions that surge upward from within are able to force them elves on our attention—just as in the night we hear the rippling of the brook that was drowned in the clamour of the day But how else can the intellect react to these stimuli than by transforming them in accordance with its own function into things which occupy pace and time and follow the lines of causality?—and so a dream originates Thus Scherner and after him Volkelt endeavoured to discover the more intimate relations between physical sensations and dream pictures but we shall reserve the discussion of this point for our chapter on the theory of dreams

As a result of a singularly logical analysis the psychiatrist Krauss referred the origin of dreams and also of deliria and delusions to the same element namely to organically determined sensations According to him there is hardly any part of the organism which might not become the starting point of a dream or a delusion Organically determined sensations he says may be divided into two classes (1) general sensations—those affecting the whole system (2) specific sensations—those that are immanent in the principal systems of the vegetative organism and which may in turn be subdivided into five groups (*a*) the muscular (*b*) the pneumatic (*c*) the gastric (*d*) the sexual (*e*) the peripheral sensations (p 33 of the second article)

The origin of the dream image from physical sensations is conceived by Krauss as follows The awakened sensation in accordance with some law of association evokes an idea or image bearing some relation to it and combines with this idea or image forming an organic structure towards which however the consciousness does not maintain its normal attitude For it does not bestow any attention on the sensation but concerns itself entirely with the accompanyin ideas and this explains why the facts of the case have been so long misunderstood (p 11 ff) Krauss even gives this process the special name of transubstantiation of the sensations into dream images (p 4)

The influence of organic physical stimuli on the formation of dreams is today almost universally admitted but the question as to the nature of the law underlying this relation is answered in various ways and often obscurely On the basis of the theory of physical excitation the special task of dream interpretation is to trace back the content of a dream to the causative organic stimulus and if we do not accept the rules of interpretation advanced by Scherner we shall often find ourselves confronted by the awkward fact that the organic source of excitation reveals itself only in the content of the dream

A certain a reement however appears in the interpretation of the various forms of dreams which have been designated as typical because they recur in so many persons with almost the same content Among these are the well known dreams of falling from a height of the dropping out of teeth of flying and of embarrassment because one is naked or scantily clad This last type of dream is said to be

caused simply by the dreamer's percept on felt in his leep that he has thrown off the bed clothes and i u cove d The dream that o e s teeth are d opping o t is explained by de tal irritat which does n t however of neces ity imply a mo b d c nditi n of irritability in the teeth. Ac rdin t Strumpell the flying dream is the ad qu te image employed by the mind to i terpr t th quantum of timulus ema and nking of the pulmo-

to images of n i

fallin, fr m a hei ht i said to be due to the fact that a arm f lls away f m the body or a fl x d knee i sudd nly extend d afte im consc ousness of the e sat on of cutan ous p ssure has superve ed whe eupo this sen a d the transi m dh g these learly luci rganic ercep- until the o t llati n f urable t r in explana tio has bee establi h d. Later o however I shall ha e ccas o t return t the s bj ct of typ cal d eams and their origin.

F m c mparis n f a eries of milar dre ms M Sim end o red to formulate rt in rules governing the infl e ce of organic

monize with that aff ct.

An th r rule ead as f llow (p 35) "If d ring leep an ganic pparatus i in a tate of cti ty tim l t n disturban e the dream will pres t deas which orrespo d with the n t re f th organ c funct on perf rmed by that apparatus

M ly V ld has undertaken t p ove th supposed fl en of bodily at the prod tio of dreams by experimenting a ingl phy l gical territ ry H changed the po t ons f a leeper s l mbs, and mpared th result g dreams with th se changes. H re ded the f ll wing results

1 The position of a limb in a dream cor re ponds approximately to that of reality i e m f static c ndition of the limb on.

spo ds with the actual p

3 The pos tion of one s own limb may in the dre m be attributed to another person.

4 One may al o dream that the movement in quest on is impeded

5 The limb in any particula position may appear in the dream as an animal or monster in which case a certain analogy between the two is established.

6 The beha iour of a limb may in the dream incite id as which bear some relation or oth r to this limb Thus f r exampl if we are u ng our fing rs we dream of numerals

Res lt such as these wo ld lead me to con cl d th t even the the ry f organ c stimula t on c nnot entirely aboli h th appare t free dom of the d t rmination of the dream p cture which will be evoked

4. *Psych c sources of e c tation*

When cons derin the relation of dreams to waking life and the p o enan e of the ma terial of dream we learn d that the earliest as well a the mo t ece t invest gators ar agreed that men dream of what they do during the d y and of th thi gs that i te est them in the w king t te This inte est co t ued f om wakin, life into leep is not only a psychic b nd, j ining th d eam to lif but it s lso a sou ce of dreams who e importance must not be und rest m ted and which, taken t gether w th those st m li which become act e and of inte est d ring leep suffices to explain the ori gi of all dream images Yet we have also heard the ry co trary of th a erted n m ly that d am b ar the sl epe away fr m th inter ts f the d y and that in most ca es we do not d m f thi g which h e occup ed r attenti n d ring th day until aft r they ha e lost f o waking lif th stimul tin f ce of bel nging to the p esent H nce n the analy sis f dre m life we are rem d d at every tep that t is in dmi sible t frame general rules w th ut making p vis n f qualificat on by introd ci g such term as f eque tly as a

See below f f rthe d cu f th w l mes f records t dreams since p blished by this writer

rule in most cases and without being prepared to admit the validity of exceptions

If interest during the waking state together with the internal and external stimuli that occur during sleep sufficed to cover the whole aetiology of dreams we should be in a position to give a satisfactory account of the origin of all the elements of a dream *the problem of* the dream sources would then be solved leaving us only the task of discriminating between *the part played by the psychic and that played* by the somatic dream stimuli in individual dreams But as a matter of fact no such com*plete solution of a dream has ever been achieved* in any case and everyone who has attempted such a solution has found that components of *the dream—and usually a great many of them —are left whose source he is unable to trace* The interests of the day as a psychic source of *dreams are obviously not so influential as to* justify the confident assertion that every dreamer continues the activities of his waking *life in his dreams*

Other dream sources of a psychic nature are not known Hence with the exception perhaps *of the explanation of dreams given by Scherner* to which reference will be made later on all the explanations found in the literature of the sub*ject show a considerable hiatus whenever there* is a question of tracing the images and ideas which are the most characteristic material of *dreams In this dilemma the majority of au*thors have developed a tendency to belittle as far as possible the share of the psychic factor *which is so difficult to determine in the evoca*tion of dreams To be sure they distinguish as major divisions the nerve stimulus dream and *the association dream and assert that the latter* has its source exclusively in reproduction (Wundt p 365) but they cannot dismiss the *doubt as to whether they appear without any* impulsion from organic stimuli (Volkelt p 127) And even the characteristic quality of the pure association dream disappears To quote Volkelt (p 118) In the association dream proper there is no longer any question of such a stable nucleus Here the loose grouping penetrates even to the very centre of the dream The imaginative life already released from the control of reason and intellect is here no longer held together by the more important psychical and physical stimuli *but is left to its own un*controlled and confused divagations Wundt too attempts to belittle the psychic factor in the evocation of dreams by asserting that the phantasms of the dream are perhaps unjustly impressions which are never extin uished during sleep (p *359 et seq*) Weygandt has adopted this view and generalizes upon it He asserts that the most immediate cau es of all *dream representations* are sensory stimuli to which reproductive associations then attach themselves (p 17) Tissié goes still further *in suppressing the psychic sources of excita*tion (p 183) *Les reves d origine absolument psychique n existent pas'* [1] and elsewhere (p 6) *Les pensées de nos reves nous viennent de dehors*

Those writers who like the eminent philosopher Wundt adopt a middle course do not hesitate to assert that in most dreams there is a cooperation of the somatic stimuli and psychic stimuli which are either unknown or are identified with the interests of the day

We shall learn later that the problem of dream formation may be solved by the disclosure of an entirely unsuspected psychic source of excitation In the meanwhile we shall not be surprised at the over estimation of the influence of those stimuli which do not originate in the psychic life It is not merely because they alone may easily be found and even confirmed by experiment but because the somatic conception of the origin of dreams entirely corresponds with the mode of thou ht prevalent in modern psychiatry Here it is true the mastery of the brain over the organism is most emphatically stressed but everything that might show that the psychic life is independent of demonstrable organic changes or spontaneous in its manifestations *is alarm*ing to the contemporary psychiatrist as thou h such an admission must mean a return to the old world *natural philosophy and the meta*physical conception of the nature of the oul The distrust of the psychiatrist has placed the *psyche under tutelage so to speak it requires* that none of the impulses of the psyche shall reveal an autonomous power Yet this attitude *merely betrays a lack of confidence in the sta*bility of the causal concatenation between the physical and the psychic Even where on investigation the psychic may be recognized as the primary cause of a phenomenon a more profound comprehension of the subject will one

D m *d* ot *t wh se ig is totally* psy h —E

Th th ghts *f o d e m me f m t id* —E

da succeed in following up the path that leads to the organic basis of the psychic. But where the psychic must, in the present state of our knowledge be accepted as the terminus, it need not on that account be disallowed.

D Why Dreams Are Forgotten After Waking

That a dream *fades away in the morning* is proverbial. It is, indeed, possible to recall it. For we know the dream, of course, only by recalling it after waking but we very often believe that we remember it incompletely that during the night there was more of it than we remember. We may observe how the memory of a dream which in the morning was still vivid fades in the course of the day leaving only a few trifling remnants. We are often aware that we have been dreaming but we do not know of what we have dreamed and we rem

dreaming even when, in the morning, we know nothing either of the content of the dream or of the fact that we have dreamed. On the other hand, it often happens that dreams manifest an extraordinary power of maintaining themselves in the memory. I have had occasion to analyse, with my patients, dreams which occurred to them twenty five years or more previously and I can remember a dream of my own which is divided from the present day by at least thirty-seven years and yet has lost nothing of its freshness in my memory. All this is very remarkable and for the present incomprehensible.

The forgetting of dreams is treated in the most detailed manner by Strumpell. This forgetting is evidently a complex phenomenon for Strumpell attributes it not to a single cause, but to quite a number of causes.

In the first place, all those factors which induce forgetfulness in the waking state determine also the forgetting of dreams. In the waking state we commonly very soon forget a great many sensations and perceptions because they are too slight to remember and because [illegible] arged with only a slight amount of feeling. This is true also of many [illegible] they are forgotten because they [illegible]ak, while the stronger images in their [illegible]ood are remembered. However the [illegible] intensity is in itself not the only d[illegible] of the preservation of dream images [illegible], as well as other [illegible]tors (Calkins) [illegible]t dream images are often rapidly for

gotten although they are known to have been vivid, while among those that are retained in the memory there are many that are very shadowy and unmeaning. Besides in the waking state one is wont to forget rather easily things that have happened only once and to remember more readily things which occur repeatedly. But most dream images are unique experiences and this peculiarity would contribute toward the forgetting of all dreams equally. Of much greater significance is a third cause of forgetting. In order that feelings, representations, ideas and the like should attain a certain degree of memorability it is important that they should not remain isolated but that they should enter into connections and associations of an appropriate nature. If the words of a verse of poetry are taken and mixed together it will be very difficult to remember them [illegible] sequence on

retained with just as much difficulty and just as rarely as things that are confused and disorderly. Now dreams in most cases lack sense and order. Dream-compositions by their very nature are insusceptible of being remembered and they are forgotten because as a rule they fall to pieces the very next moment. To be sure, these conclusions are not entirely consistent with Radestock's *observation (p 165) that we most readily retain just those dreams which are most peculiar*.

According to Strumpell, other factors derived *from the relation of the dream to the waking state* are even more effective in causing *us to forget our dreams. The forgetfulness of dreams manifested by the waking consciousness is evidently merely* the counterpart of the fact already mentioned, namely that the dream hardly ever takes over an orderly series of memories from the waking state but only certain details of these memories which it removes from the habitual psychic connections in which they are remembered in the waking state. The dream-composition therefore has [no] place in the community of the psychic series which fill the mind. It lacks all mnemonic aids. In this manner the dream-structure rises as it were from the soil of our psychic life, and floats in psychic space like a cloud in the sky quickly dispelled by the first breath of re-

Periodically recurrent dreams have been observed repeatedly. Compare the collection made by Chabaneix.

awakening life (p 87) This situation is ac centuated by the fact that on waking the attention is immediately besieged by the in rushing world of sensation so that very few dream images are capable of withstanding its force They fade away before the impressions of the new day like the stars before the light of the sun

Finally we should remember that the fact that most people take but little interest in their dreams is conducive to the forgetting of dreams Anyone who for some time applies himself to the investi ation of dreams and takes a special interest in them usually dreams more during that period than at any other he remembers his dreams more easily and more frequently

Two other reasons for the forgetting of *dreams which Bonatelli (cited by Benini) adds* to those adduced by Strumpell have already been included in those enumerated above namely (1) that the difference of the general sensation in the sleeping and the waking state is unfavourable to mutual reproduction and (2) that the different arrangement of the ma terial in the dream makes the dream untrans latable so to peak for the waking conscious ness

It is therefore all the more remarkable as *Strumpell him elf observes that in spite of all* these reasons for forgetting the dream so many dreams are retained in the memory The contin ual efforts of those who have written on the subject to formulate laws for the remember ing of dreams amount to an admission that here too there is something puzzling and un explained Certain peculiarities relating to the remembering of dreams have attracted partic ular attention of late for example the fact that the dream which is believed to be for gotten in the morning may be recalled in the course of the day on the occasion of some per ception which accidentally touches the for gotten content of the dream (Radestock Tissie) *But the whole recollection of dreams* is open to an objection which is calculated greatly to depreciate its value in critical eyes One may doubt whether our memory which omits so much from the dream does not falsify what it retains

This doubt as to the exactness of the repro duction of dreams is expressed by Strumpell when he ays It may therefore easily hap pen that the waking consciousness involuntar ily interpolates a great many thin s in the rec ollection of the dream one imagines that one has dreamt all sorts of things which the actual dream did not contain

Je sen (p 547) expresses himself in very de cided terms Moreover we must not lose si ht of the fact hitherto little heeded that in the investigation and interpretation of coherent and logical dreams we almost always take lib erties with the truth when we recall a dream to memory Unconsciously and unintentionally we fill up the gaps and supplement the dream im ages Rarely and perhaps never has a con nected dream been as connected as it appears to us in memory Even the most truth loving person can hardly relate a dream without ex aggerating and embellishing it in some degree The human mind so greatly tends to perceive *everything in a connected form that it inten* tionally supplies the missin links in any dream which is in some de ree incoherent

The observations of V Egger though of course independently conceived read almost like a translation of Jessen s words

L observation des reves a ses difficultés spéciales et le seul moyen d eviter toute erreur en pareille matière est de confier au papier sans le moind e retard ce que l on vient d éprouver et de remarquer sinon l oubli vient vite ou total ou partiel l oubli total est sans gravité mais l oubli partiel est perfide car si l on se met ensuite à raconter ce que l on n a pas oublié on est exposé à compléter par imagina tion les fragments incohérents et disjoints four ni par la mémoire on devient artiste à son insu et le récit périodiquement répété s impose à la créance de son auteur qui de bonne foi le présente comme un fait authentique dument établi selon les bonnes methodes [n]

Similarly Spitta who seems to think that it is only in the attempt to reproduce the dream that we bring order and arrangement into loose ly associated dream elements— turning juxta position into concatenation that is adding the process of logical connection which is absent in the dream

Since we can test the reliability of our mem

Th ob t f d m h its pec l d ffi lt a d th ly w y t o d all o ch m tte t p t p pe w th t th l t d l y wh t h j t be pe l d t ced oth r w t tally p tf lly th d m f q kly f g t t t t l f g tti g w h t s ou b t p rt l f g tt g l t h f if th st t to t wh t h t bee f g tt l l k ly t ppl me t f m th im g t th i h t a d d j t d f gm t p d d by th m m ry ns sly bec m t t d th st ry pe ted f m tim t t m mposes its lf th b l f f it a th wh good f th t ll t th t f ct reg l ly established acco d ing t p pe methods —E

ory only by objective means, and since such a test is impossible in the case of dreams, which are our own personal experience and for which we know no other source than our memory what value do our recollections of our dreams possess?

E. *The Psychological Peculiarities of Dreams*

In our scientific investigation of dreams we start with the assumption that dreams are a phenomenon of our own psychic activity yet the completed dream appears to us as something alien, whose authorship we are so little inclined to recognize that we should be just as willing to say A dream came to me as "I dreamed. Whence this 'psychic strangeness of dreams According to our exposition of the sources of dreams, we must assume that it is determined by the material which finds its way into the dream-content, since this is for the most part common both to dream-life and waking life We might ask ourselves whether this impression is not evoked by modifications of the psychic processes in dreams and we might even attempt to suggest that the existence of such changes is the psychological characteristic of dreams.

No one has more strongly emphasized the essential difference between dream life and waking life and drawn more far reaching conclusions from this difference than G. Th. Fechner in certain observations contained in his *Element der Psychophysik* (Part II p 520) He believes that "neither the simple depression of conscious psychic life under the main threshold, nor the distraction of the attention from the influences of the outer world suffices to explain the peculiarities of dream-life as compared with waking life He believes rather that the arena of dreams is other than the arena of the waking life of the mind. If the arena of psychophysical activity were the same during the sleeping and the waking state the dream, in my opinion, could only be a continuation of the waking ideational life at a lower degree of intensity so that it would have to partake of the form and material of the latter But this is by no means the case"

What Fechner really meant by such a transposition of the psychic activity has never been made clear nor has anybody else to my knowledge followed the path which he indicates in this remark. An anatomical interpretation in the sense of physiological localization in the brain or even a histological stratification of the cerebral cortex, must of course be excluded. The idea might, however prove ingenious and fruitful if it could refer to a psychical apparatus built up of a number of successive and connected systems

Other authors have been content to give prominence to this or that palpable psychological peculiarity of the dream life and even to take this as a starting-point for more comprehensive attempts at explanation

It has been justly remarked that one of the chief peculiarities of dream-life makes its appearance even in the state of falling asleep and may be defined as the sleep-heralding phenomenon According to Schleiermacher (p 351) the distinguishing characteristic of the waking state is the fact that its psychic activity occurs in the form of ideas rather than in that of images. But the dream thinks mainly in visual images and it may be noted that with the approach of sleep the voluntary activities become impeded in proportion as involuntary representations make their appearance the latter belonging entirely to the category of images *The incapacity for such ideational activities as we feel to be deliberately willed and the emergence of visual images which is regularly connected with this distraction—these are two constant characteristics of dreams, and on psychological analysis we are compelled to recognize them as essential characteristics of dream life. As for the images themselves—the hypnogogic hallucinations—we have learned that even in their content they are identical with dream images*

Dreams, then think preponderantly but not exclusively in visual images They make use

simply thought or imagined (probably with the help of remnants of verbal conceptions) Characteristic of dreams, however are only those elements of their contents which behave like images that is which more closely resemble perceptions than mnemonic representations Without entering upon a discussion of the nature of hallucinations—a discussion familiar to every psychiatrist—we may say with every well informed authority that the dream hallucinates —that is that it replaces thoughts by hallucinations. In this respect visual and acoustic im

pressions behave in the same way It has been observed that the recollection of a succession of notes heard as we are falling asleep becomes transformed when we have fallen asleep into a hallucination of the same melody to give place each time we wake to the fainter and qualitatively different representations of the *memory and resumin each time we doze off* again its hallucinatory character

The transformation of an idea into a hallu cination is not the only departure of the dream from the more or less corresponding waking thou ht From these images the dream creates a situation it represents something as actually present it dramatizes an idea as Spitta (p 145) puts it But the peculiar character of this *aspect of the dream life is completely intelli gible only if we admit that in dreaming we do* not as a rule(the exceptions call for special ex amination) suppose ourselves to be thinking but actually experiencin, that is we accept the hallucination in perfectly good faith The criticism that one has experienced nothing but that one has merely been thinking in a peculiar manner—dreaming—occurs to us only on wak

The characteristics of the dream life thus far considered have been summed up by Burdach (p 476) as follows As characteristic features of the dream we may state (*a*) that the sub jective activity of our psyche appears as objec tive inasmuch as our perceptive faculties ap prehend *the products of phantasy as though* they were sensory activities (*b*) that sleep abrogates our voluntary action hence falling asleep involves a certain degree of passivity

The images of sleep are conditioned by the relaxation of our powers of will

It now remains to account for the credulity of the mind in respect to *the dream hallucina* tions which are able to make their appearance *only* after the suspension of certain voluntary powers Strumpell asserts that in this respect the psyche behaves correctly and in conform ity with its mechanism The dream-elements are by no means mere representations but true and actual experiences of the psyche *similar* to those which come to the waking state by way of the senses (p 34) Whereas in the waking *state the* mind thinks and imagines by means of verbal images and language in dreams it thinks and imagines in actual perceptual images (p 35) Dreams moreover reveal a spatial con sciousness inasmuch as in dreams just as in the waking state sen ations and images are transposed into outer space (p 36) It must therefore be admitted that in dreams the mind preserves the same attitude in respect of im ages and perceptions as in the waking state (p 43) And if it forms erroneous conclusions in respect of these images and perceptions this *is due to the fact that in sleep it is deprived of* that criterion which alone can distinguish be tween sensory perceptions emanating from within and those coming from without It is un able to subject its images to those tests which alone can prove their objective reality Fur ther it neglects to differentiate between those images which can be exchanged at will and those in respect of which there is no free choice *It errs because it cannot apply the law of cau sality to the content of its dreams (p 58)* In brief its alienation from the outer world is the very reason for its belief in its subjective dream world

Delbœuf arrives at the same conclu ion through a somewhat different line of argument We believe in the reality of dream pictures be cau e in sleep we have no other impressions with which to compare them because we are cut off from the outer world But it is not be *cau e we are unable* when *asleep* to test our hallucinations that we believe in their reality Dreams can make us believe that we are apply ing such tests—that we are touching say the rose that we see in our dream and yet we are dreaming According to Delbœuf there is no valid criterion that can show whether some *thing is* a dream or a *waking reality except*— and that only pragmatically—the fact of wak ing I conclude that all that has been experi enced between falling asleep and waking is a de lusion if I find on waking that I am lyin un dressed in bed (p 84) I considered the images of my dream real while I was asleep on account of the unsleeping *mental habit of* as suming an outer world with which I can con trast my e o

H ff l k D lbœuf h att mpted t xpl in th t f d m g by the lt t whi h a ab- m lly t d ced d t m t h po the th rw se ect f ctı g f the ta t psych c pp tus b t he d bes th d t om wh t d ff t t rm *H st t* th t th first d t g h g m k of d m s th bol t f t me d p æ th m p t f th p e tal m d th na th f d ine

If the turning away from the outer world is accepted as the decisive cause of the most conspicuous characteristics of our dreams it will be worth our while to consider certain subtle observations of Burdach's which will throw some light on the relation of the sleeping psyche to the outer world and at the same time serve to prevent our over-estimating the importance of the above deductions. Sleep says Burdach, results only under the condition that the mind is not excited by sensory stimuli ... yet it is not so much a lack of sensory stimuli that conditions sleep as a lack of interest in them some sensory impressions are even necessary in so far as they serve to calm the mind thus the miller can fall asleep only when he hears the clatter of his mill, and he who finds it necessary as a matter of precaution to burn a light at night cannot fall asleep in the dark (p 457)

During sleep the psyche isolates itself from the outer world, and withdraws from the periphery ... Nevertheless, the connection is not entirely broken if we did not hear and feel during sleep but only after waking we would assuredly never be awakened at all. The continuance of sensation is even more plainly shown by the fact that we are not always wakened by the mere force of the sensory impression, but by its relation to the psyche An indifferent word does not arouse the sleeper but if called by name he wakes ... that even in sleep the psyche discriminates between sensations ... Hence one may even be wakened by the absence of a sensory stimulus, if this is related to anything of imagined importance. Thus one man wakes when the nightlight is extinguished and the miller when his mill comes to a standstill that is waking is due to the cessation of a sensory activity and this presupposes that the activity has been perceived but has not disturbed the mind its effect being indifferent or actually reassuring (p 46 etc.)

with the sensory phantasy images and ... ll times have these as ... bs ra um. These activities do therefore participate in the ... rratic nature of the dream-representations. W ... as they particip ... f

dre ms (p. 3)

Compare with this the ... lemen ... f *Dé ... ennt* in which Claparède (1905) finds the mechanism of falling asleep.

Even if we are willing to disregard these by no means trifling objections we must yet admit that the qualities of dream life hitherto considered which are attributed to withdrawal from the outer world cannot fully account for the strangeness of dreams For otherwise it would be possible to reconvert the hallucinations of the dream into mental images and the situations of the dream into thoughts and thus to achieve the task of dream interpretation Now this is precisely what we do when we reproduce a dream from memory after waking and no matter whether we are fully or only partially successful in this retranslation the dream still remains as mysterious as before

Furthermore, all writers unhesitatingly assume that still other and profounder changes take place in the plastic material of waking life Strumpell seeks to isolate one of these changes as follows (p 17) With the cessation of active sensory perception and of normal consciousness the psyche is deprived of the soil in which its feelings desires interests and activities are rooted. Those psychic states, feelings interests and valuations which in the waking state adhere to memory images succumb to an obscuring pressure in consequence of which their connection with these images is severed the perceptual images of things persons localities events and actions of the waking ... are individually abundantly reproduced but none of them brings with it its psychic value Deprived of this they hover in the mind dependent on their own resources

This annihilation of psychic values which is in turn referred to turning away from the outer world is according to Strumpell very largely responsible for the impression of strangeness with which the dream is coloured in our memory

We have seen that the very fact of falling asleep involves renunciation of one of the psychic activities—namely the voluntary guidance of the flow of ideas Thus the supposition obtrudes itself (though it is in any case a natural ...) that the state of sleep may extend even to the psychic functions On one another of these functions is perhaps entirely suspended

we have now to consider whether the rest con tinue to operate undisturbed whether they are able to perform their normal work under the circumstances The idea occurs to us that the peculiarities of the dream may be explained by the restricted activity of the psyche during sleep and the impression made by the dream upon our waking judgment tends to confirm this view The dream is incoherent it recon ciles without hesitation the worst contradic tions it admits impossibilities it disregards the authoritative knowledge of the waking state and it shows us as ethically and morally obtuse He who should behave in the wakin state as his dreams represent him as behaving would be considered insane He who in the waking state should speak as he does in his dreams or relate such things as occur in his dreams would impress us as a feeble minded or muddle headed person It seems to us then that we are merely speaking in accordance with the facts of the case when we rate psychic activity in dreams very low and especially when we assert that in dreams the higher intellectual activities are suspended or at least greatly impaired

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The relaxation dissolution and promiscuous confusion of the world of ideas and images held to ether in waking life by the logical power of the central ego is conceded even by Volkelt (p 14) according to who e theory the psychic activity during sleep appears to be by no mea s aimle s

The absurdity of the as ociations of ideas which occur in dreams can hardly be more strongly sti matized than it was by Cicero (*De Divinatione* II lxxi) *Nihil tam praepostere tam incondite tam monstruose cogitari potest quod non possimus somniare*

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Hildebrandt (p 45) What wonderful jumps the dreamer permits himself for in stance in his chain of reasoning! With what unconcern he sees the most familiar laws of experience turned upside down! What ridicu lous contradictions he is able to tolerate in the order of nature and of society before things go too far and the very excess of nonsense lead to an awakening! Sometimes we quite in nocently calculate that three times three make twenty and we are not in the lea t surprised if a dog recites poetry to us if a dead person walks to his grave or if a rock floats on the water We solemnly go to visit the duchy of Bernburg or the principality of Liechten tem in order to inspect its navy or we allow our selves to be recruited as a volunteer by Charles XII just before the battle of Poltava

Binz (p 33) referring to the theory of dreams resulting from these impressions says

Of ten dreams nine at least have an ab urd content We unite in them persons or things which do not bear the sl ghtest relation to one another In the next moment as in a kaleido scope the grouping changes to one if possible even more nonsensical and irrational than be fore and so the hifting play of the drowsy brain continues until we wake put a hand to our forehead and ask ourselves whether we

Th re s im g bl th g too bs rd too In v l d r too ab ormal f u t d eam bout.—ED

still really posse s the f cu ty of rational im agmatio and thought.

M ury *Le Sommeil* (p. 50) makes in re- pect of the relation of the d eam ma e to the waking thou ts, a comparison wh ch a physi cian will fi d e pecially impres i e *La pro- d ct on de ces mag s q e che l'h mme é e fait le plus souve a t e l volonté corre- spond pour l' el ger ce à ce que so t pour la mo é certains m vemen s que nous o ent la cho ée et les af ctions paral ques* F r the rest he considers the dream *tou e une série de dégradat ons de la faculté pensante e asso ante*[1] (p 27)

It s hardly necessary to c te the utterances of those a thors who repeat M ury s assertion in re- spect of t higher indi dual p ychic act vit es.

Acc rding to S rumpell in dreams—and even, of course where the o sen cal nature of th dream is not bv o s—all the l g cal operat of the mind based on relat ons and a sociatio reced into the background (p 6) According t Sp tt (p 148) deas in dreams are ent rely w thdrawn from the laws f causality while Radestock and others em pa ze th feeble ess of j dgment and log cal f renc peculiar to dreams. Accord g to Jodl (p. 3) there is o cr i sm in dreams no c rrect g of a series of perceptions by the co tent of consc ous ess s a whole The same au h r s a es that All the ct t es of con- sc ou ess occur n dreams but they are in perf ct mhib ted a d mut ally olated. The con rad ct ons of ou c cious knowledge whi h occu dreams are expl ed b Strick r a d ma y rs on th ground that facts are forgotten i dreams or that the logical rela tions bet een idea are lost (p 98) etc etc

Those a hors who n ger ral judge un f vourably of the psych c ct ities of the dre m neverth les agree that dreams d re- ta ertai rem an of ps ch c act ity Wundt whose t h g has nflue ced so ma y o h r res rs ors of re m problem express ly m t t s. W may k what are the na ture a d mpo ion f the emnants of m l psy h c lif which ma fest themsel es in dre m. It is pretty generally k owledged that th reprod ctive f culty the memory seems to be th least ff cted in dre ms it m y indeed how a certa n superiorit over the same function in waking life (ee above p. 141) even though ome of the absurdit es of dre ms are to be explained by the forgetful ess of dream life According to Sp tta t is the sentimental life of the psyche wh h s not af fected by sleep and which thus direct our dreams By ent ment (*Gemut*) he means 'the constant sum of the emot ons as the inmost subjecti e esse ce of the man (p 84)

Schol z (p. 37) sees in dreams a psy chic act v ity which manifests it elf in the allegorizing interpretation to which the dream material is subjected. S beck (p. 11) likewise perce es in dreams a supp ementary interpretat ve acti y" of the psyche which appl es it lf to all that is observed and percei ed A v judgement of the part played in dreams by what is presumed to be the highest ps chical func tion i.e conscious es presents a peculiar dif ficulty Since it is only through con c ousness that we can know anything of dream there can be no doubt as to its being reta ned. Sp tta ho ever believes that only *conse o s ess* is re tained in the dre m but not *self co sc ousness* Delbœuf co fesses that he is unable to compre- bend this di tinct on.

The laws of a sociati n which connect our mental images hold good also for what is repre of pure represent t on or in accordance with the laws of organic stimuli accompan ed by such represe tat ons that is without bein in fluenced by reflect on, reason, aesthet c t te or moral j dgment. The authors whose opin ions I h re reprod ce c ce e the form tion of th dream somewhat as follows The sum of sensory st mul f varying origin (d scu sed elsewh re) that are perati e n sleep at f rst wake the psy he number of im g s whi h prese t themsel es as hallucin t ons (ac cord g to Wundt t is more corre t to say as illus ons because of the r origin i e t rnal d ternal st mul) These comb ne w th e anoth r in accordance w th the kno n laws of as ociation, and, in accordance w th the same laws they n turn evoke a new s f repre sent t s (images) The whole of th material is then elaborated as far as poss ble by the still ctive remnant of the thinki g and organizing f culties of the psyche (cf Wundt and Wey gandt) Thus f r however n one has been

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still really possess the faculty f rational im agination and thought.

Maury (*Le Sommeil* (p. 50) makes in respect of the relation of the dream images to the waking thoughts a comparison which a physician will find especially impressive. *La pro du t on de ces imag s q e chez l'h mme éveillé fait le plus souvent a e la volonté corre spond pour l'intell gence à ce q e so t pour la m til e certains mouveme ts que nous offrent la chorée et les a ections p. alyt qu s* ... *toute une e et*

It is hardly ecessary to cite the u terances of ...

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The laws of association which connect our m ntal images h ld good also for what is represented in dreams indeed, in dreams the dominance of these laws is m re ob ous and compl te than in the waking tate Strumpell (p o) says "Dreams would appear to proceed e ther clusivel in accorda ce with the laws of pure representatio or in accordance with the laws of organic timuli accompan ed by such represe tations that is without be n n fl enced by reflection, reason aesth t c taste o moral j d ment. The authors whose opin ons I he reprod ce concei the formati n of th dream somewhat as follows The sum of sensory stimuli f varying origin (di cussed elsewhere) that re operati e in sleep at first waken in the psyche number of im ges which prese t themsel es as hallucinations (ac co ding to Wundt it is m re orrect t say as illus on because of their origin xternal and internal stimuli) These c mbine with o e a the in c rdance with the known laws of association, and in cordance with the same laws they in turn e oke a new series of repre sent t o s (images) The wh l of this material is then laborated as far as poss b e by the till ctive remnant f th thinking and rganizing f culties of th psych (cf Wundt a d Weygandt) Thus far however no one has been

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Th l

the central ego is conceded even by Volkelt (p 14) according to whose theory the psychic activity during sleep appears to be by no means aimless

The absurdity of the associations of ideas which occur in dreams can hardly be more strongly sti matized than it was by Cicero (*De Divinatione* II lxxi) *Nihil tam praepostere tam incondite tam monstruose cogitari potest quod non possimus somniare*

Fechner says (p 522) It is as though the psychological activity of the brain of a reason able person were to migrate into that of a fool

Radestock (p 145) It seems indeed im possible to recognize any stable laws in this preposterous behaviour Withdrawing itself from the strict policing of the rational will that guides our waking ideas and from the proc esses of attention the dream in crazy sport whirls all things about in kaleidoscopic con fusion

Hildebrandt (p 45) What wonderful jumps the dreamer permits himself for in stance in his chain of reasoning! With what unconcern he sees the most familiar laws of experience turned upside down! What ridicu lous contradictions he is able to tolerate in the order of nature and of society before things go too far and the very excess of nonsense leads to an awakening! Sometimes we quite in nocently calculate that three times three make twenty and we are not in the least surprised if a dog recites poetry to us if a dead person walks to his grave or if a rock floats on the water We solemnly go to visit the duchy of Bernburg or the principality of Liechtenstein in order to inspect its navy or we allow our selves to be recruited as a volunteer by Charles XII just before the battle of Poltava

Binz (p 33) referring to the theory of dreams resulting from these impressions says Of ten dreams nine at least have an absurd content We unite in them persons or things which do not bear the sl ghtest relation to one another In the next moment as in a kaleido scope the grouping changes to one if possible even more nonsensical and irrational than be fore and so the shifting play of the drowsy brain continues until we wake put a hand to our forehead and ask ourselves whether we

Th re im g bl th g too b rd too la l ed or t b ormal f t d eam bout.—ED

cally to protest against the under-e timat n of th psychic capa ty in the dream Maury speak f him as follows (p 9) *M le Mar* *à l ntel gence dura t le*

da s l occlusion ce s *ca monue stéri ur en sorte q e l'homme qui do t ne se dist gue guere selon sa ma iè e de voir de l homme qui la sse v gi er s pensée en to te la d ffé ence qui*

forme visible obje *méprend e à la sensation déterm ée pa les objet e térieurs le souv nir rev t l apparence* *d* *ffé*

l'id e la visio st pa qu'accesso Legs ét bli il f t savoir su la marche d s idé s *co-on fait 46)* *t ou vent m me une e pl c tion des y is g q es quand on sait le analyser*"

the intelli ence

J Starke has drawn attention to the fact that a sim lar s lut on of the incoh rence of dreams was put forward in 1 99 by an old writer Wolf D idson who was unknown to me (p 136) The peculiar leaps of our imaginings in the d eam-state all ha e their cau e in the laws of association but this connection often occurs very obscurely in the soul so that we frequently seem to observe a leap of the imagination where none really exists."

The evaluation of the dream as a psychic product in the lit rature of the subject varies over a ery wide cale t extends from the extreme of under-estimat on, as we ha e already een throu h premonitions that t may ha e a value as yet un e ealed to an exaggerated over-estimation which sets the dream life far above the c pacities of waking life In his psychological characterizat on of dream life, Hildebrandt as we know groups it into three antinomies and he omb nes in the th rd of these antinomi s the two extreme po nts of this scale of values (p 19) It is the contrast between on the o e hand an enhancement an increase of potent ality which often amounts to rtuo ty and n the other hand a decided diminution and enfeeblement of the psychic life often to a ub human level.

As regard the first who is there that can not co firm from his own expe ence the fact that in th wo kings and wea ings f the genius f dream th r are met mes exhib ted a profundity and sinc rity of em tion a tend rness of feeling a le rness of vi w subtlety of observation and a re dine s of wit uch as we should ha e modestly to de y that we always possessed n our w king life? D eams ha e a wo derful poetry an ppo te all gory an in omparable s nse of hum u a d li htful irony They see the world in the li ht of a peculiar dealizat and ft n intensify the eff t of the phe omena by the most ingeni us und r h m Th y ily ra y sty in its ous be omes indescribably d drastically com cal. And o wakin we are s metimes still s full of on f these mpres ons that t will occur to us that such things ha e n er yet been offered to us by th real w ld

On might he e a k on elf do these dep e-

hol fi rent the d th f the leepe is tha with the la te the idea takes bjectiv nd vis bl shape hich resembles, to all ppearances sensa determined b xt rio objects memory takes the ppearance f prese t fac —ED

Tha there is f rther nd importa diff re ce f tha the mental f cul es f the sleep ng ma d no the equal b m hich they keep in the ki g tate —ED

The im ge in dream is copy f d The mai h is the idea the ision is ly accessory This establ hed i necessary k ow how fol lo the rogress on f ideas bo nal se the te f the dre ms inc herence then is d rsta d bl the mos f ta oncepts become m l nd pe fectly l ical facts —ED

Even the mos b zarre dreams find mos logical xplana on hen one knows how to analyse them— ED.

successful in discerning the motive which would decide what particular law of association is to be obeyed by those images which do not originate in external stimuli

But it has been repeatedly observed that the associations which connect the dream images with one another are of a particular kind differing from those found in the activities of the waking mind Thus Volkelt (p 15) In dreams the ideas chase and seize upon one another on the strength of accidental similarities and barely perceptible connections All dreams are pervaded by casual and unconstrained associations of this kind Maury attaches great value to this characteristic of the connection of ideas for it allows him to draw a closer analogy between the dream life and certain mental derangements He recognizes two main characteristics of delina (1) *une action spontanée et comme automatique de l esprit ( ) une association vicieuse et irregulière des idées* (p 1 6) Maury gives us two excellent examples from his own dreams in which the mere similarity of sound decides the connection between the dream representations Once he dreamed that he was on a pilgrimage (*pélerinage*) to Jerusalem or to Mecca After many adventures he found himself in the company of the chemist Pelletier the latter after some conversation gave him a galvanized shovel (*pelle*) which became his great broadsword in the next portion of the dream (p 137) In another dream he was walking along a highway where he read the distances on the kilometre stones pre ently he found him elf at a grocer s who had a large pair of scales a man put *kilogramme* weights into the scales in order to weigh Maury the grocer then said to him You are not in Paris but on the island *Gilolo* This was followed by a number of pictures in which he saw the flower *lobelia* and then General *Lope* of whose death he had read a little while previously Finally he awoke as he was playing a game of *lotto*

We are indeed quite well aware that this low estimate of the psychic activities of the dream has not been allowed to pass without contradiction from various quarters Yet here contradiction would seem rather difficult It is not a matter of much significance that one of the depreciators of dream life Spitta (p 118) should assure us that the same psychological laws which govern the wakin state rule the dream also or that another (Dugas) should state *Le reve n est pas déraison ni meme ir raison pure* so long as neither of them has attempted to brin this opinion into harmony with the psychic anarchy and dissolution of all mental functions in the dream which they themselves have described However the possibility seems to have dawned upon others that the madness of the dream is perhaps not without its method—that it is perhaps only a disguise a dramatic pretence like that of Hamlet to whose madness this perspicacious jud ment refers These authors must either have refrained from judging by appearances or the appearances were in their ca e altogether different.

Without lingering over its superficial absurdity Havelock Ellis considers the dream as an archaic world of vast emotions and imperfect thoughts the study of which may acquaint us with the primitive sta es of the development of mental life J Sully (p 362) presents the same conception of the dream in a still more comprehensive and penetrating fa h ion His statements de erve all the more consideration when it is added that he perhaps more than any other psycholo ist was convinced of the veiled significance of the dream Now our dreams are a means of conserving these successive personalities When asleep we go back to the old ways of looking at things and of feelin about them to impulses and activities which lon a o dominated us A thinker like Delbœuf asserts—without ind ed adducing proof in the face of contradictory data and hence without real justification— *Dans le sommeil hormis la perception toutes les facultés de l esprit intelligence imagination mémoire volonté moralité restent intactes dans leur essence seulement elles s appliquent à des objets imaginaires et mobiles Le songeur est un acteur qui joue a volonté les fous et les sages les bourreaux et les victimes les nains et les géants les demons et les anges* (p 222) The Marquis Hervey who is flatly contradicted by Maury and whose essay I have been unable to obtain despite all my efforts appears emphatı

( ) A a t o f the m d sp ta d s th gh a t m t c ( ) d fect d regul r a.soc atı n f id a —E

Lat r w sh ll b abl t d ta d th m ing f dreams l ke th se wh ch f ll f w ds w th s m l r sou ds or the am ti l lett s

Th d m th p e d gem t n p re i t l ty—E

I sl p pt g pe pt all the f cult es f the m d— t llect m g t m m ry w ll mo- l ty— m t t th ss ly they re ppl d t m g nary d a bl obj ts Th d am i ct wh plays t will th m d d th wise, ec t d t m dw f d giant, de il nd a g l—Ed

H rv y de St. D ys.

the dream the subsidiary problem as to whether and to what extent the moral dispositions and feelings of waking life extend into dream-life. The same contradictions which we were surprised to observe in the descriptions by various authors of all the other psychic activities will surprise us again here. Some writers flatly assert that dreams know nothing of moral obligations; others as decidedly declare that the moral nature of man persists even in his dream-life.

Our ordinary experience of dreams seems to confirm beyond all doubt the correctness of the first assertion. Jessen says (p. 553): "Nor does one become better or more virtuous during sleep; on the contrary, it seems that conscience is silent in our dreams, inasmuch as one feels no compassion and can commit the worst crimes, such as theft, murder and homicide, with perfect indifference and without subsequent remorse."

Radestock (p. 146) says: "It is to be noted that in dreams associations are effected and ideas combined without being in any way influenced by reflection, reason, aesthetic taste, and moral judgment; the judgment is extremely weak, and ethical indifference reigns supreme."

Volkelt (p. 23) expresses himself as follows: "As every one knows, dreams are especially unbridled in sexual matters. Just as the dreamer himself is shameless in the extreme, and wholly lacking in moral feeling and judgment, so likewise does he see others, even the most respected persons, doing things which, even in his thoughts, he would blush to associate with them in his waking state."

Utterances like those of Schopenhauer, that in dreams every man acts and talks in complete accordance with his character, are in sharpest contradiction to those mentioned above. R. Ph. Fischer[1] maintains that the subjective feelings and desires, or affects and passions, manifest themselves in the wilfulness of the dream-life, and that the moral characteristics of a man are mirrored in his dream.

Haffner says (p. 25): "With rare exceptions ... a virtuous man will be virtuous also in his dreams; he will resist temptation, and show no sympathy for hatred, envy, anger and all other vices; whereas the sinful man will, as a rule, encounter in his dreams the images which he has before him in the waking state."

Scholz (p. 36): "In dreams there is truth; despite all camouflage of nobility or degradation, we recognize our own true selves.... The honest man does not commit a dishonouring crime even in his dreams, or if he does, he is appalled by it as by something foreign to his nature. The Roman emperor who ordered one of his subjects to be executed because he dreamed that he had cut off the emperor's head was not far wrong in justifying his action on the ground that he who has such dreams must have similar thoughts while awake. Significantly enough, we say of things that find no place even in our intimate thoughts: 'I would never even dream of such a thing.'"

Plato, on the other hand, considers that they are the best men who only dream the things which other men do.

Pfaff,[2] varying a familiar proverb, says: "Tell me your dreams for a time and I will tell you what you are within."

The little essay of Hildebrandt's from which I have already taken so many quotations (the best-expressed and most suggestive contribution to the literature of the dream-problem which I have hitherto discovered), takes for its central theme the problem of morality in dreams. For Hildebrandt, too, it is an established rule that the purer the life, the purer the dream; the impurer the life, the impurer the dream.

The moral nature of man persists even in dreams. "But while we are not offended or made suspicious by an arithmetical error, no matter how obvious, by a reversal of scientific fact, no matter how romantic, or by an anachronism, no matter how ridiculous, we nevertheless do not lose sight of the difference between good and evil, right and wrong, virtue and vice. No matter how much of that which accompanies us during the day may vanish in our hours of sleep, Kant's categorical imperative dogs our steps as an inseparable companion, of whom we cannot rid ourselves even in our slumber.... This can be explained only by the fact that the fundamental element of human nature, the moral essence, is too firmly fixed to be subjected to the kaleidoscopic shaking-up to which phantasy, reason, memory and other faculties of the same order succumb in our dreams" (p. 45, etc.).

In the further discussion of the subject we find in both these groups of authors remarkable evasions and inconsequences. Strictly speaking, an interest in immoral dreams should be at an

[1] *Grundzüge des Systems der Anthropologie*, Erlangen, 1850 (quoted by Spitta).

[2] *Das Traumleben und seine Deutung*, 1868 (cited by Spitta, p. 192).

the profound and sensitive dreams? And if *both kinds of dreams do occur—that is dreams* that merit both these judgments—does it not *seem idle to seek a psychological* characteriza tion of the dream? Would it not suffice to state *that everything is possible in the dream* from the lowest degradation of the psychic life to its *flight to heights unknown in the waking state?* Convenient as such a solution might be it has *this against it* that behind the efforts of all the investigators of dreams there eems to lurk the *assumption that there is in dreams some char* acteristic which is universally valid in its essen *tial features and which must eliminate all* these contradictions

It is unquestionably true that the mental ca pacities of dreams found readier and warmer *recognition in the intellectual* period now ly ing behind us when philosophy rather than ex *act natural science ruled the more intelligent* minds Statements like that of Schubert to *the effect that the dream frees the mind from* the power of external nature that it liberates *the soul from the chains of ensory life to* gether with similar opinions expressed by the younger Fichte *and others* who *repre ent* dreams as a soaring of the mind to a hi her plane—all these *seem hardly conceivable to* us today they are repeated at present only by mystics and devotees With the advance of a scientific mode of thought a reaction took place in the estimation of dreams It is the medical writers who are most inclined to underrate the psychic activity in dreams as being insignif icant and valueless while philosophers and un professional observers—amateur psychologists —whose contributions to the subject in especial must not be overlooked have for the most part in agreement with popular belief laid em phasis on the psychological value of dreams Tho e who are inclined to underrate the psychic activity of dreams naturally show a preference for the somatic sources of excitation in the aetiology of the dream those who admit that the dreaming mind may retain the greater part of its waking faculties naturally have no mo tive for denying the existence of autonomous stimulations

Amon the superior accomplishments which one may be tempted even on a sober compari son to ascribe to the dream life that of mem ory is the most impressive We have fully dis cus ed the by no means rare experiences which prove this superiority Another privilege of the dream life often extolled by the older writers

marks is merely illusory dreams disregard time and space only as does waking thought, and only because dreaming is itself a form of thinking Dreams are supposed to enjoy a fur ther advantage in re pect of time—to be in dependent of the pas age of time in yet another sense Dreams like Maury s dream of his exe cution (p 14, above) *seem to show that the per* ceptual content which the dream can com press into a very short space of time far ex ceeds that which can be mastered by our psychic activity *in its wakin thoughts These* conclusions have however been di puted The *essays of Le Lorrain and Egger on The Appar ent Duration of Dreams* gave rise to a long and *interesting discussion which in all* probability has not yet found the final explanation of this *profound and delicate problem*

That dreams are able to continue the intel *lectual activities of the day and to carry* them to a point which could not be arrived at during the day that they *may* resolve doubts and problems and that they may be the source of fresh in piration in poets and composers eems in the light of numerous records and of the collection of instances compiled by Chabaneix to be proved beyond question But even though the facts may be beyond dispute their inter pretation is subject to many doubts on wider grounds

Finally the alleged divinatory power of the dream has become a subject of contention in which almost insuperable objections are con fronted by obstinate and reiterated assertions. It i of course right that we should refrain from denying that this view has any basis what ever in fact since it is quite possible *that a* number of such cases may before long be ex plained on purely natur l *psychological grounds*

Γ *The Ethical Sense in Dreams*

For reasons which will be intelligible only after *a con ideration of my own investigations* of dreams I have isolated from the psycholo y of

Cf H ff r d Sp tta
Th t b ll a t my tl D P l e f th f w w t rs f *the om* f wh m i l r ed t s f th s book I sh ld l ke t p l g h s s d th t s f a th h m m d m d it s n t the w k g *t* te b t d ms wh ch re th g t way t m taphys cs (*Ph l s ph der My t k* p 59)

F th f th l t t f the bject d a t cal d scuss f th se p bl m the re de is ref ed t T bow l k d se t t (T 900) C mp re H elock Ell iticism f *Th W ld f D m* p 68

ar y These same thou hts and the same evalu ation of these thoughts ha e as we know caused devout and holy men f all ages to la ment that they were wicked inners.

The general occurrence f these contrastin thoughts in th maj rity of men, and even in other regions than the ethical, s of course es- ta lished beyond doubt. They ha e some- tim been judged in less serious spirit. Spitta qu es a relevant passage from A. Zeller (Arti- cle *Irre* in the *Allg mei e E cyklop e der Wissens h ften* Ersch and Gruber p 144)

An intellect is rarel so happil organized as to be in full comma d of tself at all times and ses on and never t be disturbed in th l cid and constant processes of thought by deas ot merely unessential but bsolu ely grotesque and on ensical indeed, the greatest think rs ha e had cause to complain of this dream like tormenting and distressing rabble of deas, which di turbs their profoundest contempla tion and their most pious and earnest medita tions.

A learer light is thrown on the psychologi cal meaning f these contrasting thoughts by a further bservation of Hild brandt s to the effect that dreams permit us an occa onal ...

pology when he tate that ou dreams may perhaps be intended to reveal to us not what we are but what we might have been if we had had another upbringin and by Rades ock (p. ...

th k f a person. b to my great surprise, dream has m re than once taught m what I do reall th k of him and feel abo him. And J H. Fi expresses himself in like manner "The haract f our dreams gi es a f r truer reflection of our general dispos on than anything that we can learn by self-obse vation in the waking state ch remarks as this of Benini call our ttention t the f ct

that the emergence of impulses which are for eign to our ethical co sciousness is merely anal ogous to the manner already familiar to us, in which the dream disposes of other represent ati e material *Certe nostre incl nazion che si credevano soffocate e spente da un pe o si ridestano passioni vecchie e sepolte revivo o cose e persone a cui non pensiamo mai ci ven gono dinan i?* (p 149) Volkel expresses him self in imilar fashion E en ideas which have entered into our consciousness almo t un noticed and which, perhaps it has never be- fore called out of obli n, often announc their presence in th mind throu h dream (p 105) Finall we may remember that according to Schleiermacher th sta e of falling a leep is accompanied by the appearance of *undesired imaginings*.

We may include in such undesired imagin ings the whole of that imaginati e material the occurrence of which urprises us in im m ral as w ll as in absurd dreams. The only important difference consists in the fact that the undesired imaginings in the m ral sphere are in opposition t our usual feelings whereas the thers merel ppear strange to us So far n thing has been d e to enable us to reco cile this difference by a prof under under standing

B t what i the significance f the emer gence of undesi red representations n dreams? What conclus ons can the psychology of the waking and dreaming mind draw from these nocturnal manifestations of contrasting ethical impulses? Here we find a fresh d ersity of opinion and also a diffe ent grouping of the uthors wh have treated f the subject. The line of thou t followed by Hild brandt, and by others wh hare his fundamental opinion, cannot be co tinued otherwise than by ascrib- ing to the imm ral impulses even in the wak ing tat a latent vitality which is indeed in hib ed from proceedin to action and by as serting that during sleep something falls way from us which, having th effect of an inhib tion has kept us from becoming ware of th existence f such impulses Dreams therefore reveal the true f the whole nature of th dreamer and are one means f making the hidden life of the psych cces ible to our un d rstanding It is only on su h h potheses that Hild brand can attrib te t th dream th ole of moni w calls our ttention to th secret mi chi f in th soul, just cc rding to the phys cian it may announce a hitherto un bserved physical disorde Spitta too must

I not uninteresting consider the tude I the Inqu ion to this pro lem. I the *T act tus d Officio* ... f Thomas Carena (Lyons ed., 165) one finds the following pa sage ... heresies in hi dreams ... ors shall consider thi reason for inves gating h conduct in li for th is won to return in sleep ... occupies man during the day" (Dr Ehniger ... Switzerland)

end for those who assert that the moral per sonality of the individual falls to pieces in his dreams They could as coolly reject all attempts to hold the dreamer responsible for his dreams or to infer from the immorality of his dreams that there is an immoral strain in his nature as they have rejected the apparently analo ous *attempt to prove from the absurdity of his* dreams the worthlessness of his intellectual life in the waking state The others according to whom the categorical imperative extends even into the dream ought to accept *in toto* the no tion of full responsibility for immoral dreams and we can only hope that their own reprehen *sible* dreams do not lead them to abandon their otherwise firm belief in their own moral worth

As a matter of fact however it would eem that although no one is positively certain just how good or how bad he is he can hardly deny that he can recollect immoral dreams of his own That there are such dreams no one denies the only question is how do they ori inate? So that in spite of their conflicting judgments of dream morality both groups of authors are at pains to explain the genesis of the immoral dream and here a new conflict arises as to whether its origin is to be sought in the normal functions of the psychic life or in the somati cally conditioned encroachments upon this life The nature of the facts compels both those who argue for and those who argue against moral responsibility in dream life to a ree in recog nizing a special psychic source for the immor ality of dreams

Tho e who maintain that morality continues to function in our dream life nevertheless re frain from assuming full responsibility for their *dreams Haffner says (p 24) We are not re* sponsible for our dreams because that basis which alone gives our life truth and reality is withdrawn from our thoughts and our will Hence the wishes and actions of our dreams cannot be *virtuous or sinful Yet the dreamer* is responsible for the sinful dream in so far as indirectly he brings it about Thus as in wak ing life it is his duty just before going to sleep morally to cleanse his mind

The analysis of this admixture of denial and recognition of responsibility for the moral con *tent of dreams is* carried much further by Hil debrandt After arguing that the dramatic meth

time and the debasement *and contusion ot tne* imaginative elements of dreams which even *he admits must be allowed for* in respect of the immoral appearance of dreams he nevertheless confesses that there are the most serious ob jections to flatly denying all responsibility for the lapses and offenses of which we are guilty in our dreams

(P 49) If we wish to repudiate very de *cisively* any sort of unjust accusation and es pecially one which has reference to our inten tions and convictions we u e the expression We should never have dreamt of such a thing By this it is true we mean on the one hand that we consider the region of dreams the last and remotest place in which we could be held re ponsible for our thou hts becau e there these thou hts are so loosely and incoherently *connected with our real being* that we can after all hardly regard them as our own but inasmuch as we feel impelled expressly to deny the existence of such thou hts even in this re gion we are at the same time indirectly admit ting that our justification would not be com plete unless it extended even thus far And I *believe that here although unconsciously* we are speaking the language of truth

(P 52) No dream action can be imagined whose first beginnings have not in some shape already passed through the mind during our waking hours in the form of wish desire or impulse Concerning this original impulse we *must say* The dream has not discovered it—it has only imitated and extended it it has only elaborated into dramatic form a scrap of his torical material which it found already existing within us it brings to our mind the words of *the Apostle—that he* who *hates his brother is* a murderer And thou h after we wake being *conscious of our moral strength* we may smile at the whole widely elaborated structure of the depraved dream yet the ori inal material out of which we formed it cannot be laughed away One feels responsible for the transgressions of *one s dreaming self not for the whole* sum of them but yet for a certain percentage In short if in this sense which can hardly be im pugned we understand the words of Chri t, that out of the heart come evil thoughts then we can *hardly help* being *convinced that every* sin committed in our dreams brings with it at least a vague minimum of guilt

Thus Hildebrandt finds the source of the immorality of dreams in the germs and hints of evil impulses which pass through our minds during the day as mental temptations and he *does not hesitate* to include these immoral ele ments in the ethical evaluation of the person

served characterist cs from a n e point of vi w d which at the sam time defines the relation of the dream to more comprehensi e phere f phenomena may be described as a theory f the dream The individual theories of t dr am will be d nguished from one an oth r by the r de m tin s essential this or that ch racteristic of dreams and relatin there to th ir da a nd their explanations It is not absolutely necessary that we should deduce from the theory of the dream a function, i e a use o any su h imilar role but expectat on be s ma ter of hab t teleolo ically in clined, will evertheless welcome those theories w ch a rd us ome ins ht into a functi n of dreams

W ha e already becom acquainted with many onceptions of the dream, which in this se se re more r les deserving of th name of dream theories. Th belief of the ancients tha dre ms were sen by th gods in rd r to guide th ct ons f man was a complete theory of th dream whi h t ld th m all that was w rth knowin bo t dreams. Since dreams h e become an bje t f b ological research w hs greater numbe f theories ome of whi h, however are ery m ompl te

Pro ded w mak o claim to complete ess w might ent re on the f ll wing ro h gro p- i f d eam-theories ba ed on th ir funda mental oncepti n f th degree and mode of the psychi ctı ty in dreams —

1 Theories li e those of Delbœuf which l low t e full psychi activity f the wakin t te t c ti ue in our dreams Here the psyche does ot leep ts apparatus remains intact but unde the condit ons f the leepin tat whi h diff f om those of the waki g at it must in its ormal f ctio m give r sults which differ f m those of the wakin ta e As regards these theories t may be quest o ed wh th their uthors re in a po ti n to d rive the distinctio between d eaming and wak ing thought enti ely from the onditions of the s eeping te. M reo er they la k e pos h ces t a f ct o of dreams one does n t und rstand t w at purpose on dreams— by the complica ed m ham m f the psychic apparatus hould continue to operat even when t is pla ed under ondit ons to wh h t does not ppear t be dapted Th re re only two purposeful react in th place f th reaction

w h

tivity a loo enin of connectio and an im po erishment of the a ailable material In ac co dance w th these theories one must assume for sleep a psychological character entirely dif ferent from that gi en b Delbœuf Sleep en croaches wi ly upon the psyche it does not con t in the mere shuttin it off from the out r world on the co trary it en ers into its m chanism and makes it for the time be in unserviceable If I may draw a compari on from psychiatry I would say that the first gro p of theories cons rues the dream like a paranoia, while the eco d repre nts it as a type of mental deficiency or amentia

The theory that only a fragment of the psy ch c acti ity paral sed by sleep finds exp ess on in dreams i that by far the most favoured b medical wri rs and by scientists in general. In so f r as ne may presuppose a general intere t in dream terpretation o e may indeed de cribe t as th most popular theory of dreams It is remarkabl h w nimbly th s particular the ry a o ds the greatest da ger that threatens every dream interpretat on that i shipwreck n o e f the contra ts incorporated in dreams. Since thi theory regards dreams as the result of a partial waking (o as Herbart puts it in his *Psycholog e ber den T a m* a gradual partial and t the same time ery anomalous waking") t s ble to c er the whole eries from the inferior acti t es of dreams which betray themsel es by the r absurdity t fully co centrated intell ctual acti ty b a eries of tates f progress ve awaken g end in complet wak fulness.

Those who find the phys logical mode of expres o i d pen able or who deem t more dre m sum

are sl wly d composed o carried awa by t con tantl fl wing blood-stre m Here and th re indi d al groups f cells can be distin gu h d as bein awake wh e round them all is st ll in a state of t rp dity The *isolated wo k of th u d l groups* now appears bef re our

trolled fashion. As the number f bra n-cells

be influenced by this conception when he re fers for example to the stream of excitations which flow in upon the psyche during puberty and consoles the dreamer by assuring him that he has done all that is in his power to do if he has led a strictly virtuous life during his wak in" state if he has made an effort to suppress the sinful thoughts as often as they arise and has kept them from maturing and turning into action According to this conception we might designate as undesired imaginings those that are *suppressed* during the day and we must recognize in their emergence a genuine psychic phenomenon

According to certain other authors we have no right to draw this last inference For Jessen (p 360) the undesired ideas and images in the dream as in the waking state and also in the delirium of fever etc possess the character of a voluntary activity laid to rest and of a proces sion to some extent mechanical of images and ideas evoked by inner impulses An im *moral dream proves nothing in respect of the* psychic life of the dreamer except that he has somehow become cognizant of the imaginative content in question it is certainly no proof of a psychic impulse of his own mind Another writer Maury makes us wonder whether he too does not ascribe to the dream state the power of *dividing the psychic activity into its* components instead of aimlessly destroying it He speaks as follows of dreams in which one oversteps the bounds of morality *Ce sont nos penchants qui parlent et qui nous font agir sans que la conscience nous retienne bien que parfois elle nous avertisse J ai mes défauts et mes penchants vicieux à l état de veille je tache de lutter contre eux et il m arrive asse souvent de n y pas succomber Mais dans mes songes j y succombe toujours ou pour mieux dire j agis par leur impulsion sans crainte et sans remords Evidemment les visions qui se déroulent devant ma pensée et qui consti tuent le reve me sont suggérées par les incita tions que je ressens et que ma volonté absente ne cherche pas a refouler* —*Le Sommeil* (p 113)

If one believed in the power of the dream to reveal an actually existing but suppressed or concealed immoral disposition of the dreamer one could not express one s opinion more em

[illegible]

Dès qu il suspend l exercise de sa volonté il devient le jouet de toutes les passions contre lesquelles à l état de veille la conscience le sentiment d honneur la crainte nous défen dent In another place he makes the strikin assertion (p 462) *Dans le reve c est surtout l homme instinctif que se révèle L homme revient pour ainsi dire à l état de nature quand il reve mais moins les idées acquises ont pénétré dans son esprit plus les penchants en desaccord avec elles conservent encore sur lui d influence dans le rêve* " He then mentions, as an example that his own dreams often re veal him as a victim of just those supersti tions which he has most vigorously attacked in his writings

The value of all these acute observations is however impaired in Maury s case because he refuses to recognize in the phenomena which he has so accurately observed anything more than a proof of the *automatisme psychologique* which in his own opinion dominates the dream life He conceives this automatism as the com plete opposite of psychic activity

A passage in Stricker s *Studien uber das Be wusstsein* reads Dreams do not consist purely and simply of delusions for example if one is afraid of robbers in a dream the robbers indeed are imaginary but the fear is real Our atten tion is here called to the fact that the affective development of a dream does not admit of the judgment which one bestows upon the rest of the dream content and the problem then arises What part of the psychic processes in a dream may be real? That is to say what part of them may claim to be enrolled among the psychic processes of the waking state?

G Dream Theories and the Function of the Dream

A statement concerning the dream which seeks to explain as many as possible of its ob-

O te d e p k d m ke ct with t be g r t ed by ons e lth gh t m t m s w m s I h my f lt a d t d s wake I t y t fight g t th m d ft en ugh I d t s ccumb t th m B t my d m I alway cumb the I t t th d ct w th t f rem rs E d ntly th wh h u fold my th ghts d wh h c t t t the dr am a s gge ted by th st mul wh ch I feel a d wh ch my ab e t w ll does t try t repel —ED

I a d m a m fs t t lly e fed t himself i h k d d w t h d tate A h u pe d th f hi w ll b bec m th t y f ll the p f om wh h wh w k co sc nce h d f d f d s —E

I d m it s bo ll the u ctl e ma wh i led M r t m t spe k to th t l tat wh he d m b t th les c q d d s h e pe t ted l t b ml d the m re h t d c es t d sag m t w th th m keep their h ld o h m i h s d m —Ed

the bud A man depri ed of the capac ty for dreaming would in t me become mentally un balanced because an imm n e number of un finished and uns l ed thoughts and superficial impres ns would accumulate his brain un der the pres ure f which all that hould be in corporated in the memory s c mpleted whole would be tifled The dream acts as a safety val e for the ove bu dened bra n *D eams posses a he l ng a d u burdem g power* (p 32)

We hould misu derstand Robe t if we were to a k him how repre e tati n in th dr am c uld b ing about an unburde i g of the mind Th writer app rently co cl ded f om these two pecul arit e of the dre m m terial that d ring l ep such an eliminat o f worthless imp es ons i effected *somehow* as a s matic pro e s a d th t dream ng is ot a speci l psy ch c proces but o ly the information which we rece e of su h l minati n Mo eover lim mat n s n t the o ly thing that take plac in the m d d ring sl ep R bert h m elf dds that th stim l f the day re likewise el bo ated d what ca n t be liminated f om the undigest d th ught materi l ly ng i th mind *is bound up i to a completed whole by mental cl s borrow d f om the m gi at o* and is thu en olled n the mem ry as a harmless phantasy p ctu (p 3)

B t t in his crit cism f the s ur e of

in a m d which co tained material f dream f rmat on d rived f om th waking ci sness. It is dmitted however that th phantasy m ge originating in the d pths of th mi d may be infl en ed by nerv us timuli (p 48) Th ord g t Robert, d eams are t, fte all wholly depend t on the somatic l me t. Dreaming f c rs t a psychic process, d t ha pl ce am the psy hic processes of the w ki g tat it is a nocturn l somatic pro ess the pparatus of mental c tiv ty d has funct on t pe f rm z to guard this ppa tu ara t es ive strain or if we may be allowed to cha ge the com

parison to cleanse the mind

author Yves Delage bases his

structi e to ob erve how a u m co cept n of the same things g ves a final re sult nt r ly different in ts be rings

Delage having lost through death a person very d ar to him found that w either do not dream at all of what occup es us intently during the day r that we begin to d eam of it only after it is overshadowed by the other interests f the day His in est g tions n respect of oth r person corr borated the uni ersal ty of this state of ffairs Concerning the dreams of newly m rried pe ple he makes a comment whi h is admirable if it sh uld pro e to be

a ec qi elq e pe son e nd fferente ou u

But of wh t does one d eam? Delage recog niz s that th mat rial of our dre ms con sts of fragments and emnants of impres ons both f om th la t few days a d f om ea lier pe riod All that appears in our d eams all that we may t first be i clined to cons der the c ea t on of the d eam life p o es on closer investi gati t be unr cognized reproduct o *s u ve co scie t* But thi represe tati e m t erial reveals one common characteristic t rignates from impress ons whi h ha e p ob- ably aff cted our senses m e fo cibly than ur mind or fr m which the atte t on has b en defl cted oon fter their occu rence The less consc ous and at the sam t m the stro ger an impress o the greater the p spect of its playing a part in ur next dream

These two cat gories f imp ess ons—the in gnificant nd the undispos d-of—a e ess n tially th same as tho e which were emphasiz d by R bert but D lage gi es them othe s g ifi ance in m ch as h b lieves that th se mp s a e capable of e c ting dreams not beca se they md fferent but because they a e not disp ed f The in.ignifica t impres s o lso a se se not f lly di po ed of they t owing to their characte f n w m p e ns *tant d o ts tend is*

If they re ry m ch i l they ha lmos

set free constantly increases the irrationality of the dream becomes constantly less

The conception of the dream as an incomplete partial waking state or traces of the influence of this conception will of course be found in the works of all the modern physiologists and philosophers It is most completely represented by Maury It often seems as though this author conceives the state of being awake or asleep as susceptible of shifting from one anatomical region to another each anatomical re ion seeming to him to be connected with a definite psychic function Here I will merely suggest that even if the theory of partial waking were confirmed its finer superstructure would still call for exhaustive consideration

No function of dreams of course can emerge from this conception of the dream life On the contrary Binz one of the chief proponents of this theory consistently enou h denies that dreams have any status or importance He says (p 357) All the facts as we see them urge us to characterize the dream as a *physical* process in all cases useless and in many cases definitely morbid

The expression *physical* in reference to dreams (the word is emphasized by the author) points of course in more than one direction In the first place it refers to the aetiology of dreams which was of special interest to Binz as he was studying the experimental production of dreams by the administration of drugs It is certainly in keeping with this kind of dream theory to ascribe the incitement to dreaming whenever possible exclusively to somatic origins Presented in the most extreme form the theory is as follows After we have put ourselves to sleep by the banishment of stimuli there would be no need to dream and no reason for dreaming until the morning when the gradual awakening throu h the fresh invasion of stimuli might be reflected in the phenomenon of dreaming But as a matter of fact it is not possible to protect our sleep from stimuli like the germs of life of which Mephistopheles complained stimuli come to the sleeper from all directions—from without from within and even from all those bodily regions which never trouble us during the waking state Thus our sleep is disturbed now this now that little corner of the psyche is jogged into the waking state and the psyche functions for a while with the awakened fraction yet is thankful to fall asleep again The dream is the reaction to the disturbance of sleep caused by the stimulus but it is when all is said a purely superfluous reaction

The description of the dream—which after all remains an activity of the psychic organ—as a physical process has yet another connotation So to describe it is to deny that the dream has the *dignity* of a psychic process The old simile of the ten fingers of a person ignorant of music runnin over the keyboard of an instrument perhaps best illustrates in what esteem the dream is commonly held by the representatives of exact science Thus conceived it becomes something wholly insusceptible of interpretation How could the ten fingers of a player ignorant of music perform a musical composition?

The theory of partial wakefulness did not escape criticism even by the earlier writers Thus Burdach wrote in 1830 If we say that dreaming is a partial waking then in the first place neither the wakin nor the sleeping state is explained thereby secondly this amounts only to saying that certain powers of the mind are active in dreams while others are at rest But such irregularities occur throughout life (p 482)

The prevailin dream theory which conceives the dream as a physical process finds a certain support in a very interesting conception of the dream which was first propounded by Robert in 1866 and which is seductive because it assigns to the dream a function or a useful result As the basis of his theory Robert takes two objectively observable facts which we have already discussed in our consideration of dream material (p 144 above) These facts are (1) that one very often dreams about the most insignificant impressions of the day and ( ) that one rarely carries over into the dream the absorbin interests of the day Robert as erts as an indisputable fact that those matters which have been fully settled and solved never evoke dreams but only such as lie incompleted in the mind or touch it merely in passing (p 10)

For this reason we cannot usually explain our dreams since their causes are to be found *in sensory impressions of the preceding day which have not attained sufficient recognition on the part of the d eamer* The condition permitting an impression to reach the dream is therefore that this impression has been disturbed in its elaboration or that it was too insignificant to lay claim to such elaboration

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B t it is in his criticism of the sou ces of dream that R bert s m t fl tly oppos d to the prevailing theory Whereas co ding to thi th ry th re would be dream f the external a d internal sen ry timuli did t repeatedly wak th m d according to R bert the impulse t dream l es th m nd t lf It lies in the overloadin of the mi d which dem d dis charge a d R bert co ders quit onsistent ly that those cau es co dit ning the dream whi h depe d o the phys l conditio assum a bordinat rank a d c uld t incit dreams in a m d which contained no material f r

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dream t all of ust c p the day o that we begin to d eam of it o ly afte it is o ershad w d by the *other* interests of the dav His nvestigations in respect of other pers s corroborated the universality of thi st te of affairs Co cerning the dreams of n wly married people he makes a comment which is admirable if it ho ld prove to be ge erally true *S ils o t été forteme t épris presque j ma ils n o t evé l'i n de l'aut e ava t le mariage o pend nt la l e de m el et s il ont e d mour c'est pour tre fidèl s avec qu lqu e perso e ind ffé ente ou od use*

But of what does o e dre m? Delage recog ni es that *the material of ou dreams* cons sts of fragments and remnants of imp es io s both from the la t few days a d from earl er pe riods All that appears in o dreams all that we m y at fir t be inclined to cons der the c ea tion of the d eam life pro es on clo er investi gation t be unrecognized rep oduct on *sou ve t onsc t* B t this epresentati e mat rial reveals o e common characteristic it originates from imp es i s wh ch ha e pr b-bly affe ted our senses more forcibly than mind o from which th atte t on has been d flected oon aft the r c rre ce The less cious and at th same t me the str n er impress n, the gre ter the p o pect of its pl ying a part in our next dream

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The prevailing dream theory which conceives the dream as a physical process finds a cer tain support in a very interesting conception of the dream which was first propounded by Rob ert in 1866 and which is seductive becau e it assigns to the dream a function or a useful re sult As the basis of his theory Robert takes two objectively observable facts which we have already discus ed in our consideration of dream material (p 144 above) These *facts are* (1) that one very often dreams about the most insignificant impressions of the day and ( ) that one rarely carries over into the dream the absorbing interests of the day Robert as erts as an indisputable fact that those matters *which* have been fully settled and solved never evoke dreams but only such as lie incompleted in the mind or touch it merely in passing (p 10) *For this reason we cannot usually* explain our dreams since their causes are to be found *in sensory impressions of the preceding day which have not attained sufficient recognition on the part of the d eamer* The condition permitting an impression to reach the dream is therefore that this impression has been disturbed in its elaboration or that it was too insignificant to lay claim to such elabor ation

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enunciates semblance of meaning, but the path of the philosopher is not illumined thereby. Such is the criticism of Scherner's exposition by one of his own followers.

Scherner is not one of those writers for whom the mind carries its undiminished faculties into the dream-life. He even explains how in our dreams the centrality and spontaneous energy of the ego become enervated; how cognition, feeling, will, and imagination are transformed by this decentralization; how the remnant of these psychic forces has not a truly mental character but is rather of the nature of a mechanism. But, on the other hand, the activity of the psyche which may be described as *phantasy*, freed from all rational governance and hence no longer strictly controlled, rises to absolute supremacy in our dreams. To be sure, it borrows all its building-material from the memory of the waking state, but with this material it builds up structures which differ from those of the waking state as day differs from night. In our dreams it reveals itself as not only reproductive but also *productive*. Its peculiarities give the dream-life its singular character. It shows a preference for the immoderate, the exaggerated, the prodigious, but by its liberation from the inhibiting categories of thought, it gains a greater flexibility and agility and m-

plastic symbolism. The dream-phantasy has not the language of concepts; what it wishes to say it must express in visible form, and since in this case the concept does not exert an inhibitory control, it depicts it in all the fulness, power and breadth of visible form. But hereby its language, plain though it is, becomes cumbersome, awkward, and prolix. Plain speaking is rendered especially difficult by the fact that it dislikes expressing an object by its actual image, but prefers to select an alien image, if only the latter is able to express that particular aspect of the object which it is anxious to represent. Such is the symbolizing activity of the phantasy. It is moreover very significant that the dream-phantasy reproduces objects not in detail, but only in outline, and in the freest possible manner. Its paintings therefore are like light and brilliant sketches. The dream-phantasy, however, does not stop at the mere representation of the object, but feels an internal urge to implicate the dream-ego to some extent with the object, and thus to give rise to action. The visual dream, for example, depicts gold coins lying in the street; the dreamer picks them up, rejoices and carries them away.

According to Scherner, the material upon which the dream-phantasy exerts its artistic activity consists preponderantly of the organic sensory stimuli which are so obscure during the day (cf. p. 151 above); hence the over-fantastic theory of Scherner and the perhaps too matter-of-fact theories of Wundt and other physiologists, though otherwise diametrically opposed to each other, are in perfect agreement in their assumptions with regard to dream-sources and dream-stimuli. But whereas, according to the physiological theory, the psychic reaction to the inner physical stimuli becomes exhausted with the arousing of any of the ideas appropriate to these stimuli (as these ideas then, by way of association, call to their aid other ideas, so that on reaching this stage the chain of psychic processes appears to terminate), according to Scherner, on the other hand, the physical stimuli merely supply the psyche with material which it may utilize in fulfilling its phantastic intentions. For Scherner dream-formation begins where, according to the views of other writers, it comes to an end.

What the dream-phantasy does with the physical stimuli cannot, of course, be regarded as purposeful. The phantasy plays a tantalizing game with them, and represents the organic source of the stimuli of the dream in question by any sort of plastic symbolism. Indeed, Scherner holds—though here Volkelt and others differ from him—that the dream-phantasy has a certain favourite symbol for the organism as a whole: namely, the house. Fortunately, however, it does not seem to limit itself to this material; it may also employ a whole series of houses to designate a single organ; for example, very long streets of houses for the intestinal stimulus. In other dreams particular parts of the house may actually represent particular regions of the body, as in the headache-dream, the ceiling of the room (which the dream sees covered with disgusting, toad-like spiders) represents the head.

Quite apart from the symbol of the house, any other suitable object may be employed to represent those parts of the body which excite the dream. "Thus the breathing lungs find their symbol in the flaming stove with its windy roaring, the heart in hollow chests and baskets, the bladder in round, ball-shaped, or simply hollow objects. The man's dream, when due to the sexual stimulus, make the dreamer find in

which will be relaxed during sleep Still more entitled to a role in the dream than a weak and almost unnoticed impression is a vivid impres sion which has been accidentally retarded in its elaboration or intentionally repressed The psychic energy accumulated durin the day by inhibition or suppression becomes the main spring of the dream at night In dreams psy chically suppressed material achieves expres sion

Unfortunately Delage does not pursue this line of thou ht any farther he is able to as cribe only the most insignificant role in our dreams to an independent psychic activity and thus in his theory of dreams he reverts to the prevailin doctrine of a partial slumber of the brain *En somme le reve est le produit de la pensée errante sans but et sans direction se fixant successivement sur les souvenirs qui ont gardé asse d intensité pour se placer sur sa route et l arreter au passage établissant entre eux un lien tantot faible et indecis tantot plus fort et plus serré selon que l activité actuelle du cerveau est plus ou moins abolie par le som meil*

3 In a third group we may include those dream theories which ascribe to the dreaming mind the capacity for and propensity to special psychic activities which in the waking state it is able to exert either not at all or imperfect ly In most cases the manifestation of these activities is held to result in a useful function of dreams The evaluations of dreams by the earlier psychologists fall chiefly within this category I shall content myself however with quoting in their stead the assertion of Burdach to the effect that dreaming is the natural ac tivity of the mind which is not limited by the power of the individuality nor disturbed by self consciousness nor directed by self deter mination but is the vitality of the ensible focus indulging in free play (p 486)

Burdach and others evidently consider this revelling in the free use of its own powers as a state in which the mind refreshes itself and gathers fresh strength for the day s work something indeed after the fashion of a vaca tion Burdach therefore cites with approval the admirable words in which the poet Novalis laud the power of the dream The dream is a bulwark against the regularity and common place character of life a free recreation of the fettered phantasy in which it intermin les all the images of life and interrupts the constant seriousness of the adult by the joyful play of the child Without the dream we should surely grow old earlier so that the dream may be considered if not precisely as a gift from above yet as a delightful exercise a friendly compan ion on our pilgrima e to the grave

The refreshin and healing activity of dreams is even more impressively described by Purkinje (p 456) The productive dreams in particular would perform these functions These are the unconstrained play of the imagination and have no connection with the events of the day The mind is loth to continue the tension of the waking life but wishes to relax it and recuperate from it It creates in the first place conditions opposed to those of the wakin state It cures sadness by joy worry by hope and cheerfully distracting images hatred by love and friendliness and fear by courage and con fidence it appeases doubt by conviction and firm belief and vain expectation by realization Sleep heals many sore spots in the mind which the day keeps continually open by coverin them and guardin them against fresh irritation On this depends in some degree the consoling action of time We all feel that sleep is bene ficial to the psychic life and the vague surmise of the popular consciousness is apparently loth to surrender the notion that dreaming is one of the ways in which sleep bestows its benefits.

The most ori inal and most comprehensive attempt to explain dreaming as a special activity of the mind which can freely unfold itself only in the sleeping state is that made by Scherner in 1861 Scherner s book is written in a heavy and bombastic style and is inspired by an al most intoxicated enthusiasm for the subject, which is bound to repel us unless it can carry us away with it It places so many d fficulties in the way of an analysis that we gladly resort to the clearer and conciser presentation of Scherner s theories made by the philosopher Volkelt From these mystical conglomera tions from all these outbursts of splendour and radiance there indeed flashes and shines an

d se t d —E
I h t th d m th p d t f w d g th ht w th t d d t cc ly fi g o m m s wh ch h t d ff t t ity t p t tl m l es th w y a d block th p g

has directed his attention to this relat onship. For the purposes of our discus on it will suffice merely to glance at t is important subject.

As to the clinical and tiolonical relations between dreams and the psychoses I will re port the following observations as examples H hnbaum assert (ee Krauss) that the first ttack of insanity is frequentl conn cted with a anxiet -dream and that the pre- Sante n re- m to erm m t h the lusive dream that co t ins its e tu explanat r it ma develop sl wl through subsequent dre ms that ha e still to struggle against d ubt In n of de Sanctis s cases an inten el movin dream was ac ompanied by sl ght hysterical attacks, which in the r turn w re followed b an anxi s melancholic state. Fére (cited b Tis) refers t dream which was followed by h sterical paralys s. H re th dream is presen ed a the etiology of mental derangement althou h we should be making a statem t equall con tent with the f cts were we t sa that the first manifestat n of the mental derangeme t occurred in th dream lif tha th disorder fir t br ke throu h i the dream In o h insta ces the morb d symp- tom re in l ded in the dream life or th psy cho s remains onfi ed to the dream lif Thus Thoma e calls o ttention to *anxi ty-d m* ations of ecent dat in wh h beha our of path logical character (ba ed on d lusory h potheses bsessi umpul es) had their origin dreams. Guislain describes a case in which leep was replaced by an int rmittent in anit

W cannot doubt that one da th physician wil oncern himself ot only with the psychol ogy but al o with the psycho-pathology of dreams.

In cases of con alescence from insanity it is often especially obv ous that while the func tions may be healthy by day the dream life may still partake of the psycho s Gregory is said to ha e bee the first to call attention to such cases (*see* Krauss) Macario (cited by Tissie) gives an account of a maniac who a week afte his complete reco ery o ce m re experienced in dreams the flux of deas and the unbridled impulses of his dise e

Concerning the changes which the dream life undergoes in chronic psychotics little research has been undertaken as yet On the other hand early attenti n wa given to the inner relation hip between dream and mental disturbances relations ip which is demon trated by the compl t agreem t f th manifestat ons oc curri in each. According to M ury Cabanis in hi *R p ts d Ph siq e et d Mo al* was the first t call atte tion to this relationship he was f llowed by Lélut, J Moreau and more particularl the philosopher Maine de B ran The comparison between the two s of course lder still. Radestock begins the chapter in which h deals with th ubject by citin a numbe of opin on wh ch i st on the anal gy between insanity and dreaming Kant sa s mewhe Th lunatic is a dream r in the w king st t According to Kra s Insanity is a dream in whi h the enses are aw ke. Schopenhauer terms the dream bri f insanity and insanit lon dream Hagen describes d lirium as a dream lif which i ind cted not by leep but by disease Wundt, in his *Physio- l gische P ychologie* de lares As a matter of f t we urselves m y in dreams experience almost all the man festat ons which we bserve in th sylums for the insane

The specific points f agreement in c nse quence of which ch comparison ommends itself t our judgm t are e um rated by Sp tta wh groups them (ry much as Maury has d n) as f ll ws (1) Suspen i n t least retard t on of lf-c ciousness and con sequ ntly gnorance of th condition as such the impos ibility f a toni hment and a la k of m ral c ct usn s ( ) Modified percep- tion f the sen ory rgans that is percept n is as rul dimin shed in dreams a d greatly enhanced in nsanity (3) Mutual c mb nation of deas e clusively in ord ce with th laws of association and reproduct n hence auto- mat c series-format ons hence gain a l ck f proportion in the rela ions between ideas (ex

Among the more recen bors ho have occupied hemselves with these relations re Fé é Idel Lasegue Pichon Regis Vespa, Giess Kazod wsky Pacha oni, and ers.

The real determi ing cause f the madness.—ED.

the street the upper portion of a clarinet or the mouthpiece of a tobacco pipe or again a piece of fur The clarinet and tobacco pipe represent the approximate form of the male sexual organ while the fur represents the pubic hair In the sexual dreams of the female the tightness of the closed thighs may be symbolized by a narrow courtyard surrounded by houses and the vagina by a very narrow slippery and soft footpath leading through the courtyard upon which the dreamer is obliged to walk in order perhaps to carry a letter to a man (Volkelt p 39) It is particularly noteworthy that at the end of such a physically stimulated dream the phantasy as it were unmasks itself by representing the exciting organ or its function unconcealed Thus the tooth excited dream usually ends with the dreamer taking a tooth out of his mouth

The dream phantasy may however direct its attention not merely to the form of the exciting organ but may even make the substance contained therein the object of symbolization Thus for example the dream excited by the intestinal stimuli may lead us through muddy streets the dream due to stimuli from the bladder to foaming water Or the stimulus as such the nature of its excitation and the object which it covets are represented symbolically Or again the dream ego enters into a concrete association with the symbolization of its own state as for example when in the case of painful stimuli we struggle desperately with vicious dogs or raging bulls or when in a sexual dream the dreamer sees herself pursued by a naked man Disregarding all the possible prolixity of elaboration a phantastic symbolizing activity remains as the central force of every dream Volkelt in his fine and enthusiastic essay attempted to penetrate still further into the character of this phantasy and to assign to the psychic activity thus recognized its position in a system of philosophical ideas which however remains altogether too difficult of comprehension for anyone who is not prepared by previous training for the intuitive comprehension of philosophical modes of thought

Scherner attributes no useful function to the activity of the symbolizing phantasy in dreams In dreams the psyche plays with the stimuli which are offered to it One might conjecture that it plays in a mischievous fashion And we might be asked whether our detailed consideration of Scherner s dream theory the arbitrariness of which and its deviation from the rules of all forms of research are only too obvious can lead to any useful results We might fitly reply that to reject Scherner s theory without previous examination would be imposing too arrogant a veto This theory is based on the impressions produced by his dreams on a man who paid close attention to them and who would appear to be personally very well equipped for tracing obscure psychic phenomena Furthermore it treats of a subject which (though rich in its contents and relations) has for thousands of years appeared mysterious to humanity and to the elucidation of which science strictly so called has as it confesses contributed nothing beyond attempting—in uncompromising opposition to popular sentiment—to deny its content and significance Finally let us frankly admit that it seems as though we cannot very well avoid the phantastical in our attempts to explain dreams We must remember also that there is such a thing as a phantasy of ganglion cells the passage cited (p 87) from a sober and exact investigator like Binz which describes how the dawn of awakening floods the dormant cell masses of the cerebral cortex is not a whit less fanciful and improbable than Scherner s attempts at interpretation I hope to be able to demonstrate that there is something real underlying these attempts though the phenomena which he describes have been only vaguely recognized and do not possess the character of universality that should entitle them to be the basis of a theory of dreams For the present Scherner s theory of dreams in contrast to the medical theory may perhaps lead us to realize between what extremes the explanation of dream life is still unsteadily vacillating

H *The Relation between Dreams and Mental Diseases*

When we speak of the relation of dreams to mental derangement we may mean three different things (1) aetiological and clinical relations as when a dream represents or initiates a psychotic condition or occurs subsequently to such a condition (2) changes which the dream life undergoes in cases of mental disease (3) inner relations between dreams and psychoses analogies which point to an intimate relationship These manifold relations between the two series of phenomena were in the early days of medical science—and are once more at the present time—a favourite theme of medical writers as we may learn from the literature on the subject collated by Spitta Radestock Maury and Tissié Recently Sante de Sanctis

dream-problems to cover the period between the first appearance of this book and the publication of the second edition. This justifica tion may not seem very atisfactory t the reade none the less to me t wa decisive. The m tives whi h ind ced me to summarize the treatment of dreams in the literature of the subject ha e been exhausted by the forego.n introduction to have contin ed th.s would ha e cost m great deal of effort and would not have been particularly useful r instru tive For the interval in question—a period of nine years—has yielded n thing new or valu able as re-ards the conception of dreams, either in actual m t rial or in novel poin.s of view In most f the literature which h.s ap peared sin e the publication of my own work the litt r has not been mentioned or discu.sed it has, of ourse received the lea.t ttention from the so-called research wo k rs on dreams who ha e thus aff rded a brillian ex ampl of the ersion to learning anythin new so ch.racteri.ti of the ci ntist. *Les save ts ne sont pas curieux* ..aid the c ffer Anat le Fra.ce If there were uch thing in scie ce as the right f revenge I in my turn hould be justified in ..moring the literature which has ap peared sinc the publicati n f this book. The few reviews wh.ch have appeared in th. sc en ti.c journals are so full f misconcept ons and m onl pos.ible

touch on my own treatment of the dream problems A young philosopher H Swoboda, who has en ured to extend W Fliess s discovery of b ological periodicity (in series of twenty three and twenty-eight days) to the psychic field, has produced an imaginative essay in which among other thin.. he has used this key to sol e the riddle of dreams. S ch a solut on, however would be an inade quate estimat of the si.nificance of dreams The material content of dreams would be ex plained by the c incidence of all those mem ories which, on th. ni ht of the dream com plete ne of these b ological periods for the first or the nth time A personal communica tion of the author's led me to assume that he himself no l nger took this theory very serious ly But it seems that I was mistaken in this co clusion I shall record in another place some observations made with reference to Sw boda s thesis which did not howe.er yield con .ncin results. It ga e me far .reater pleasure to find by chance in an unexpected quarter a conception of the dream which is in compl te a.reement with the essence of my own. The relevant dates preclude the possibil ity that this con ept on was influenced by read ing my book I must therefore hail this as the only demon.trable concurrence with the essen tials of my theory of dreams to be found in the literature f th subject. The book which con tains the pa.sage that I have in mind was pub li.hed (in ts seco d edition) in 19 o by Lyn keus under the title *Phan.asien ei s Rea.is ten*

use of the psycho- nalytic m thod of treatment grea m..n dreams ha e been rec rded and in rpreted in cc rdan e with my directions. In so f as these works go beyond the n firmat on f my own a.sertions I ha e n ted the results in the text f my expo.ition. A pp men.ary b'bliography at th end of th.s olume mprises the mo t important of these new pub cations. The comprehensive work on the dream by ante d S..nctis of whi h German translat o ppeared soon after t pub cation was prod ced in Ita neou.ly wi.h my wn so th.t I ould n t re- iew hi resu.ts nor could he comment upon

Adde..dum 1914

The abo e *pol gia* was written in 1909 Since then, th state f ffairs has certainly under go e a change my contributi n to the in er pretat n of dreams s no lo..ger .nored in the lit rature f the subject But the new situ a.io makes it even more imposs'ble t continu the foregoing summary *The I terpr ta io of D ms* has ev ked a whol series f new con t n ons and pr blem.., which have been ex pounded by th auth rs in the most aried

tre ted in these pages

I can thing f only two publications which

The learned are not inquisi ve —Ed.

H. oboda, *Die Perioden d Men .schen Organismus* 904

Cf *J J P pper Lynkeu und die Theorie d Traume* (9 3) in ol. xi f my *Ge mmelten Schri en.*

aggerations phanta ms) and the results of all this (4) Changes in—for example inversions of—the personality and sometimes of the idio syncrasies of the character (perversities)

Radestock adds a few additional data con cerning the analogous nature of the material of dreams and of mental derangement The greatest number of hallucinations and illusions are found in the sphere of the senses of sight and hearing and general sensation As in dreams the fewest elements are supplied by the senses of smell and taste The fever patient like the dreamer is assailed by reminiscences from the remote past what the waking and healthy man seems to have forgotten is recol lected in sleep and in disease The analogy be tween dreams and the psychoses receives its full value only when like a family resem blance it is extended to the subtler points of mimicry and even the individual peculiarities of facial expression

To him who is tortured by physical and mental sufferings the dream accords what has been denied him by reality to wit physical well being and happiness so too the insane see radiant images of happiness eminence and wealth The supposed possession of estates and the imaginary fulfilment of wishes the denial or destruction of which have actually been a psychic cause of the insanity often form the main content of the delirium The woman who has lost a dearly beloved child experiences in her delirium the joys of maternity the man who has suffered reverses of fortune deems himself immensely wealthy and the jilted girl sees herself tenderly beloved

(This passage from Radestock is an abstract of a brilliant exposition of Griesinger s (p 111) which reveals with the greatest clarity *wish fulfilment* as a characteristic of the imagina tion common to dreams and to the psychoses My own investigations have taught me that here is to be found the key to a psychological theory of dreams and of the psychoses)

Absurd combinations of ideas and weakness of jud ment are the main characteristics of the dream and of insanity The *over estima tion* of one s own mental capacity which ap pears absurd to sober judgment is found alike in both and the *rapid flux of imaginings* in the dream corresponds to the *flux of ideas* in the psychoses Both are devoid of any *measure of time* The *splitting of the personality* in dreams which for instance distributes one s own knowledge between two persons one of whom the strange person corrects one s own ego in the dream entirely corresponds with the well known splitting of the personality in hallucina tory paranoia the dreamer too hears his own thoughts expressed by strange voices Even the constant delusive ideas find their analogy in the stereotyped and recurring pathological dream (*reve obsédant*) After recovering from delirium patients not infrequently declare that the whole period of their illness appeared to them like an uncomfortable dream indeed they inform us that sometimes during their illness they have suspected that they were only dream ing just as often happens in the sleep-dream

In view of all this it is not surprisin that Radestock should summarize his own opinion, and that of many others in the following words Insanity an abnormal morbid phe nomenon is to be regarded as an enhancement of the periodically recurring normal dream state (p 228)

Krauss attempted to base the relationship between the dream and insanity upon their aetiology (or rather upon the sources of ex citation) thus perhaps making the relation ship even more intimate than was possible on the basis of the analogous nature of the phe nomena manife ted According to him the fun damental element common to both is as we have already learned the organically condi tioned sensation the sensation of physical stimuli the general sensation arising out of contributions from all the organs (cf Peisse cited by Maury p 52)

The undeniable agreement between dreams and mental derangement extending even to characteristic details constitutes one of the strongest confirmations of the medical theory of dream life according to which the dream is represented as a usele s and disturbing proc ess and as the expression of a diminished psy chic activity One cannot expect for the pres ent to derive the final explanation of the dream from the psychic derangements since as is well known our understanding of the origin of the latter is still highly unsatisfactory It is very probable however that a modified con ception of the dream must also influence our views regarding the inner mechanism of mental disorders and hence we may say that we are working towards the explanation of the psy choses when we endeavour to elucidate the mystery of dreams

ADDENDUM 1909

I shall have to justify my elf for not ex tending my summary of the literature of

dream-problems to cover the period between the first appearance of this book and the publication of the second edition. This justification may not seem very satisfactory to the reader; none the less, to me it was decisive. The motives which induced me to summarize the treatment of dreams in the literature of the subject have been exhausted by the foregoing introduction; to have continued this would have cost me a great deal of effort and would not have been particularly useful or instructive. For the interval in question—a period of nine years—has yielded nothing new or valuable as regards the conception of dreams, either in actual material or in novel points of view. In most of the literature which has appeared since the publication of my own work the latter has not been mentioned or discussed; it has, of course, received the least attention from the so-called "research workers" on dreams, who have thus afforded a brilliant example of the aversion to learning anything new so characteristic of the scientist. "*Les savants ne sont pas curieux*,"* said the scoffer Anatole France. If there were such a thing in science as the right of revenge, I in my turn should be justified in ignoring the literature which has appeared since the publication of this book. The few reviews which have appeared in the scientific journals are so full of misconceptions and lack of comprehension that my only possible answer to my critics would be a request that they should read this book over again—or perhaps merely that they should read it!

In the works of those physicians who make use of the psycho-analytic method of treatment a great many dreams have been recorded and interpreted in accordance with my directions. In so far as these works go beyond the confirmation of my own assertions I have noted their results in the context of my exposition. A supplementary bibliography at the end of this volume comprises the most important of these new publications. The comprehensive work on the dream by Sante de Sanctis, of which a German translation appeared soon after its publication, was produced simultaneously with my own, so that I could not review his results, nor could he comment upon mine. I am sorry to have to express the opinion that this laborious work is exceedingly poor in ideas, so poor that one could never divine from it the possibility of the problems which I have treated in these pages.

I can think of only two publications which touch on my own treatment of the dream problems. A young philosopher, H. Swoboda, who has ventured to extend W. Fliess's discovery of biological periodicity (in series of twenty-three and twenty-eight days) to the psychic field, has produced an imaginative essay,[1] in which, among other things, he has used this key to solve the riddle of dreams. Such a solution, however, would be an inadequate estimate of the significance of dreams. The material content of dreams would be explained by the coincidence of all those memories which, on the night of the dream, complete one of these biological periods for the first or the nth time. A personal communication of the author's led me to assume that he himself no longer took this theory very seriously. But it seems that I was mistaken in this conclusion. I shall record in another place some observations made with reference to Swoboda's thesis, which did not, however, yield convincing results. It gave me far greater pleasure to find by chance, in an unexpected quarter, a conception of the dream which is in complete agreement with the essence of my own. The relevant dates preclude the possibility that this conception was influenced by reading my book; I must therefore hail this as the only demonstrable concurrence with the essentials of my theory of dreams to be found in the literature of the subject. The book which contains the passage that I have in mind was published (in its second edition) in 1900 by Lynkeus under the title *Phantasien eines Realisten*.[2]

ADDENDUM 1914

The above *apologia* was written in 1909. Since then, the state of affairs has certainly undergone a change; my contribution to the interpretation of dreams is no longer ignored in the literature of the subject. But the new situation makes it even more impossible to continue the foregoing summary. *The Interpretation of Dreams* has evoked a whole series of new contentions and problems, which have been expounded by the authors in the most varied fashions. But I cannot discuss these works until I have developed the theories to which their authors have referred. Whatever has appeared to me as valuable in this recent literature I

* The learned are not inquisitive.—ED.

[1] H. Swoboda, *Die Perioden des menschlichen Organismus*, 1904.

[2] Cf. *Josef Popper Lynkeus und die Theorie des Traumes* (1923), in vol. xi of my *Gesammelte Schriften*.

have accordingly reviewed in the course of the following exposition

II The Method of Dream Interpretation

The Analysis of a Specimen Dream

THE epigraph on the title page of this volume indicates the tradition to which I prefer to ally myself in my conception of the dream I am proposing to show that dreams are capable of interpretation and any contributions to the solution of the problems which have already been discussed will emerge only as possible by products in the accomplishment of my special task On the hypothesis that dreams are sus ceptible of interpretation I at once find myself *in disagreement with the prevailing doctrine of* dreams—in fact with all the theories of dreams excepting only that of Scherner for *to interpret a dream* is to specify its *meaning* to replace it by something which takes its posi tion in the concatenation of our psychic activi ties as a link of definite importance and value But as we have seen the scientific theories of the dream leave no room for a problem of dream interpretation since in the first place accordin to these theories dreaming is not a psychic activity at all but a somatic process which makes itself known to the psychic ap paratus by means of symbols Lay opinion has always been opposed to these theories It as serts its privilege of proceeding illogically and althou h it admits that dreams are incompre hensible and absurd it cannot summon up the courage to deny that dreams have any signifi cance Led by a dim intuition it seems rather to assume that dreams have a meaning albeit a hidden one that they are intended as a substi tute for some other thought process and that we have only to disclose this substitute cor rectly in order to discover the hidden meaning of the dream

The unscientific world therefore has always endeavoured to *interpret* dreams and by ap plying one or the other of two essentially differ ent methods The first of these methods en visages the dream content as a whole and seeks to replace it by another content which is intelligible and in certain re pects analogous This is symbolic dream interpretation and of course it goes to pieces at the very outset in the ca e of tho e dreams which are not only unintelligible but confused The construction which the biblical Joseph placed upon the dream of Pharaoh furnishes an example of this method The seven fat kine after which came seven lean ones that devoured the former were a symbolic substitute for even years of famire in the land of Egypt which accordin to the *prediction were to consume all the surplus that* seven fruitful years had produced Mo t of the artificial dreams contrived by the poets are intended for some such symbolic interpretation, for they reproduce the thou ht conceived by the poet in a guise not unlike the disgui e which we are wont to find in our dreams

The idea that the dream concerns itself chief ly with the future whose form it surmises in advance—a relic of the prophetic significance with which dreams were once inve ted—now becomes the motive for translatin into the future the meaning of the dream which has been found by means of symbolic *interpreta tion*

A demonstration of the manner in which one arrives at such a symbolic interpretation can not of course be given Success remains a matter of ingenious conjecture of direct intui tion and for this reason dream interpretation has naturally been elevated into an art which seems to depend upon extraordinary gifts The second of the two popular methods of dream interpretation entirely abandons such claims It might be described as the *cipher method* since it treats the dream as a kind of secret code in which every sign is *translated* into another sign of known meaning according to an established key For example I have *dreamt of a letter and also of a funeral* or the like I consult a dream book and I find that letter is to be translated by vexation and funeral by engagement It now remains to establish a connection which I am again to as sume as pertaining to the future by means of the rigmarole which I have deciphered An in teresting variant of this cipher procedure a variant in which its character of purely me

I a l *G d a* by th poet W J se I chanced t d co s al f t u s d ms wh ch w p fectly ect i th tru t d co ld b t rp t d th gh th y had t bee ted b t h d be d t by ct l pe Th poet d cl d po my q ry th t h w cq ted w th my theory f d ms I h e m d se f th re

t l i)

A t ll xp essed himself thi ect n by) that th best t rp t f dre m i h wh *be t g p m l t* F *dre m-pi t re* l k p t j w t d figu ed by th m u (f th w t) so that h hit the t g t best wh I abl t g th tru p t re l the d to ted one (B hse h t p 65)

ch…ical trans erence is to a cert…n extent corrected, is presen ed in the work on dream int rpretation by Artemidoros of Daldis. Here not onl t…e dream-con ent, but also the per sonality a…d social position of t…e dream r are taken into consideration, o that th same dream-co ten has a significance f r the rich man, t…e married man or th orato which is d…eren from that which pp…es to th poor m…n, the bachelor r let us say th merchant. The essential point then in this procedure is tha the work of in…erpretation is not pplied to t…e entirety of t…e dream, but t each portion of the dream-content severally as though t…e dream were a con… omerate in which each fragment calls f special treatment. I…coherent and confused dreams are certainly t…ose t…at have been respon…ible f r t…e in ention of the cipher method.

The worthlessness of both these popular m thods of interpretatio does no adm t of di…cuss on As regards the cientific treatment of the subject the symbolic method is limited in is application and is not suscept ble of a general expos on. In the cip… r me…hod every thi… depends upon wh ther the *key* the dream-boo… is reliable and for that all guar an ees are lacki… So that one might be tempt ed to grant the contention of th philosophers a…d ps chiatris's, and to dism… the problem f dream in erpretation as al ogether fanciful.

I ha e however com to th…nk differently I ha e been f rced to percei e that here once more we have one of those no infreque t cases where an a…cient and tubbornly retained pop-ular belief seems to ha e come nearer to the truth of th matter than the pinion of modern sci nce. I must i…si…t that the dream actually does possess a meanin… and that a scientific method f dr am interpretatio is pos ble I arrived at my knowledge of this m thod in the f llowi… manner

For years I have been occupied with the res-o… …ion of certain psycho-pathological …ruc tures—h sterical p…obias bsess onal ideas, and the like—with therapeutic intentions I have been so occupied, in f ct eve nce I heard the significant statement of Joseph

A …emidoros f Daldis, born probably in the begin-ning f the second cen ry f ou c…endar has furn…hed us wi…h the most complete nd careful el …ration f dream-interpreta on as …ts ed … the Graeco-Roman world. A Gomperz has …pha sized, he ascribed grea importance t…e consideration t…at dreams ou…t to be interpre…ed on the basis f observation nd experience and he drew de te line between his own art and …her methods …ich he considered fraudu…en The princi… f his art f in…erpretation accordi… to Gomperz, identical with th… f magic the princip… f association. The … dreamed mean …t recal…ed to the memory—to t…e memory f course f t…e dream-i… rpre er This fact—t…t the dream ma remind the interpreter …

Dr Alfred R bitsek calls m ention t the fact t…at Oriental dream-books, f w…ich rs are p tiful plagiarisms commonly undertake the i…terpretation f dream-elements in accordance wi…h t…e assonance nd simila y f words. …nce t…ese relations…ps mu…t be los by translation r our la guage the incompre hensib …y f the equivale ts in ou popula dream-book is hereby explained. Inf rmation as to the extra rdinary significance f puns and the pl y upon words in t…e old Oriental cul res may be found in the writings f H go Winckle The finest …xampl f dre …r… …erpretation w…ich has come down t us from …tiquity is based play upon w rds. Artemi d ros rel es the f llowing (p 5) B seems me t…a Aristandros gave mos happ in …rre…a io to Alexander f Macedon. When the h…e held Tyros encompassed and in tate f siege nd was angry and depressed …e t…e grea wa…e f time he dreamed t…a he sa Satyr dancin on his hield. I hap-pened t…a Aristandros was in t…e ne…hbourhood f Tyros and in the escort f the king who wa wagin war on the …yrians. By di idi… the word Satyros ou and τυρ… he induced the king become more aggressive in the siege And t…us Al xande became master f the …ty (Σ… Τ… …=Thine is Tyros.)

them al circumstances …ch they regard as necessary f good explanation. I word our interpre-ters ow no circum tance to be overlooked nd do not gi the desired interpreta…on bef re perfectly take nd apprehending …l desira… questions.] Among these questions one always finds demands for …recise …ormation in respect …ea re…a ves (pa-ents, …ch dream well as the following formula *…abe rae m hac …c… …acem …um alam an… vel … semam?* [Did you t…s nigh have con gal …cu …on bef re or t…e dream] *L… d … ne …e deus l'interpr… …on de … … … …… le … per … …posé* [The dominant idea in the interpretation f dreams consists in ex …ining the dream by i… …oppos…e.]

Breuer to the effect that in these *structures* regarded as morbid symptoms solution and treatment go hand in hand Where it has been *possible to trace a pathological idea back to* those elements in the psychic life of the patient to which it owed its origin this idea has crumbled away *and the patient has been relieved of* it In view of the failure of our other therapeutic efforts and in the face of the mysterious *character of the e pathological conditions* it seemed to me tempting in spite of all the difficulties to follow the method initiated by Breuer *until* a complete elucidation of the subject had been achieved I shall have occasion elsewhere to give a detailed account of the form which the technique of this procedure has finally assumed and of the results of my efforts In the course of these psycho analytic studies I happened upon the question of dream interpretation My patients after I had pled ed them to inform me of all the ideas and thou hts which occurred to them in connection with a given theme related their dreams and thus taught me that a dream may be interpolated in the psychic concatenation which may be followed backwards from a pathological idea into the patient s memory The next step was to treat the dream itself as a symptom and to apply to it the method of interpretation which had been worked out for such symptoms

For this a certain psychic preparation on the part of the patient is necessary A twofold effort is made to stimulate his attentiveness in respect of his psychic perceptions and to eliminate the critical spirit in which he is ordinarily in the habit of viewin such thou hts as come to the surface For the purpose of self observation with concentrated attention it is advantageous that the patient should take up a restful position and close his eyes he must be explicitly instructed to renounce all criticism of the thought formations which he may perceive He must *also be told that the success of the* psycho analysis depends upon his noting and communicatin everything that passes through his mind *and that he must not allow himself* to suppress one idea because it seems to him unimportant or irrelevant to the subject or *another because it seems nonsensical* He must

idea or the like it will be because h p w himself to be critical of them

St d e uber Hy te e 1895 [C mp e p g 6 abo]

I have *noticed in the course of* my psychoanalytical work that the psychological tate of a man in an attitude of reflection is entirely *different from that of* a man who i observing his psychic processes In reflection there is a greater play of psychic activity than in the most attentive self observation this is shown even by the tense attitude and the wrinkled brow of the man in a state of reflection, as oppo ed to the mimic tranquillity of the man observin himself In both cases there must be concentrated attention but the reflective man makes use of his critical faculties with the result that he rejects some of the thoughts which rise into consciousness after he has become aware of them and abruptly interrupts others so that he does not follow the lines of thou ht which they would otherwise open up for him while in respect of yet other thoughts he is able to behave in such a manner that they do not become conscious at all—that is to say they are suppressed before they are perceived In self observation on the other hand he has but one task—that of suppressing criticism if he succeeds in doin this an unlimited number of thoughts enter his consciousness which would otherwise have eluded his grasp With the aid of the material thus obtained—*material* which is new to the self observer—it is possible to achieve the interpretation of pathological ideas and also that of dream *formations* As will be seen the point is to induce a psychic state which is in some degree analogous as regards the distribution of psychic energy (mobile attention) to the state of the mind before fallin asleep—and also of course to the h pnotic state On falling asleep *the undesired ideas* emerge owing to the slackening of a certain arbitrary (and of course also critical) action which is *allowed to influence the trend* of our ideas we are accustomed to peak of fatigue as the reason of this lackening the *emerging undesired ideas are chan ed* into visual and auditory ima es In the condition which it utilized for the analysis of dreams and pathological *ideas this activity is purpo ely* and deliberately renounced and the psychic energy thus saved (or some part of it) is employed in attentively *tracking* the undesired thoughts which now come to the surface—thou hts which retain their identity as ideas (in which the condition differs from the state of falling asleep) *Undesired ideas are thus changed into desi ed ones*

There are many people who do not seem to find it easy to adopt the required attitude to-

ward the apparently "freely rising" ideas and to renounce the criticism which is otherwise applied to them. The "undesired ideas" habitually evoke the most violent resistance which seeks to prevent them from coming to the surface. But if we may credit our great poet philosopher Friedrich Schiller the essential condition of poetical creation includes a very similar attitude. In a certain passage in his correspondence with Korner (for the tracing of which we are indebted to Otto Rank) Schiller replies in the following words to a friend wh

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observation, and illustrate it by an allegory Apparently it is not good—and indeed it hinders the creative work of the mind—if the intellect examines too closely the ideas already pouring in, as it were at the gates Regarded

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be capable of furnishing very serviceable link. The intellect cannot judge all these ideas unless it can retain them until it has considered them in connection with these other ideas. In the case of a creative mind, it seems to me, the intellect has withdrawn its watchers from the gates and the ideas rush in pell mell, and only then does it review and inspect the multitude You worthy critics or whatever you may call yourselves are ashamed or afraid of the momentary and passing madness which is found in all real creators the longer or shorter duration of which distinguishes the thinking artist from the dreamer Hence your complaints of unfruitfulness for you reject too soon and discriminate too severely" (letter of December 1 1788)

And yet, such a withdrawal of the watchers from the gates of the *intellect* as Schiller puts it, such a translation into the condition of uncritical self-observation, is by no means difficult.

Most of my patients accomplish it after my first instructions I myself can do so very completely if I assist the process by writing down the ideas that flash through my mind. The quantum of psychic energy by which the critical activity is thus reduced, and by which the intensity of self-observation may be increased, varies considerably according to the subject matter upon which the attention is to be fixed.

The first step in the application of this procedure teaches us that one cannot make the dream as a whole the object of one's attention but only the individual components of its content. If I ask a patient who is as yet unpractised What occurs to you in connection with this dream? he is unable as a rule, to fix upon anything in his psychic field of vision. I must first dissect the dream for him then in connection with each fragment, he gives me a number of ideas which may be described as the *thought behind* this part of the dream In this first and important condition, then the method of dream interpretation which I employ diverges from the popular historical and legendary method of interpretation by symbolism and approaches more nearly to the second or *cipher method* Like this it is an interpretation in detail, not *en masse* Like this it conceives the dream from the outset, as something built up as a conglomerate of psychic formations.

In the course of my psycho-analysis of neurotics I have already subjected perhaps more than a thousand dreams to interpretation, but I do not wish to use this material now as an introduction to the theory and technique of dream interpretation. For quite apart from the fact that I should lay myself open to the objection that these are the dreams of neuropaths so that the conclusions drawn from them would not apply to the dreams of healthy persons there is another reason that impels me to reject them. The theme to which these dreams point is of course always the history of the malady that is responsible for the neurosis. Hence every dream would require a very long introduction and an investigation of the nature and aetiological conditions of the psychoneuroses matters which are in themselves novel and exceedingly strange and which would therefore distract attention from the dream-problem proper My purpose is rather to prepare the way by the solution of the dream problem for the solution of the more difficult problems of the psychology of the neuroses. But if I eliminate the dreams of neurotics which constitute my principal material I cannot be too fastidious in my treatment of the rest. Only those dreams are left which have been incidentally related to me by healthy persons of my acquaintance or which I find given as examples in the literature of dream life Unfortunately in all these dreams I am deprived of the analysis without which I cannot find the meaning of the dream My mode of procedure is of course, less easy than that of

Breuer to the effect that in these structures *regarded as morbid symptoms solution and* treatment go hand in hand Where it has been *possible to trace a pathological idea back to* those elements in the psychic life of the patient *to which it owed its origin this idea has crum* bled away and the patient has been relieved of *it In view of the failure of our other therapeu* tic efforts and in the face of the mysterious character of these *pathological* conditions it seemed to me tempting in spite of all the diffi culties to follow the method initiated by Breuer until a complete elucidation of the subject had been achieved I shall have occasion elsewhere to give a detailed account of the form which the technique of this procedure has finally as sumed and of the results of my efforts In the course of these psycho analytic studies I hap pened upon the question of dream interpreta tion My patients after I had pledged them to inform me of all the ideas and thoughts which occurred to them in connection with a given theme related their dreams and thus taught me that a dream may be interpolated in the psychic concatenation which may be followed backwards from a pathological idea into the patient s memory The next step was to treat the dream itself as a symptom and to apply to it the method of interpretation which had been worked out for such symptoms

For this a certain psychic preparation on the part of the patient *is necessary A twofold effort* is made to stimulate his attentiveness in re *spect of his psychic perceptions and to elimi* nate the critical spirit in which he is ordinarily *in the habit of viewin such thoughts as come* to the surface For the purpose of self observa *tion with concentrated attention it is advan* tageous that the patient should take up a rest ful position and close his eyes he must be ex plicitly instructed to renounce all criticism of the thought formations which he may perceive He must also be told that the success of the psycho analysis depends upon his noting and communicating everythin that passes through his mind and that he must not allow himself to suppress one idea because it seems to him unimportant or irrelevant to the subject or another because it seems nonsensical He must preserve an absolute impartiality in respect to his ideas for if he is unsuccessful in finding the desired solution of the dream the obsessional idea or the like it will be because he permits himself to be critical of them

I have noticed in the course of my psycho-analytical work that the psychological state of a man in an attitude of reflection is entirely different from that of a man who is observing his psychic processes In reflection there is a greater play of psychic activity than in the most attentive self observation this is shown even by the tense attitude and the wrinkled brow of the man in a state of reflection as opposed to the mimic tranquillity of the man observing himself In both cases there must be concentrated attention but the reflective man makes use of his critical faculties with the re sult that he rejects some of the thoughts which rise into consciousness after he has become aware of them and abruptly interrupts others so that he does not follow the lines of thought which they would otherwise open up for him while in respect of yet other thoughts he is able to behave in such a manner that they do not become conscious at all—that is to say they are suppressed before they are perceived In self observation on the other hand he has but one task—that of suppressing criticism *if* he succeeds in doing this an unlimited number of thoughts enter his consciousness which would otherwise have eluded his grasp With *the aid of the material thus obtained—material* which is new to the self observer—it is pos *sible to achieve the interpretation of* patholog cal ideas and also that of dream formations *As will be seen the point is to induce a p* ychic state which is in some degree analogous as re*gards the distribution of psychic energy* (mo bile attention) to the state of the mind before *fallin a leep—and also of course* to the hyp notic state On falling asleep the *undesired ideas* emerge owing to the slackening of a cer tain arbitrary (and of course also critical) ac tion which is allowed to influence the trend of our ideas we are accustomed to speak of fa tigue as the reason of this slackening the emerging undesired ideas are changed into vi ual and auditory ima es In the condition which it utilized for the analysis of dreams and patho logical ideas this activity is purposely and de liberately renounced and the psychic energy thus saved (or some part of it) is employed in attentively tracking the undesired thoughts which now come to the surface—thoughts which retain their identity as ideas (in which the condition differs from the state of falling asleep) *Undesired ideas are thus changed into desired ones*

There are many people who do not seem to find it easy to adopt the required attitude to-

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think surely she doesn't need them.—The mouth then opens wide, and I find a large white spot on the right, and elsewhere I see extensive greyish-white scabs adhering to curiously curled formations, which are evidently analogous to the turbinal bones of the nose.—

She has a dull ess bel— in

c. ceas a ten ion to an inf ated portion of skin on the left shoulder (which I can feel in spite of the dress).... M says: There's no doubt that it's an infection, but it doesn't matter; dysentery will follow and the poison will be eliminated. We know too precisely how the infection originated. My friend O— not long ago gave her, when she was feeling unwell, an injection of a preparation of propyl ... propyls ... propionic acid ... trimethylamin (the formula of which I see before me printed in heavy type). One doesn't give such injections so rashly. Probably too the syringe was not clean.

This dream has an advantage over many others. It is at once obvious to what events of the preceding day it is related, and of what subject it treats. The preliminary statement explains these matters. The news of Irma's health which I had received from Otto, and the clinical history which I was writing late into the night, had occupied my psychic activities even during sleep. Nevertheless, no one who had read the preliminary report, and had knowledge of the content of the dream, could guess what the dream signified. No do I myself know. I am puzzled by the morbid symptoms of which Irma complains in the dream, for they are not the symptoms for which I treated her. I smile at the nonsensical idea of an injection of propionic acid, and at Dr M's attempt at consolation. Towards the end the dream seems more obscure and quicker in tempo than at the beginning. In order to learn the significance of all these details I resolve to undertake an exhaustive analysis.

Analysis

The hall—a number of guests, whom we are receiving. We were living that summer at Bellevue, in a isolated house on one of the hills adjoining the Kahlenberg. This house was originally built as a place of entertainment, and therefore has unusually lofty hall-like rooms. The dream was dreamed in Bellevue, a few days before my wife's birthday. During the day my wife had mentioned that she expected several friends, and among them Irma, to come to us as guests for her birthday. My dream, then, anticipates this situation. It is my wife's birthday, and we are receiving a number of people, among them Irma, as guests in the large hall of Bellevue.

I reproach Irma for not having accepted the solution; I say, "If you still have pains, it is really your own fault." I might even have said this while awake; I may have actually said it. At that time I was of the opinion (recognized later to be incorrect) that my task was limited to informing patients of the hidden meaning of their symptoms. Whether they then accepted or did not accept the solution upon which success depended—for that I was not responsible. I am grateful to this error, which, fortunately, has now been overcome, since it made life easier for me at a time when, with all my unavoidable ignorance, I was expected to effect successful cures. But I note that in the speech which I make to Irma in the dream, I am above all anxious that I shall not be blamed for the pains which she still suffers. If it is Irma's own fault, it cannot be mine. Should the purpose of the dream be looked for in this quarter?

Irma's complaints—pains in the neck, abdomen and stomach; she is choked by them. Pains in the stomach belonged to the symptom-complex of my patient, but they were not very prominent; she complained rather of qualms and a feeling of nausea. Pains in the neck and abdomen and constriction of the throat played hardly any part in her case. I wonder why I have decided upon this choice of symptoms in the dream; for the moment I cannot discover the reason.

She looks pale and puffy. My patient had always a rosy complexion. I suspect that here another person is being substituted for her.

I am startled at the idea that I may have overlooked some organic affection. This, as the reader will readily believe, is a constant fear with the specialist who sees neurotics almost exclusively, and who is accustomed to ascribe to hysteria so many manifestations which the physicians treat as organic. On the other hand, I am haunted by a faint doubt—I do not know whence it comes—whether my alarm is altogether honest. If Irma's pains are indeed of

the popular cipher method which translates the given dream content by reference to an established key I on the contrary hold that the same dream content may conceal a different meaning in the case of different persons or in different connections I must therefore re ort to my own dreams as a source of abun dant and convenient material furnished by a person who is more or less normal and con taining references to many incidents of every day life I shall certainly be confronted with doubts as to the trustworthiness of these *self analyses* and it will be said that arbitrariness is by no means excluded in such analyses In my own judgment conditions are more likely to be favourable in self observation than in the observation of others in any case it is permissible to investigate how much can be accomplished in the matter of dream interpre tation by means of self analysis There are other difficulties which must be overcome in my own inner self One has a comprehensible aversion to exposing so many intimate details of one s own psychic life and one does not feel secure against the misinterpretations of strangers But one must be able to transcend such considerations *Tout psychologiste* writes Delbœuf *est obligé de faire l aveu meme de ses faiblesses s il croit par là jeter du jour sur quelque problème obscur* And I may assume for the reader that his initial in terest in the indiscretions which I must commit will very soon give way to an exclusive engross ment in the psychological problems elucidated by them

I shall therefore select one of my own dreams for the purpose of elucidating my method of interpretation Every such dream necessitates a preliminary statement so that I must now beg the reader to make my interests his own for a time and to become absorbed with me in the most trifling details of my life for an interest in the hidden significance of dreams imperatively demands just such a transference

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

In the summer of 1895 I had treated psycho-analytically a young lady who was an intimate friend of mine and of my family It will be un derstood that such complicated relations may excite manifold feelings in the physician and especially the psychotherapist The personal interest of the physician is greater but his authority less If he fails his friendship with the patient s relatives is in dan er of bein un dermined In this case however the treatment ended in partial success the patient was cured of her hysterical anxiety but not of all her so-matic symptoms At that time I was not yet quite sure of the criteria which denote the final cure of an hysterical case and I expected her to accept a solution which did not eem accept able to her In the midst of this disa reement we discontinued the treatment for the summer holidays One day a younger colleague one of my most intimate friends who had visited the patient—Irma—and her family in their coun try residence called upon me I asked him how Irma was and received the reply She is bet ter but not quite well I realize that these words of my friend Otto s or the tone of voice in which they were spoken annoyed me I thought I heard a reproach in the word per haps to the effect that I had promi ed the pa tient too much and—ri htly or wron ly—I at tributed Otto s apparent taking sides again t me to the influence of the patient s relatives who I assumed had never approved of my treatment This disagreeable impression how ever did not become clear to me nor did I speak of it That same evenin I wrote the clinical history of Irma s case in order to give it as though to justify myself to Dr M a mutual friend who was at that time the leading personality in our circle During the ni ht (or rather in the early morning) I had the follow in dream which I recorded immediately after waking

DREAM OF JULY 23—24 1895

A great hall—a number of guests whom we are receiving—among them Irma whom I im mediately take aside as though to answer her letter and to reproach her for not yet accepting the solution I say to her If you still have pains it is really only your own fault —She answers If you only knew what pains I have now in the throat stomach and abdomen—I am choked by them I am startled and look at her She looks pale and puffy I think that after all I must be overlooking some organic affec tion I take her to the window and look into her throat She offers some resistance to this like a woman who has a set of false teeth I

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case of a woman patient and hastily turned for assistance to my older and more experienced colleague. The fact that I really had this case in mind is confirmed by a subsidiary circumstance. The patient, who succumbed to the toxic effects of the drug, bore the same name as my eldest daughter. I had never thought of this until now, but now it seems to me almost like a retribution of fate—as though the substitution of persons had to be continued in another sense: this Matilda for that Matilda; an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. It is as though I were seeking every opportunity to reproach myself for a lack of medical conscientiousness.

Dr. M. is pale; his chin is shaven, and he limps. Of this so much is correct, that his unhealthy appearance often arouses the concern of his friends. The other two characteristics must belong to another person. An elder brother living abroad occurs to me, for he, too, shaves his chin, and if I remember him rightly, the M. of the dream bears on the whole a certain resemblance to him. And some days previously the news arrived that he was limping on account of an arthritic affection of the hip. There must be some reason why I fuse the two persons into one in my dream. I remember that, in fact, I was on bad terms with both of them for similar reasons. Both had rejected a certain proposal which I had recently made them.

My friend Otto is now standing next to the patient, and my friend Leopold examines her and calls attention to a dulness low down on the left side. My friend Leopold also is a physician, and a relative of Otto's. Since the two practice the same speciality, fate has made them competitors, so that they are constantly being compared with one another. Both of them assisted me for years, while I was still directing a public clinic for neurotic children. There, scenes like that reproduced in my dream had often taken place. While I would be discussing the diagnosis of a case with Otto, Leopold would examine the child anew and make an unexpected contribution towards our decision. There was a difference of character between the two men like that between Inspector Bräsig and his friend Karl. Otto was remarkably prompt and alert; Leopold was slow and thoughtful, but thorough. If I contrast Otto and the cautious Leopold in the dream I do so apparently in order to extol Leopold. The comparison is like that made above between the disobedient patient Irma and her friend, who was believed to be more sensible. I now become aware of one of the tracks along which the association of ideas in the dream proceeds: from the sick child to the children's clinic. Concerning the dulness low on the left side, I have the impression that it corresponds with a certain case of which all the details were similar, a case in which Leopold impressed me by his thoroughness. I thought vaguely, too, of something like a metastatic affection, but it might also be a reference to the patient whom I should have liked to have in Irma's place. For this lady, as far as I can gather, exhibited symptoms which imitated tuberculosis.

An infiltrated portion of skin on the left shoulder. I know at once that this is my own rheumatism of the shoulder, which I always feel if I lie awake long at night. The very phrasing of the dream sounds ambiguous: *Something which I can feel, as he does, in spite of the dress.* "Feel on my own body" is intended. Further, it occurs to me how unusual the phrase *infiltrated portion of skin* sounds. We are accustomed to the phrase "an infiltration of the upper posterior left"; this would refer to the lungs, and thus once more to tuberculosis.

In spite of the dress. This, to be sure, is only an interpolation. At the clinic the children were of course examined undressed; here we have some contrast to the manner in which adult female patients have to be examined. The story used to be told of an eminent physician that he always examined his patients through their clothes. The rest is obscure to me; I have, frankly, no inclination to follow the matter further.

Dr. M. says: "It's an infection, but it doesn't matter; dysentery will follow, and the poison will be eliminated." This at first seems to me ridiculous; nevertheless, like everything else, it must be carefully analysed; more closely observed it seems after all to have a sort of meaning. What I had found in the patient was a local diphtheritis. I remember the discussion about diphtheritis and diphtheria at the time of my daughter's illness. Diphtheria is the general infection which proceeds from local diphtheritis. Leopold demonstrates the existence of such a general infection by the dulness, which also suggests a metastatic focus. I believe, however, that just this kind of metastasis does not occur in the case of diphtheria. It reminds me rather of pyaemia.

It doesn't matter is a consolation. I believe it fits in as follows: The last part of the dream

organic origin it is not my duty to cure them My treatment of course removes only hysterical pains It seems to me in fact that I wish to find an error in the diagnosis for then I could not be reproached with failure to effect a cure

I take her to the window in order to look into her throat She resists a little like a woman who has false teeth I think to myself she does not need them I had never had occasion to inspect Irma s oral cavity The incident in the dream reminds me of an examination made some time before of a governess who at first produced an impression of youthful beauty but who upon opening her mouth took certain measures to conceal her denture Other memories of medical examinations and of petty secrets revealed by them to the embarrassment of both physician and patient associate themselves with this case — She surely does not need them is perhaps in the first place a compliment to Irma but I suspect yet another meaning In a careful analysis one is able to feel whether or not the *arrière pensées* which are to be expected have all been exhausted The way in which Irma stands at the window suddenly reminds me of another experience Irma has an intimate woman friend of whom I think very highly One evening on paying her a visit I found her at the window in the position reproduced in the dream and her physician the same Dr M declared that she had a *diphtheritic membrane The person of Dr M* and the membrane return indeed in the course of the dream Now it occurs to me that during *the past few months I have had every reason* to suppose that this lady too is hysterical Yes *Irma herself betrayed the fact to me But what do I know of her condition? Only the one* thing that like Irma in the dream she suffers from hysterical choking Thus in the dream I have replaced *my patient by her friend Now* I remember that I have often played with the supposition that this lady too might ask me to *relieve her of her symptoms But even at* the time I thought it improbable since she is extremely reserved She *resists* as the dream shows *Another explanation might be that she does not need it* in fact until now she has shown herself strong enough to master her condition without outside *help Now only a few* features remain which I can assign neither to Irma nor to her friend pale puffy false teeth The false teeth led *me to the governess* I now feel inclined to be satisfied with bad teeth. Here another person to whom these features may allude occurs to me She is not my patient and I do not wish her to be my patient, for I have noticed that she is not at her ease with me and I do not consider her a docile patient She is generally pale and once when she had not felt particularly well she was *puffy* I have *thus compared my patient* Irma with two others who would likewise resist treatment What is the meaning of the fact that I have exchanged her for her friend in the dream? Perhaps that I wish to exchan e her either her friend arouses in me stron er sympathies or I have a higher regard for her intelligence For I consider Irma foolish because she does not accept my solution The other woman would be more sensible and would thus be more likely to yield *The mouth then opens readily* she would tell more than Irma

What I see in the throat a white spot and scabby turbinal bones The white spot recalls diphtheria and thus Irma s friend but it also recalls the grave illness of my eldest daughter two years earlier and all the anxiety of that unhappy time The scab on the turbinal bones reminds me of my anxiety concerning my own health At that time I frequently used cocaine in order to suppress distressing swellings in the nose and I had heard a few days previously that a lady patient who did likewise had contracted an extensive necrosis of the nasal mucous membrane In 1885 it was I who had recommended the use of cocaine and I had been gravely reproached in consequence. A dear friend who had died before the date of this dream had hastened his end by the misuse of *this remedy*

I quickly call Dr M who repeats the examination This would simply correspond to the *position which M occupied among* us But the word *quickly* is striking enough to demand a special examination It reminds me of a sad *medical experience By continually* prescribing a drug (sulphonal) which at that time was still considered harmless I was once responsible *for a condition of acute poisoning* in the

Th mpl t f p the bdom s yet pl d m y lso be f d t th thi d person. It my w wf f c rs wh s q est n the bd m l p rem d m f of th occa o wh ch b hyn bec m d t t me I must dm t th t I d t t t Irm d my w f g ll tly i th s dre m b t l t it be a d i my de f ce that I m m g both f th m g in t the id l f th rag and docil f m l p t t ion

poisoned either The smell of fusel o l (amyl) has now apparently awakened my mem ory of th whole ser es p opyl, meth l tc. which furnished the preparatio of propyl men oned in the dream. Here indeed I ha e ef

chemistry

Trim th lam In the dream I see the chemical formula f thi sub tance—which at ll events is ev dence of a great eff rt on the part f my mem ry—a d the f rmula s even printed n hea y type as though t di tinguish it from the co text s something of particular importance And where does trim thylamin thu fo ced on my atte tion, lead me? To a con ersati n with an ther friend who fo years has bee famili r with all my g rminat ing deas a d I with his. At that time he had just inf rmed me of c rtain deas concerning a exual chemistry and had mentio ed among others, that h thought he h d found in trimeth ylamin one of the produ t f sexual metabolism This substance th s leads me t sexu ality the fact r to which I ttrib te th great est gnificance in respect of th n n f these nervous ff ct ons whi h I am trying to cure My pat ent Irm is y ung widow if I am requi ed to excuse my fail e t cur h I hall pe haps d best t r fe t th s o dition whi h h admirers would be glad t terminate. But in what a singula fa h o such dream is fitted to eth Th frie d wh in my dream be mes my patient in Irma s place is likewise a young widow

I surmise why t s that th formula f tri meth lamin is so in t tent in the dream So many important thi gs are centered about this one word trim thylamin is an allu not merely to the all important factor of sexuality but lso t friend whose sympathy I remem be w th satisf cti whene r I feel solated in my opini ns And thi friend who plays su h a large part in my lif will he not appe et again in the concatenat o of d as peculiar to th. dream? Of course he has a special kn wl edge f the result of affections of the nose and th nuses and has revealed to scien e everal highly remarkabl rel tions between th t binal bones and the female sexual gans (The three curl format ons in Irma throat) I g t him t xamine Irm in rd t d termine whethe her gastri pa ns were of nasal origin. But he himself suffers f om suppurat thin itis which gi es m concern, and to this pe haps there is an allusion in pyaemia which hovers before me in the metastasis of the dream

O e doesn't g ve such injections so ashly Here the reproach of ra hness is hurled di rectly at my friend Otto I believe I had some such thought in the afternoo when he seemed to nd c te, by word and look, that he had taken sides against me It was perhaps "How easily he is influenced how irrespons blv he pron unces judgment Further the above en te ce points once mo e to my decea ed friend who irrespon bl resort d to cocai e jec tions As I ha e said I had n t intended that injections of the dru hould be taken I note that n reproaching Otto I o ce more touch upon the story of the unf rtunate Matilda which was the pretext for the same reproach against me Here obvio ly I am collecting examples of my con cientiou ness and also of the reverse

An

morphia daily At present he is in the country and I ha e heard that he is sufferin from phl b tis I immediately thought that this might be a ca e f infiltration caused by a dirty syringe It s my p de that in tw years I ha e n t given h r ingle infiltration I am always careful of course to see that the syr inge s perfectly clean Fo I am conscientious From th phl b t s I return to my wife wh e suffered from thrombo during a period f pregnancy and n w three related tuations come to the urface in my memory in olvi g my wif Irma, and th dead Matilda whose identity has appa ntly ju tified my puttin thes three pers ns in o e another s places

I ha e now completed the terpretat n of th dre m In the course of this interpretati n I ha t ken great pains to a o d all th no- t ons which must have been su e ted by a ompari on f th dream-c t nt with the dre m th hts h dden behind this content. M wh le the *m a g* of the dream has dawned upo me I ha noted an intention which re lized thr h the d eam and which must ha e been my moti e in d eaming Th dream fulfill se ral wi hes whi h were awak e ed w thi m by the ev ts f the p vi us

Even f I have no as m gh be expected accou t- ed f verythin tha occurred to me in connecti with t e wo k f interp ta on.

has yielded a content to the effect that the patient s sufferings are the result of a serious organic affection I begin to suspect that by this I am only trying to shift the blame from myself Psychic treatment cannot be held responsible for the continued presence of a diphtheritic affection Now indeed I am distressed by the thought of having invented such a serious illness for Irma for the sole purpose of exculpating myself It seems so cruel Accordingly I need the assurance that the outcome will be benign and it seems to me that I made a good choice when I put the words that consoled me into the mouth of Dr M But here I am placing myself in a position of superiority to the dream a fact which needs explanation

But why is this consolation so nonsensical?

Dysentery Some sort of far fetched theoretical notion that the toxins of disease might be eliminated through the intestines Am I thereby trying to make fun of Dr M s remarkable store of far fetched explanations his habit of conceiving curious pathological relations? Dysentery suggests something else A few months ago I had in my care a young man who was suffering from remarkable intestinal troubles a case which had been treated by other colleagues as one of anaemia with malnutrition I realized that it was a case of hysteria I was unwilling to use my psycho therapy on him and sent him off on a sea voyage Now a few days previously I had received a despairing letter from him he wrote from Egypt saying that he had had a fresh attack which the doctor had declared to be dysentery I suspect that the diagnosis is merely an error on the part of an ignorant colleague who is allowing himself to be fooled by the hysteria yet I cannot help reproaching myself for putting the invalid in a position where he might contract some organic affection of the bowels in addition to his hysteria Furthermore dysentery sounds not unlike diphtheria a word which does not occur in the dream

Yes it must be the case that with the consoling prognosis *Dysentery will develop etc* I am making fun of Dr M for I recollect that years ago he once jestingly told a very similar story of a colleague He had been called in to consult with him in the case of a woman who was very seriously ill and he felt obliged to confront his colleague who seemed very hopeful with the fact that he found albumen in the patient s urine His colleague however did not allow this to worry him but answered calmly *That does not matter* my dear sir the albumen will soon be excreted! Thus I can no longer doubt that this part of the dream expresses derision for those of my colleagues who are ignorant of hysteria And as though in confirmation the thought enters my mind Does Dr M know that the appearances in Irma s friend his patient which gave him reason to fear tuberculosis are likewise due to hysteria? Has he recognized this hysteria, or has he allowed himself to be fooled?

But what can be my motive in treating this friend so badly? That is simple enough Dr M agrees with my solution as little as does Irma herself Thus in this dream I have already revenged myself on two persons on Irma in the words *If you still have pains it is your own fault* and on Dr M in the wording of the nonsensical consolation which has been put into his mouth

We know precisely how the infection originated This precise knowledge in the dream is remarkable Only a moment before this we did not yet know of the infection since it was first demonstrated by Leopold

My friend Otto gave her an injection not long ago when she was feeling unwell Otto had actually related during his short visit to Irma s family that he had been called in to a neighbouring hotel in order to give an injection to someone who had been suddenly taken ill Injections remind me once more of the unfortunate friend who poisoned himself with cocaine I had recommended the remedy for internal use only during the withdrawal of morphia but he immediately gave himself injections of cocaine

With a preparation of propyl propyls propionic acid How on earth did this occur to me? On the evening of the day after I had written the clinical history and dreamed about the case my wife opened a bottle of liqueur labelled Ananas which was a present from our friend Otto He had as a matter of fact a habit of making presents on every possible occasion I hope he will some day be cured of this by a wife This liqueur smelt so strongly of fusel oil that I refused to drink it My wife suggested We will give the bottle to the servants and I more prudent objected with the philanthropic remark They shan t be

A m h s m k bl ss nce w th th f m ly m f my p t t Irm

be innocent of Irma s illness, is nevertheless unmistakable

I do n t wish to assert that I have entirely revealed the mean..g of the dream, or that my interpret tion is flawless.

I could still spe d m ch time upon it I could draw further exp..nations from t, and discuss furthe problems which t seems to propound. I can even perceive the po..nts from which further mental associations migh be traced but such consid rations as are always invol ed in every dream of on s wn prevent me from interpreting t farther Those who are overready to co demn such reserve should make the xperiment of trying to be more s raigh forward. For the present I am cont nt with th one fresh disco ery which has just been made If t..e method of dream interpretation here indicated is fo owed t will be found that dreams d really possess a meaning a..d are by n means the expres..ion f a dis integrated cerebral activity as the writers on the subject would ha e us believe *When the work of in erpret ion has been ompieted the d am can be rec gn d a a wish fulfilment*

III THE DRE M AS WISH FULFILMENT

WHE fter pa..sing through a narrow defile, one suddenly reaches height beyo d which the ways part and a ri h prospect lies ou.spread in d..erent directions it is well to .op for a m ment and consider whether one shall turn next. We are in somewhat the sam position after w ha e mas red th.s first in rpretation of a dream. We fi d ourselves ta..din.. in the light of a sudden dis overy The dream is not comparable to th irregular sound.. of a musi cal in..trument which, nstead f bei.. pla ed by the hand f musici..n is struck by ome external f rce the dream is n t meaningless not bsurd, does not presuppose that on part of our ore of ideas is d rmant whil an ..her part begins to wake It is perf ctly valid psychi p..en menon, actually a wi..h-fulfil ment t ma be enr lled in the continuity f th intelligibl psychic ctivi ies f the waking ..ate it is built ..p by highly complicated in t.ectual cti ty But at the very moment when we are about t rejoice thi d..c ery a host of pr blems besets us. If the dream as this theory defines it, represents ful..lled wish, what is the cause of the striking and un familiar manner in which this fu..filment s expressed? What tran..form on has occurred in our dream-thoughts bef re the manifest dream as w remembe t on waking ..hapes itself out of them? How has this transforma tion taken place Whence comes the mater..l that is worked up into the dream? What causes many of the peculiarities which are to be ob served in our dream-thoughts for example how is t that they are able to contrad ct one another Is the dream capable of teachin us

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that for the present all these prob ems be ..a d asid and that a ngle path be pursued We have found that the dream represents a wi..h as fulfilled. Our next purpose should be to as certain whether this is a general characteri t c of dreams o whether t i only the accidental co..tent f the particular dream (the dream about Irma s injecti) with which we ha e begun our analys s for even if we conclud that every dream has a meanin.. and psychic val e, we must ne ertheless allow for the po ..bi ity that this meanin.. m y not be the same in every dream. The first dream which we ha e consid red was the fulfilment of a wi..h an ther ma t ra n t be the realization of an apprehen.. on a third may ha e a reflection as ..s co tent a fourth may ..imply reproduce a remini..cence Are there then dreams other than wish-d eams o.. are there none but wi..h dreams

It is easy t how that the wi..h fulfilmen in dreams is often und..guised a..d easy to recog nize so that o e may wo der why the language of dreams ha t lo..g sin e been understood There is for example a dream which I can evoke as ofte as I please experimentall as it were If in the eni.... I e t anchovies ol es, o oth r tro l salted food.. I am thirsty at n ght and theref re I wake The waking howeve .. preceded by a dream which h..s always the same co t t namely that I am drinking I ..m drinking l n.. draught of wat t tas es as delici us as only a cool drink can tast when on s throat is parched and then I wake and find that I ha an ctual desire t drink. The cause of thi dream is thirst which I perce e whe I wake. From this sensati n arises the wi..h t drink, and the dream hows me thi wi..h as fulfilled. It thereby serves a function the nature of wh ch I soon surmise I leep well, and m not accus tomed t bein.. waked by bo..ily eed. If I s cceed in appeasing my thirst b means f the dream that I am drinking I need t wake up in rde t satisfy that thirst. It is thus a

evening (Otto's news and the writing of the clinical history) For the result of the dream is that it is not I who am to blame for the pain which Irma is still suffering but that Otto is to blame for it Now Otto has annoyed me by his remark about Irma's imperfect cure the dream avenges me upon him in that it turns the reproach upon himself The dream acquits me of responsibility for Irma's condition as it refers this condition to other causes (which do indeed furnish quite a number of explanations) The dream represents a certain state of affairs such as I might wish to exist *the content of the dream is thus the fulfilment of a wish its motive is a wish*

This much is apparent at first sight But many other details of the dream become intelligible when regarded from the standpoint of wish fulfilment I take my revenge on Otto not merely for too readily taking sides against me in that I accuse him of careless medical treatment (the injection) but I revenge myself also for the bad liqueur which smells of fusel oil and I find an expression in the dream which unites both these reproaches the injection of a preparation of propyl Still I am not satisfied but continue to avenge myself by comparing him with his more reliable colleague Thereby I seem to say I like him better than you But Otto is not the only person who must be made to feel the weight of my anger I take my revenge on the disobedient patient by exchanging her for a more sensible and more docile one Nor do I pass over Dr M's contradiction for I express in an obvious allusion my opinion of him namely that his attitude in this case is that of an ignoramus (*Dysentery will develop etc*) Indeed it seems as though I were appealing from him to someone better informed (my friend who told me about trimethylamin) just as I have turned from Irma to her friend and from Otto to Leopold It is as though I were to say Rid me of these three persons replace them by three others of my own choice and I shall be rid of the reproaches which I am not willing to admit that I deserve! In my dream the unreasonableness of these reproaches is demonstrated for me in the most elaborate manner Irma's pains are not attributable to me since she herself is to blame for them in that she refuses to accept my solution They do not concern me for being as they are of an organic nature they cannot possibly be cured by psychic treatment Irma's sufferings are satisfactorily explained by her widowhood (trimethylamin!) a state which I cannot alter Irma's illness has been caused by an incautious injection administered by Otto an injection of an unsuitable drug such as I should never have administered Irma's complaint is the result of an injection made with an unclean syringe like the phlebitis of my old lady patient whereas my injections have never caused any ill effects I am aware that these explanations of Irma's illness which unite in acquitting me do not agree with one another that they even exclude one another The whole plea —for this dream is nothing else—recalls vividly the defence offered by a man who was accused by his neighbour of having returned a kettle in a damaged condition In the first place he had returned the kettle undamaged in the second place it already had holes in it when he borrowed it and in the third place he had never borrowed it at all A complicated defence but so much the better if only one of these three lines of defence is recognized as valid the man must be acquitted

Still other themes play a part in the dream and their relation to my non responsibility for Irma's illness is not so apparent my daughter's illness and that of a patient with the same name the harmfulness of cocaine the affection of my patient who was traveling in Egypt concern about the health of my wife my brother and Dr M my own physical troubles, and anxiety concerning my absent friend who is suffering from suppurative rhinitis But if I keep all these things in view they combine into a single train of thought which might be labelled Concern for the health of myself and others professional conscientiousness I recall a vaguely disagreeable feeling when Otto gave me the news of Irma's condition Lastly I am inclined after the event to find an expression of this fleeting sensation in the train of thoughts which forms part of the dream It is as though Otto had said to me You do not take your medical duties seriously enough you are not conscientious you do not perform what you promise Thereupon this train of thought placed itself at my service in order that I might give proof of my extreme conscientiousness of my intimate concern about the health of my relatives friends and patients Curiously enough there are also some painful memories in this material which confirm the blame attached to Otto rather than my own exculpation The material is apparently impartial but the connection between this broader material on which the dream is based and the more limited theme from which emerges the wish to

stopped. I can well imagine that she would have liked to enjoy her freedom a little longer before the discomforts of maternity began. It ... f giving notice of her first ...fe ...k ...is ...rst ...are one the young mother hope ... more enjoyment for the second child than she had for the first.

A young woman who for weeks had been cut off from all society because she was nursing a child who was suffering from an infectious disease dreamt, after the child had recovered, of a company of people in which Alphonse Daudet, Paul Bourget, Marcel Prevost and others were present; they were all very pleasant to her and amused her enormously. In her dream these different authors had the features which their portraits give them. M. Prevost, with whose portrait she is not familiar, looked like the man who had disinfected the sickroom the day before, the first outsider to enter it for a long time. Obviously the dream is to be translated thus: "It is about time now for something more entertaining than this eternal nursing."

Perhaps this collection will suffice to prove that frequently and under the most complex conditions dreams may be noted which can be understood only as wish fulfilments, and which present their content without concealment. In most cases these are short and simple dreams, and they stand in pleasant contrast to the confused and overloaded dream-compositions which have almost exclusively attracted the attention of the writers on the subject. But it will repay us if we give some time to the examination of these simple dreams. The simplest dreams of all are, I suppose, to be expected in the case of children whose psychic activities are certainly less complicated than those of adults. Child psychology, in my opinion, is destined to render the same services to the psychology of adults as a study of the structure or development of the lower animals renders to the investigation of the structure of the higher orders of animals. Hitherto but few deliberate efforts have been made to make use of the psychology of the child for such purpose.

The dreams of little children are often simple fulfilments of wishes, and for this reason are, as compared with the dreams of adults, by no means interesting. They present no problem to be solved, but they are invaluable as affording proof that the dream, in its inmost essence, is the fulfilment of a wish. I have been able to collect several examples of such dreams from the material furnished by my own children.

For two dreams, one that of a daughter of mine, at that time eight and a half years of age, and the other that of a boy of five and a quarter, I am indebted to an excursion to Hallstatt in the summer of 1896. I must first explain that we were living that summer on a hill near Aussee, from which, when the weather was fine, we enjoyed a splendid view of the Dachstein. With a telescope we could easily distinguish the Simony hut. The children often tried to see it through the telescope—I do not know with what success. Before the excursion I had told the children that Hallstatt lay at the foot of the Dachstein. They looked forward to the outing with the greatest delight. From Hallstatt we entered the valley of Eschern, which enchanted the children with its constantly changing scenery. One of them, however, the boy of five, gradually became discontented. As often as a mountain came into view he would ask: "Is that the Dachstein?" whereupon I had to reply: "No, only a foot-hill." After this question had been repeated several times he fell quite silent, and did not wish to accompany us up the steps leading to the waterfall. I thought he was tired. But the next morning he came to me perfectly happy, and said: "Last night I dreamt that we went to the Simony hut." I understood him now; he had expected, when I spoke of the Dachstein, that on our excursion to Hallstatt he would climb the mountain, and would see at close quarters the hut which had been so often mentioned when the telescope was used. When he learned that he was expected to content himself with foot-hills and a waterfall he was disappointed and became discontented. But the dream compensated him for all this. I tried to learn some details of the dream; they were scanty. "You ... a h... h...d been told."

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quite a polished little gentleman, who, it seemed to me, had already won the little woman's sympathies. Next morning she related the following dream: "Just think, I dreamt that Emil was one of the family, that he said 'papa' and 'mamma' to you, and slept ... our house in the living room, like one of the boys. Then mamma

dream of convenience The dream takes the place of action as elsewhere in life Unfortu nately the need of water to quench the thirst cannot be satisfied by a dream as can my thirst for revenge upon Otto and Dr M but the intention is the same Not long ago I had the same dream in a somewhat modified form On this occasion I felt thirsty before going to bed and emptied the glass of water which stood on the little chest beside my bed Some hours later during the night my thirst re turned with the consequent discomfort In or der to obtain water I should have had to get up and fetch the glass which stood on my wife s bed table I thus quite appropriately dreamt that my wife was giving me a drink from a vase this vase was an Etruscan ciner ary urn which I had brought home from Italy and had since given away But the water in it tasted so salt (apparently on account of the ashes) that I was forced to wake It may be observed how conveniently the dream is capa ble of arranging matters Since the fulfilment of a wish is its only purpose it may be per fectly egoistic Love of comfort is really not compatible with consideration for others The introduction of the cinerary urn is probably once again the fulfilment of a wish I regret that I no lon er possess this vase it like the glass of water at my wife s side is inaccessible to me The cinerary urn is appropriate also in connection with the sensation of an increas ingly salty taste which I know will compel me to wake

Such convenience dreams came very fre quently to me in my youth Accustomed as I had always been to working until late at night early waking was always a matter of difficulty I used then to dream that I was out of bed and standing at the wash tand After a while I could no longer shut out the knowledge that I was not yet up but in the meantime I had continued to leep The same sort of lethargy dream was dreamed by a young colleague of mine who appears to share my propensity for sleep With him it assumed a particularly amus ing form The landlady with whom he was lodging in the neighbourhood of the hospital had strict orders to wake him every mornin at a given hour but she found it by no means easy to carry out his orders One mornin sleep was especially sweet to him The woman called into his room Herr Pepi get up you ve got to go to the hospital Whereupon the sleeper dreamt of a room in the ho pital of a bed in which he was lying and of a chart pinned over his head which read as follows Pepi M medical student 22 years of age He told himself in the dream If I am already at the hospital I don t have to go there turned over and slept on He had thus frankly ad mitted to himself his motive for dreaming

Here is yet another dream of which the stim ulus was active during sleep One of my women patients who had been obliged to undergo an unsuccessful operation on the jaw was in structed by her physicians to wear by day and night a cooling apparatus on the affected cheek but she was in the habit of throwing it off as soon as she had fallen asleep One day I was asked to reprove her for doing so she had again thrown the apparatus on the floor The patient defended herself as follows This time I really couldn t help it it was the result of a dream which I had during the night In the dream I was in a box at the opera and was taking a lively interest in the performance But Herr Karl Meyer was lyin in the sanatorium and complaining pitifully on account of pains in his jaw I said to myself Since I haven t the pains I don t need the apparatus either that s why I threw it away The dream of this poor sufferer reminds me of an expression which comes to our lips when we are in a disagreeable situation Well I can imagine more amusing things! The dream presents these more amus ing things! Herr Karl Meyer to whom the dreamer attributed her pains was the most casual acquaintance of whom she could think

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who was acquainted with my theory of dreams and had explained it to his wife said to me one day My wife asked me to tell you that he dreamt yesterday that she was having her men ses You will know what that means Of course I know if the young wife dreams that she is having her menses the menses have

for the child. Here is a second example My nephew twenty two months of age had been instructed to congratul te me on my birthday and to gi e me a present of small ba ket of cherries wh ch at that time of the year were scarce bein hardly in sea on He seemed to find the ta k a difficult one f r he repeated again and again Cherries in it and could not be induced to l t the littl bask t go o t of his hands But he knew how to indemnify himself He had until then been in the hab t of t lling his mother every m rning that he had dreamt f the 'white soldie an officer f the guard in a white cloak whom he had o c dmired in the street. On the day after the sacrific o my birthday he w ke up joy fully with the announcement, which could ha e ref rred only t a dream *He [ ] man eaten all the cherries!"*

What animals d eam of I do ot know A proverb for which I am indebted t o of my pupils p fesses to tell us f r it a ks the ques tio What does the goo e dream of? and an wers Of maiz The whole theory that the dream s the fulfilment of a wi h is con tained in these two sentences

We now pe ceive that we hould ha e reached our theory f the hidden meaning of dreams by the sh rtest rout had we merely c nsult d the vernacular Prov rbial wisdom t is true often peaks co temptuou ly enough of dreams—it apparentl seeks to justify the scientists when it says that dreams are bubbles but in colloquial language the dream is predominantly th gracious fulfiller f wishes I should never ha e imagined that in my wildest dream we exclaim in delight if we find that the reality surpasses our expectations

IV DISTORTION IN DREAMS

IF I now declare that wish fulfilment s the meani g f *every* dream, so that there cannot

A m re searching investigatio into the phychic lif f the child teaches us f course, tha sexu l moti es, in infantile f rms, pl y very considerable part, hich ha been too lon verlooked in the psy ch ccrn of the child. This permits us to doub to some exten the happ ness f the child as m gined later by adults. Cf *Three C ib tio t he Theory f Se*

I should be men oned tha young children f en have more compl nd bscure dreams hile on the be hand, ad lts in certain circumstances f en ha dreams f simpl and infan le haracte How rich in unsu pected conte the dream of childre no m re than fou or fi years f age ma be is shown by the ex m les in m Analysi f Phobia in five-yea old Boy *Col ted P per* III nd J g Expe ences Concern n the Psychic Lif f the Child transl ted by B ll, *Amer Journal f P ychol gy* Ap l 9 F nalytically interpreted dreams children see lso von H g H llm th Putnam, Raalte pielrein d T usk thers by B nchieri Buseman Doglia and especially W gam who mphasizes th wish f lfilli g t ndency f uch dreams. On the ther hand seems tha dream f f il type reappea w th espec l f eq ncy dult who re transf rred in th m d t f f milia co d s. Thus Ot N rdenskjold in his book *A tar ic (* 4 vol i, p 336) w tes as f ll ws f the crew wh spent be inte w th h m V ry chara risti f the trend f our i most tho h were dre ms whi h were nev m re vid nd more merous Even those f comrades w th hom dream g was f rm rly ex cep nal had lo g tories t ll in the morn when we ch ged xperiences in th wo ld f pha They all had ref rence that outs d w rld bu they ften ... dreams h h I myself dreamed hea d ... been f was qui riking. It would certa ly ha been of great psych logical rest if ll these dreams co ld have been recorded. B ne can readily d rstand how lo ged f sleep Tha al ne could ff rd us ev ryth g that w ll most dently desired I w'll co by q tati from D Prel (p 3) M g P k nea ly dying f thirst ne f h Af ica xped on dreamed constantly f the well wat red valleys and me dows f his h me S mil rly Tre k tortured by hunge In the f rtress f M gdeb rg saw himself surrounded by cop ous meals. And George B ck membe f Frankl first xped whe he wa the poin f death by tarva on d eamed contin ally d invariably f pl teous meals.

A Hungarian proverb ci ed by F renczi tates m re expl tly that th p g dreams f corns the goose f maize A J wish p verb asks 'Of wha does the hen dream —'Of millet' (*S mmlung jud Sprichw Reden arten* edit. by B rnst in nd ed., p 6)

I am far from wishi g assert that prev ous writ has ve thought f tracing dream to wish. (Cf th firs passages f th chapte) Those terested in the subject will find tha ve q y ...

came into the *room and* threw *a handful* of big bars of chocolate wrapped in blue and green paper under our beds The girl s brothers who evidently had not inherited an understanding of dream interpretation declared just as the writers we have quoted would have done That dream is nonsense The girl de*fended at least one part of the dream and from* the standpoint of the theory of the neuroses it is interesting to learn which part it was that she defended That Emil was one of the family was nonsense but that about the bars of chocolate wasn t It was just this latter part that was obscure to me until my wife furnished *the explanation* On the *way home from the* railway station the children had stopped in front of a slot machine and had wanted ex*actly* such bars of chocolate wrapped in paper with a metallic lustre such as the machine in their experience provided But the mother thought and rightly so that the day had brought them enough wish *fulfilments* and therefore left this wish to be satisfied in the dream This little scene had escaped me That *portion of the dream which had been con*demned by my daughter I understood without any difficulty I myself had heard the well behaved *little* guest enjoining the children as they were walking ahead of us to wait until papa or mamma had come up For the little girl the dream turned this temporary relationship into a permanent adoption Her affection could not as yet conceive of any other way of enjoying her friend s company perma*nently* ~ d n h d am

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bars o

could *not* of cour e be *explained without* questioning the child

From a friend I have learned of a dream very much like that of my *little* boy *It* was dreamed by a little girl of eight Her father accompanied by several children had started on a walk to Dornbach with the intention of visiting the Rohrer hut but had turned back as it was growing late promising the children to take them some other time On the way back they passed a signpost which pointed to the Hameau The children now asked him to take them to the Hameau but once more and *for the* same reason they had to be content with the promise that they should go there some other day Next morning the little girl went to her *father* and told him with a satisfied air

Papa I dreamed last night that you were with us at the Rohrer hut and on the Hameau *Thus in the dream her* impatience had anticipated the fulfilment of the promise made by her father

Another dream with which the picturesque beauty of the Aus *ee inspired my daughter* at that time three and a quarter years of age is equally straightforward The little girl had crossed *the lake for the first time* and *the trip* had passed too quickly for her She did not want to leave the boat at the landing and cried bitterly The next mornin she told us *Last night* I was *sailing on the lake* Let us hope that the duration of this dream voyage was more satisfactory to her

My eldest boy at that time eight years *of* age was already dreaming of the realization of his fancies He had ridden in a chariot with Achilles with Diomedes as charioteer On the

children in their sleep belongs to the phere o dreams I can relate the following as one of the earliest dreams in my collection My youn est daughter at that time nineteen months old vomited one morning and was therefore kept without food all day During the night she was *heard to call excitedly in her sleep* Anna F(r)eud *St awbewy wild st au bewy om lette pap!* She used her name in this way in order to express the act of appropriation *the menu* presumably included everything that would seem to her a desirable meal the fact that two varieties of strawberry appeared in it w s *a demonstration against the sanitary* regulations of the household and was based on the circumstance which she had by no means overlooked that the nurse had ascribed *her indis*position to an over plentiful consumption of strawberries so in her dream she avenged her elf for this opinion which met with her *disapproval*

When we call childhood happy because it does not yet know sexual desire we mu t not forget what a *fruitful source of disappointment* and renunciation and therefore of dream stimulation the other great vital impulse may be

Th d m lt rw d mpl hed th sam p *pose i* tl e c se f th h ld g dm th wh is th ch ld b bo t se ty y rs Aft ts f f f

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consulted, several pos bl olutions might sug gest themsel es for example that d ring sleep n is incapable of finding an dequate ex pressi for one s dre m thoughts The anal ysis of certain dreams however compels us to off r anoth r explanat o I shall d mon trate this by means of second dream of my own, which again invol es num rous indiscret ons but which compe sates f r this personal sacri fic by affording a thorough lucidation of the problem.

P l m nary Statement

In the spring of 189 I learnt that two professors of ur uni ersity had p oposed me for the t tle of *P of ssor Ext aord narius* (as stant pr fesso) The n ws came as a surprise to me and pleased m co d rably as an express on f appre iati o the part f two eminent men which c uld not be explained by perso al int rest B t I t ld m self mmediately that I mu t not xpect anything to ome of their proposal. F me ears pa t the Ministry had di regarded such p oposals a d several col leagues f mine who were my senio s and at least my equals n desert had been wa ting in ain all this time for th appointment I had no reaso to suppose that I sho ld fare any bett r I resol ed theref re to resign myself to disappointm t I am t so far as I know amb tious and I was f llowing my profession with gratif ing s es eve with t th rec ommend ti of a profess nal title. Whether I c n de ed the grapes to be sweet o sour did not matter inc they undoubtedly hung too high f r m

One evening a friend of mine called to see m e f th se olleagues whose fate I had regarded as warning As h had l n been a candidate for prom ti t the professorate (whi h in our societ makes the doctor a dem god to his patients) and h was les resigned than I h w accustomed f m tim t time t remind the auth rities of his laims in the hope f ad ancing hi interests. It was after one f these isits that h called m He said that th time h had driven th xalted gentleman into corner and had a ked him frankly wheth r cons derations f religious d nomination were t really responsible for th po tpo em t of his ppointm t. The answer was His Ex llency had to dmit that in the present st t of publi opinio he was n t in a pos t on etc Now at least I know where I stand, my friend concluded his narrative which told me nothi g new but which was calculated t confirm me in my res gnation For the same denominational considerations would apply to my own case

On the morning after my friend s visit I had the following dream which was notable also on account of its f rm. It cons sted of two thoughts and two images o that a thought and an image emerged alternately But here I shall record only the first half of th dream since th second half has no relation to the purpose for which I cite th dream

I *My friend R is my uncle—I have a great affect on for h m*

II *I s e before me his face somewhat altered It seems to be elongated a yellow beard wh ch surr u ds it is seen with pecul ar dist ct ess*

Th n follow the othe two portions of the dream again a thought and an image which I omit.

The interpretati n of this dream was arri ed at in the follow ng manner

Wh I recollected the dream in the course of the morning I la hed outright and sa d 'The dream is non ense But I co ld not get it ut of my mind and I was pursued by it all day until at last n the eve n I reproached myself in these words If in the course of a dream interp etat on on of yo r pat ents could find nothing better to ay than 'That is nonsense yo w ld reprove him and you would su pect that behind the dream th re was hidden ome disagreeable ffair the expo u e of which h wanted to pare himself Apply th same thin to your own case your op nion that the dream is nonsense p obably signifies merely an nne re i tance to its interpretat n Do t let yours lf be put off I th n proceeded with the interpretation

R is my uncle What can that mean? I had only e uncl my uncle Joseph. His tory to be sure was a sad one Once m re than thirty years a o hoping t make money he allowed himself t be in l ed in transactions of a kind which th law punishes sev rely and pa d th penalty My f the whose hair t rned grey with gri f within a few days used always to say that uncle Joseph had ever been bad man b t fter all he wa a mpleton If then my friend R is my uncle Joseph, that is

I Is onish g t see how my mem ry here re ricts tself—in the wak g tate —f the purposes f anal is I ha e k own fi e I my les nd I l ved and ho red ne f them. B the momen when I vercame my res tance to the interpreta on f the dre m I said to m self I have ly one ncle the one who is in ended in the dream.

be any dreams other than wish dreams I know beforehand that I shall meet with the mo t emphatic contradiction My critics will object The fact that there are dreams which are to be understood as fulfilments of wishes is not new but has long since been recognized by such writers as Radestock Volkelt Purkinje Griesinger and others That there *can* be no other dreams than those of wish fulfilments is yet one more unjustified generalization which fortunately can be easily refuted Dreams which present the most painful content and *not the least trace of wish fulfilment* occur frequently enough The pessimistic philosopher Eduard von Hartmann is perhaps most completely opposed to the theory of wish fulfilment In his *Philosophy of the Unconscious* Part II (*Stereotyped German edition* p 344) he says As regards the dream with it all the troubles of waking life pass over into the sleeping state all save the one thing which may in some degree reconcile the cultured per on with *life—scientific and artistic enjoyment*

But even less pessimistic observers have emphasized the fact that in our dreams pain and disgust are more frequent than pleasure (Scholz p 33 *Volkelt* p 80 *et al*) Two ladies Sarah Weed and Florence Hallam have even worked out on the basis of their dreams a numerical value for the preponderance of distress and discomfort in dreams They find *that 58 per cent of dreams are disagreeable* and only 28 6 positively pleasant Besides those dreams that convey into our sleep the many painful emotions of life there are also anxiety dreams in which this most terrible of all the painful emotions torments us until we wake Now it is precisely by these anxiety dreams that children are so often haunted (cf Debacker on *Pavor nocturnus*) and yet it was *in children that you found the wish fulfilment* dream in its most obvious form

The anxiety dream does really seem to preclude a generalization of the thesis deduced from the examples *given in the last chapter* that dreams are wish fulfilments and even to

parry these

It is merely

neces ary to observe tu u trine is not based upon the estimates of the obvious dream content but relates to the thought content which in the course of interpretation *is found* to lie behind the dream Let us compare and contrast the *manifest* and the *latent dream content* It is true that there are dreams the manifest content of which is of the most painful nature But has anyone ever tried to interpret these dreams—to discover their latent thought content? If not the two objections to *our doctrine* are no longer valid for there is always the possibility that even our painful and terrifying dreams may upon interpretation prove to be wish fulfilments

In scientific research it is often advantageous if the solution of one problem presents difficulties to add to it a second problem just as it is easier to crack two nuts together instead of separately Thus we are confronted not only with the problem How can painful and *terrifying dreams be the fulfilments of wishes*? but we may add to this a second problem which arises from the foregoing discussion of the general problem of the dream Why do not the dreams that show an indifferent content *and yet turn out to be wish fulfilments* reveal their meaning without disguise? Take the exhaustively treated dream of Irma s injection it is by no means of a painful character and *it may be recognized upon interpretation* as a striking wish fulfilment But why is an interpretation necessary at all? Why does not the dream say directly what it means? As a matter of fact the dream of Irma s injection *does not at first produce the impression* that it represents a wish of the dreamer s as fulfilled The reader will not have received this impression and even I myself was not aware of the *fact until I had undertaken the analysis* If we call this peculiarity of dreams—namely that they need elucidation — the phenomenon of distortion in dreams a second question then arises What i the origin of this *distortion* in dreams?

If one s first thoughts on this subject were

Already Plot u the neo *Pl t t* d Wh d re best rs tself the om ph t sy d pres t to s as t we th bject of des re (*D P el p* 276)

It q t d ble w th wh t b t acy d rs a d t h e l ded th o d t d ds reg d d th f d m t l d ff ti t n b twee the t d m-co t t Noth g the t my S lly's eca se f ll th t the first m y d m t th tt se th y h ve bee sa d t be by h a th t es a Cha ce Sh k pe a d M lt Th h t gg g t f u ght f cy h *s g* fica a d mm cat w k wledge Lik m l tt lph th d m l sc pt when *ruti zed* I ly l se ts fi t look f b ld d h a d takes o th pe t f se i us i tell gibl message *O t ry th figu l ghtly w m y s y* that l ke m p l mpsest th d m d scl ses be th its wo th less f -ch t *traces* f ld a d *precious* comm icat (p 364)

express my affection for him in terms approaching the degree of affection which I felt in the dream, he would undoubtedly be surprised. My affection, if it was for him, seems false and exaggerated, as does my judgment of his intellectual qualities which I expressed by merging his personality in that of my uncle, but exaggerated in the opposite direction. Now, however, a new state of affairs dawns upon me. The affection in the dream does not belong to the latent content, to the thoughts behind the dream; it stands in opposition to this content; it is calculated to conceal the knowledge conveyed by the interpretation. Probably this is precisely its function. I remember with what reluctance I undertook the interpretation, how long I tried to postpone it, and how I declared the dream to be sheer nonsense. I know from my psycho-analytic practice how such condemnation is to be interpreted. It has no informative value, but merely expresses an affect. If my little daughter does not like an apple which is offered her, she asserts that the apple is bitter without even tasting it. If my patients behave thus, I know that we are dealing with an idea which they are trying to repress. The same thing applies to my dream. I do not want to interpret it because there is something in the interpretation to which I object. After the interpretation of the dream is completed, I discover what it was to which I objected; it was the assertion that R is a simpleton. I can refer the affection which I feel for R not to the latent dream-thoughts, but rather to this unwillingness of mine. If my dream, as compared with its latent content, is disguised at this point, and actually misrepresents things by producing their opposites, then the manifest affection in the dream serves the purpose of the misrepresentation; in other words, the distortion is here shown to be intentional—it is a means of *disguise*. My dream-thoughts of R are derogatory, and so that I may not become aware of this the very opposite of derogation—a tender affection for him—enters into the dream.

This discovery may prove to be generally valid. As the examples in Chapter III have demonstrated, there are, of course, dreams which are undisguised wish-fulfilments. Wherever a wish-fulfilment is unrecognizable and disguised there must be present a tendency to defend oneself against this wish, and in consequence of this defence the wish is unable to express itself save in a distorted form. I will try to find a parallel in social life to this occurrence in the inner psychic life. Where in social life can a similar misrepresentation be found? Only where two persons are concerned, one of whom possesses a certain power while the other has to act with a certain consideration on account of this power. The second person will then distort his psychic actions, or, as we say, he will mask himself. The politeness which I practise every day is largely a disguise of this kind; if I interpret my dreams for the benefit of my readers I am forced to make misrepresentations of this kind. The poet even complains of the necessity of such misrepresentation: *Das Beste was du wissen kannst, darfst du den Buben doch nicht sagen.* "The best that thou canst know thou mayst not tell to boys."

The political writer who has unpleasant truths to tell to those in power finds himself in a like position. If he tells everything without reserve, the Government will suppress them—retrospectively in the case of a verbal expression of opinion, preventively if they are to be published in the Press. The writer stands in fear of the censorship; he therefore moderates and disguises the expression of his opinions. He finds himself compelled, in accordance with the sensibilities of the censor, either to refrain altogether from certain forms of attack, or to express himself in allusions instead of by direct assertions; or he must conceal his objectionable statement in an apparently innocent disguise. He may, for instance, tell of a contretemps between two Chinese mandarins, while he really has in mind the officials of his own country. The stricter the domination of the censorship, the more thorough becomes the disguise, and, often enough, the more ingenious the means employed to put the reader on the track of the actual meaning.

The detailed correspondence between the phenomena of censorship and the phenomena of dream-distortion justifies us in presupposing similar conditions for both. We should then assume that in every human being there exist, as the primary cause of dream formation, two psychic forces (tendencies or systems), one of which forms the wish expressed by the dream, while the other exercises a censorship over this dream-wish, thereby enforcing on it a distortion. The question is: What is the nature of the authority of this second agency by virtue of which it is able to exercise its censorship? If we remember that the latent dream-thoughts are not conscious before analysis, but that the manifest dream-content emerging from them is consciously remembered, it is not a far

equivalent to saying R is a simpleton Hardly credible and very disagreeable! But there is the face that I saw in the dream with its elongated features and its yellow beard My uncle actually had such a face—long and framed in a handsome yellow beard My friend R was extremely swarthy but when black haired people begin to grow grey they pay for the glory of their youth Their black beards undergo an unpleasant change of colour hair by hair first they turn a reddish brown then a yellowish brown and then definitely grey My friend R s beard is now in this stage so for that matter is my own a fact which I note with regret The face that I see in my dream is at once that of my friend R and that of my uncle It is like one of those composite photographs of Galton s in order to emphasize family resemblances Galton had several faces photographed on the same plate No doubt is now possible it is really my opinion that my friend R is a simpleton—like my uncle Joseph

I have still no idea for what purpose I have worked out this relationship It is certainly one to which I must unreservedly object Yet it is not very profound for my uncle was a criminal and my friend R is not except in so far as he was once fined for knocking down an apprentice with his bicycle Can I be thinking of this offence? That would make the comparison ridiculous Here I recollect another conversation which I had some days ago with another colleague N as a matter of fact on the same subject I met N in the street he too has been nominated for a professorship and having heard that I had been similarly honoured he congratulated me I refused his congratulations saying You are the last man to jest about the matter for you know from your own experience what the nomination is worth Thereupon he said though probably not in earnest You can t be sure of that There is a special objection in my case Don t you know that a woman once brou ht a criminal accusation against me? I need hardly assure you that the matter was put right It was a mean attempt at blackmail and it was all I could do to save the plaintiff from punishment But it may be that the affair is remembered against me at the Ministry You on the other hand are above reproach Here then I have the criminal and at the same time the interpretation and tendency of my dream My uncle Joseph repre ents both of my colleagues who have not been appointed to the professorship—the one as a simpleton the other as a criminal Now too I know for what purpose I need this representation If denominational considerations are a determining factor in the po tponement of my two friends appointment then my own appointment is likewise in jeopardy But if I can refer the rejection of my two friends to other causes which do not apply to my own case my hopes are unaffected This is the procedure followed by my dream it makes the one friend R a simpleton and the other N a criminal But since I am neither one nor the other there is nothing in common between us I have a right to enjoy my appointment to the title of professor and have avoided the distressing application to my own case of the information which the official gave to my friend R

I must pursue the interpretation of this dream still farther for I have a feeling that it is not yet satisfactorily elucidated I still feel disquieted by the ease with which I have degraded two respected colleagues in order to clear my own way to the professorship My dissatisfaction with this procedure has of course been mitigated since I have learned to estimate the testimony of dreams at its true value I should contradict anyone who su gested that I really considered R a simpleton or that I did not believe N s account of the blackmailing incident And of cour e I do not believe that Irma has been made seriously ill by an injection of a preparation of propyl administered by Otto Here as before what the dream expresses is only my *wish that things might be so* The statement in which my wish is realized sounds less absurd in the second dream than in the first it is here made with a skilful use of actual points of support in establishing something like a plausible lander one of which one could say that there is something in it For at that time my friend R had to contend with the adverse vote of a university professor of his own department and my friend N had himself all unsuspectingly provided me with material for the calumny Nevertheless I repeat it still seems to me that the dream requires further elucidation

I remember now that the dream contained yet another portion which has hitherto been ignored by the interpretation After it occurred to me that my friend R was my uncle I felt in the dream a great affection for him To whom is this feeling directed? For my uncle Jo eph, of course I have never had any feelings of affection R has for many years been a dearly loved friend but if I were to go to him and

are several examples of the sort of dream-material which is offered in refutation of my theory.

"You are always saying that a dream is a wish fulfilled," begins an intelligent lady patient. "Now I shall tell you a dream in which the content is quite the opposite, in which a wish of mine is not fulfilled. How do you reconcile that with your theory? The dream was as follows: *I want to give a supper, but I have nothing available except some smoked salmon. I think I will go shopping, but I remember that it is Sunday afternoon, when all the shops are closed. I then try to ring up a few caterers, but the telephone is out of order. Accordingly I have to renounce my desire to give a supper.*"

I reply, of course, that only the analysis can decide the meaning of this dream, although I admit that at first sight it seems sensible and coherent, and looks like the opposite of a wish-fulfilment. "But what occurrence gave rise to this dream?" I ask. "You know that the stimulus of a dream always lies among the experiences of the preceding day."

Analysis

The patient's husband, an honest and capable wholesale butcher, had told her the day before that he was growing too fat, and that he meant to undergo treatment for obesity. He would rise early, take physical exercise, keep to a strict diet, and above all accept no more invitations to supper. She proceeds jestingly to relate how her husband, at a *table d'hôte*, had made the acquaintance of an artist, who insisted upon painting his portrait, because he, the painter, had never seen such an expressive head. But her husband had answered in his downright fashion, that while he was much obliged, he would rather not be painted, and he was quite convinced that a bit of a pretty girl's posterior would please the artist better than his whole face.[1] She is very much in love with her husband, and teases him a good deal. She has asked him not to give her any caviar. What can that mean?

As a matter of fact, she had wanted for a long time to eat a caviar sandwich every morning, but had grudged the expense. Of course she would get the caviar from her husband at once if she asked for it. But she has, on the contrary, begged him not to give her any caviar, so that she might tease him about it a little longer.

(To me this explanation seems thin. Unconfessed motives are wont to conceal themselves behind just such unsatisfying explanations. We are reminded of the subjects hypnotized by Bernheim, who carried out a post-hypnotic order, and who, on being questioned as to their motives, instead of answering: "I do not know why I did that," had to invent a reason that was obviously inadequate. There is probably something similar to this in the case of my patient's caviar. I see that in waking life she is compelled to invent an unfulfilled wish. Her dream also shows the non-fulfilment of her wish. But why does she need an unfulfilled wish?)

The ideas elicited so far are insufficient for the interpretation of the dream. I press for more. After a short pause, which corresponds to the overcoming of a resistance, she reports that the day before she had paid a visit to a friend of whom she is really jealous because her husband is always praising this lady so highly. Fortunately, this friend is very thin and lanky, and her husband likes full figures. Now of what did this thin friend speak? Of course *of her wish to become rather plumper.* She also asked my patient: "When are you going to invite us again? You always have such good food."

Now the meaning of the dream is clear. I am able to tell the patient: "It is just as though you had thought at the moment of her asking you: 'Of course, I'm to invite you so that you can eat at my house and get fat and become still more pleasing to my husband! I would rather give no more suppers!' The dream then tells you that you cannot give a supper, thereby fulfilling your wish not to contribute anything to the rounding out of your friend's figure. Your husband's resolution to accept no more invitations to supper in order that he may grow thin teaches you that one grows fat on food eaten in other people's houses." Nothing is lacking now but some sort of coincidence which will confirm the solution. The smoked salmon in the dream has not yet been traced.—"How did you come to think of salmon in your dream?" "Smoked salmon is my friend's favourite dish," she replied. *It happens that I know the lady, and am able to affirm that she grudges herself salmon just as my patient grudges herself caviar.*

This dream admits of yet another and more exact interpretation—one which is actually necessitated only by a subsidiary circumstance.

[1] To sit for the painter.
Goethe: "And if he has no backside,
How can the nobleman sit?"

fetched assumption that admittance to the consciousness is the prerogative of the second agency Nothing can reach the consciousness from the first system which has not previously passed the second instance and the second instance lets nothing pass without exercising its rights and forcing such modifications as are pleasing to itself upon the candidates for admission to consciousness Here we arrive at a very definite conception of the *essence* of consciousness for us the state of becoming conscious is a special psychic act different from and independent of the process of becoming fixed or represented and consciousness appears to us as a sensory organ which perceives a content proceedin from another source It may be shown that psycho pathology simply cannot dispense with these fundamental assumptions But we shall reserve for another time a more exhaustive examination of the subject

If I bear in mind the notion of the two psychic instances and their relation to the consciousness I find in the sphere of politics a perfectly appropriate analogy to the extraordinary affection which I feel for my friend R who is so disparaged in the dream interpretation I refer to the political life of a State in which the ruler jealous of his rights and an active public opinion are in mutual conflict The people protesting against the actions of an unpopular official demand his dismissal The autocrat on the other hand in order to show his contempt for the popular will may then deliberately confer upon the official some exceptional distinction which otherwise would not have been conferred Similarly my second instance controlling the access to my consciousness distinguishes my friend R with a rush of extraordinary affection because the wish tendencies of the first system in view of a particular interest on which they are just then intent would like to disparage him as a simpleton

We may now perhaps begin to suspect that dream interpretation is capable of yielding information concerning the structure of our psychic apparatus which we have hitherto vainly expected from philosophy We shall not however follow up this trail but shall return to our original problem as soon as we have elucidated the problem of dream distortion The question arose how dreams with a disagreeable content can be analysed as wish fulfillments We see now that this is possible where a dream distortion has occurred when the disagreeable content serves only to disguise the thing wished for With regard to our assumptions respecting the two psychic instances we can now also say that disagreeable dreams contain as a matter of fact something which is disagreeable to the second instance but which at the same time fulfills a wish of the first instance They are wish dreams in so far as every dream emanates from the first instance while the second instance behaves towards the dream only in a defensive not in a constructive manner Were we to limit ourselves to a consideration of what the second instance contributes to the dream we should never understand the dream and all the problems which the writers on the subject have discovered in the dream would have to remain unsolved

That the dream actually has a secret meaning which proves to be a wish fulfillment must be proved afresh in every case by analysis I will therefore select a few dreams which have painful contents and endeavour to analyse them Some of them are dreams of hysterical subjects which therefore call for a long preliminary statement and in some passages an examination of the psychic processes occurring in hysteria This though it will complicate the presentation is unavoidable

When I treat a psychoneurotic patient analytically his dreams regularly as I have said become a theme of our conversations I must therefore give him all the psychological explanations with whose aid I myself have succeeded in understanding his symptoms And here I encounter unsparing criticism which is perhaps no less shrewd than that which I have to expect from my colleagues With perfect uniformity my patients contradict the doctrine that dreams are the fulfillments of wishes Here

S h hypoc t c l d m a t rar e th w th m o w th th s Wh l I h e bee w k g t e t e t fi p bl m I h be t d f l ghts at q t sho t t rv l by s m wh t f g d m wh ch h a ts t t re l tt w th f e d d opped l g g Aft th e f r att mpts I fi lly s e d d g p g th m g f th s d eam It wa th t f g m t t g e p th m t f g fo th f ee f m h its t th s dre m w of th d m d m (T past umes Z u j P y h ly \ l l

N III [9]) A th l f hypoc t l d m w'll be ec d d the pl D — w f

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"Yo are always savin that a dream is a w h fulfilled begins an intelligent lady pa

as follows *I want to give a supper but ... nothing available except some smok d salmo I th k I will g shoppi g but I emember tha. t is S nd y afternoon when all the shops ar clo ed I then try to ring up a few c terers but the tel phone is o of order Accord gly I have to enounce my desire to giv a supper*

I repl of course that only the anal sis can decid the meaning of this dream alth ugh I adm t that at first s ght t seem en ible and coh rent and looks lik the oppo te of a wi h fulfilment But what occurrence ga e rise to this dream I a k "Y u know that the stimu lus f a dream always lies amo g the experi en es f the precedin day

Analysis

Th patient s husba d an honest and capable meat salesman had told he the day before tha he was growing too fat and that he meant t undergo treatment fo obe ity He would rise ea l take phy cal exercise keep to a strict di t and abo e ll ac ept n m re in t t ons t supper She proceeds jestingly to relat h w he husband, t *table d'hote* had mad the cquaintan e f an rt t wh in s ted upo painting his portrait beca se he the paint had ever seen such an expressive head. But h husba d had *answ red in his* downright fa hi that wh he was much obliged, he would rath r t be painted and he was qui e on ced that b t f pretty girl post n r would please th artist bett r than his whol f c She is very much in love w th her husba d and teases him a good de L h has ked him t to gi e he any ca ia What ca that mean?

As matter f f ct, she had wanted fo a l g t m t t ca iar sa dwich every m rn ing bu had grudged th expense Of course s e u d get the ca iar from h hu band at once f sh asked f t. But sh has on the ontrary begged him n t to gi e h r any cav iar so that she m ght tease him about it a little longer

(To me this explanation eems thin Uncon fessed moti es are wont to co ceal themsel es behind just such unsati fyin explanations We are reminded of the subjects hypnotized by Bernheim, who carried out a po t hypnotic order and who on be g questioned as to their moti es in tead of answering I do not know why I d d that had to n ent a reaso that was b ou ly inadequate There is probably somethin milar to this in the case of my pa tient s ca iar I see that in waking life she is *compelled to in ent an unfulfilled wi h.* Her dream also hows her the no fulfillment of her wi h. But why does he need an unfulfilled wi h)

The deas elicited so far are insufficient for th interpretation of the dre m I press for more Aft a short pause which corresponds to the o ercoming f a resi tance she reports that the day before he had paid a visit to a *fri d f whom he is really jealous* becau e he husband is always prai in this lady so highly F rtunately this friend is very thin and lanky and her husband likes full figures Now of what d d this thin friend speak? Of course f her wish to becom rather plumper She also a ked my patient When are ou g ing to in vite us again Y u alwa s have such good food

Now the meanin of the dream is clear I am ble t t ll th patient It is just as th ugh you had thought at the moment of her a king you that 'Of co rse I m to in te you o that y u ca eat at my h use and get f t and be c me still more plea ing to my hu ba d! I w uld rather gi e no more suppers' The dream then tells yo that you cannot gi e supper *thereby fulfillin* your wi h not to contribute anything t th roundin out of your friend s figur Y ur husband s *resoluti n to accept no* more in tat ns to supper in o der that he may gr w thi teaches y u that o gr ws fat on food eaten at other pe pl tables. Nothi g is la ki g n w but s me s rt of c inc d e which will nfirm the olutio The smoked alm in the dream has not et been traced— "How d d you come t think of salmo in your dream? — Smoked almon is my frie d s fa ourit dish, sh replied It happens that I know the lady and am ble to affirm that she grudges herself salm n ju t as my patie t grudges herself ca ia

This dream adm ts of yet an th r and more exact terpretat on—one whi h is actually ne cess ta ed nly by a sub diary circum tance,

T for the pai er
Goethe *A k h b t*
Her k m t

The two interpretations do not contradict one another but rather dovetail into one another and furnish an excellent example of the usual ambiguity of dreams as of all other psycho pathological formations We have heard that at the time of her dream of a denied wish the patient was impelled to deny herself a real wish (the wish to eat caviar sandwiches) Her friend too had expressed a wish namely to get fatter and it would not surprise us if our patient had dreamt that this wish of her friend s—the wish to increase in weight—was not to be fulfilled Instead of this however she dreamt that one of her own wishes was not fulfilled The dream becomes capable of a new interpretation if in the dream she does not mean herself but her fri nd if she has put herself in the place of her friend or as we may say has *identified* herself with her friend

I think she has actually done this and as a sign of this identification she has created for herself in real life an unfulfilled wish But what is the meanin of this hysterical indenti fication? To elucidate this a more exhaustive exposition is necessary Identification is a high ly important motive in the mechanism of hys terical symptoms by this means patients are enabled to express in their symptoms not mere ly their own experiences but the experiences of quite a number of other persons they can suffer as it were for a whole mass of people and fill all the parts of a drama with their own personalities It will here be objected that this is the well known hysterical imitation the ability of hysterical subjects to imitate all the symptoms which impress them when they oc cur in others as thou h pity were aroused to the point of reproduction This however only indicates the path which the psychic process follows in hysterical imitation But the path it self and the psychic act which follows this path are two different matters The act itself is slightly more complicated than we are prone to believe the imitation of the hysterical to be it corresponds to an unconscious end proc ess as an example will show The physician who has in the same ward with other patients a female patient suffering from a particular kind of twitching is not surprised if one morn ing he learns that this peculiar hysterical affec tion has found imitators He merely tells him self The others have seen her and have imi tated her this is psychic infection Yes but psychic infection occurs somewhat in the fol lowing manner As a rule patients know more about one another than the physician knows about any one of them and they are concerned about one another when the doctor s vi it is over One of them has an attack to-day a once it is known to the rest that a letter from home a recrudescence of lovesickness or the like is the cause Their sympathy is arou ed and although it does not emerge into conscious ness they form the following conclusion If it is possible to suffer such an attack from such a cau e I too may suffer this sort of an attack for I have the same occasion for it If this were a conclusion capable of becoming con scious it would perhaps express itself in *dread* of sufferin a like attack but it is formed in another psychic region and consequently ends in the realization of the dreaded symp toms Thus identification is not mere imita tion but an assimilation based upon the ame aetiological claim it expresses a *just like* and refers to some common condition which has remained in the unconscious

In hysteria identification is most frequently employed to express a sexual community The hysterical woman identifies herself by her symptoms most readily—though not exclusive ly—with persons with whom she has had sexual relations or who have had sexual intercourse with the same persons as herself Language takes cognizance of this tendency two lovers are said to be one In hysterical phantasy as well as in dreams identification may ensue if one simply thinks of sexual relations they need not necessarily become actual The patient is merely following the rules of the hysterical proc esses of thought when she expresses her jealousy of her friend (which for that matter she her self admits to be unjustified) by putting herself in her friend s place in her dream and identify ing herself with her by fabricating a symptom (the denied wish) One might further elucidate the process by saying In the dream she puts herself in the place of her friend because her friend has taken her own place in relation to her husband and because she would like to take her friend s place in her husband s esteem.

The contradiction of my theory of dreams on the part of another female patient the most intelligent of all my dreamers was solved in a simpler fashion though still in accordance with the principle that the non fulfilment of one

wi.h signified the fulfilment of another I had one d y explained to her that a dream is a wish fulfilment. On the following day she related a dream t the effect that he was tra elling with her m ther in law to the place in which they were both to spend the summer Now I knew that .h had v olently protested against pend in the summer in the neighbourhood of her moth r in law I also knew that she had fortu nat ly been bl to avo d d ing o since .he had re ently succeeded in renting a house a pl.ce quite remote from that to which her mother in law was g ing And now the dream reversed th des red solut on Was not this a flat contrad ction of my theory of wi.h fulfil ment? On had only to draw the inferences from this dream in rder to arrive at ts interpre tat on. Ac rding t this dream I was wrong *b t it was her wish that I shou d be wrong a d this wish the d e m showed her as fulfilled* But the wi.h that I hould be wro which was fulfilled in the theme of the country house referred in reality to another and mo e serious matt At that tim I had inferred, from the material furn hed by her analysis that ome thi g of significance in respect to h r illness must ha e o curred at a certain time in her life. She had denied this becau e t was not present in he memory W soon came to see that I was right. Thus he wish that I sh uld p ove to be wrong which was tran.formed into the dre.m th.t she was going into the ountry with h m h in law c rresponded with the ju.t fiab wi.h that those th gs which were then only suspe ted had never occurred.

W th ut an analysis and merely by means of an a.sumpt on I took the l berty of inter preting littl inc dent in th life of frie d, who had be my ompanion thro gh e ght classes t chool. He onc heard a lect re of min d li red t a mall udienc on the ovel idea that dreams are wish fulfilments He went hom dreamt *that he had lo t all his lawsuit* —he was a lawy r—and th n om plained t me bout it. I took ref in the evasion 'One can t win all o cases but I tho ht to myself "If for e ght ye rs I sat as *primus* on th first bench, while he mo ed up and down somewhere in the middl of the lass may he ot naturally ha e had th wish, ever sinc his boyhood, that I too might f r o mak fool f myself?

A t an ther dream f more gloomy char cter was f red m by female pat ent in contradiction f my theory f th wi h-dream This patient, a young girl, began as follow

You remember that my sister has now only one boy Ch les. She lost the elder one Otto while I was till living with her Otto was my fa ourite it was I who really brought him up I like the other little fellow too but of course not nea ly as much as his dead brother Now I dreamt last night that I *saw Charles lyi g dead before me He was ly ng n his l ttle coffin his hands folded there were candles all about and short it was just as t was at the t me of l ttle Otto s death wh ch gave me such a shock* Now tell me what does this mean? You know me—am I really o bad as to wi h that my ister h uld lose the only child he has left? Or does the dream mean that I wish that Charles had died rather than Otto whom I liked o much better?

I assured her that this latter interpretation was imposs ble After some reflection, I was able to give her the interpretation of the dre.m which she sub equently confirmed I was able to do so because the whole prev ous history of the dream r was known to me

Ha n become an orphan at an early age the girl had been brought up in the home of a much elde ister and had met amon the friends and vis tors who frequented the house a man who made a la ting impres on upon her affectio s It looked for a time as though these barely explicit relati ns would end in marri ge, but th happy culmination was frustrated by the ister whose m tives were never com pl tely explained After the rupture the man whom my patient loved a o ded the house .he herself attained her independence ome time afte the death of little Otto t whom, meanwhile her affections had turned But she did not succeed i freeing h rself from the de- pendence d e to he affection for her sister s friend H r pride bade her avoid him but he found t imposs bl to transfer her love to the other suitors who succes ively presented them selves Whenever the man h loved who was ... profes a ounced

l

told me that the Professor was going to a cer tain co cert and that she too was going in order to enjoy the s ght of him. This was on the day bef re th dream and the co cert was to be given on the day which he told m the dream. I ould now eas ly se the correct int rpretatio and I a ed her wh ther she could th.nk of any particular event which had

occurred after Otto s death She replied imme diately Of course the Professor returned then after a long absence and I saw him once more be side little Otto s coffin It was just as I had ex pected I interpreted the dream as follows If *now the other boy were to die* the same thing would happen again You would spend the day with your sister the Professor would certainly come to offer his condolences and you would see him once more under the *same circum* stances as before The dream signifies nothing more than this wish of yours to see him again—a wish against which you are fighting inwardly I know that you have the ticket for today s concert in your bag Your dream is a dream of impatience it has anticipated by several hours *the meeting which is to take place to day*

In order to disguise her wish she had ob viously selected a situation in which wishes of the sort are commonly suppressed—a situation so sorrowful that love is not even thou ht of And yet it is entirely possible that even in the actual situation beside the coffin of the elder *more dearly loved boy* she had not been able to suppress her tender affection for the visitor whom she had missed for so long

treatment In the course of a longer dream it seemed to this lady that she saw her fifteen year old daughter lying dead before her in a box She was strongly inclined to use this dream image as an objection to the theory of *wish fulfilment although she herself suspected* that the detail of the box must lead to a differ ent conception of the dream For in the course of the analysis it occurred to her that on the previous evening the conversation of the people in whose company she found herself had turned on the English word *box* and upon the numer ous translations of it into German such as *Schachtel* (box) *Loge* (box at the theatre) *Kasten* (chest) *Ohrfeige* (box on the ear) etc *From other components of the same dream it* was now possible to add the fact that the lady had guessed at the relationship between the English word *box* and the *German Buchse* and had then been haunted by the recollection that *Buchse* is used in vulgar parlance to de note the female genitals It was *therefore* pos sible treatin her knowledge of topographical anatomy with a certain indul ence to as ume that the child *in the box signified a child* in the mother s womb At this stage of the explan ation she no longer denied that the picture in the dream actually corresponded with a wish of hers Like so many other young women she was by no means happy on finding that she was pregnant and she had confessed to me more *than once the wish that her child might die* before its birth in a fit of anger following a violent scene with her husband she had even struck her abdomen with her fists in order to injure the *child* within The dead child was therefore really the fulfilment of a wish but a wish which had been put aside for fifteen years and it is not surprising that the fulfil ment of the wish was no longer recognized after so long an interval For there had been many changes in the meantime

The *group of dreams* (having as content the death of beloved relatives) to which belong the last two mentioned will be considered again under the head of Typical Dreams I shall then be able to show by new examples that in spite of their undesirable content all these dreams must be interpreted as wish ful *filments* For the *following* dream which again was told me in order to deter me from a hasty generalization of my theory I am indebted, *not to a patient* but *to an intelligent* jurist of my acquaintance *I dream* my informant tells me *that I am walking in front of my house with a lady on my arm Here a closed carriage is waiting a man steps up to me shows me his authori ation as a police officer and requests me to follow him I ask only for time in which to arrange my affairs* The jurist then asks me Can you possibly suppo e that it is my wish to be arrested? — Of course not *I have to admit Do you happen to* know upon what charge you were arrested? — Yes I believe for infanticide — Infanticide? But you know that only a mother can commit this crime upon her new born child? — That is true — And under what circumstances did you dream this? What happened on the eve ning before? — I would rather not tell you—it is a delicate matter — But I need it other wise we must forgo the interpretation of the dream — Well then I will tell you I spent

d m i t ld mpl t ly e rs whe y t g of

As the dream of th defe ed s pper d th sm ked salmo d ams

the night not at home but in the house of a lady wh means a great deal to me When we awo e in the morning something again passed between us. Then I went to sleep again and dreamt what I have told you — The woman is married? — Yes — And you d ot wi h he to concei e? — No that m ht betray me to concei e? — No that m ht betray us. —"Then you do not practi e normal co itus —"I take the precauti n to withdraw bef re ejaculat on. — Am I to as ume that you took this pr ca tion several times during the night and that in the m rning y u were n t quite sure whether you had succeeded? — "That might be so — "Then you dream is the fulnlment of a wish. By the dream you are as sured that yo ha e not beg tte a child, or what amounts to the same thin that you ha e killed the child. I can easily demonstrate the c nnecting links D you rem mber a few days ago we were talking about the tro bles of mat rimony and about the inconsiste cy f permit ting co tus s l ng as no impregnation takes pl ce while at the same time any preventive ct c mmitted after the ovum and the semen meet and a foetus is formed is punished as crime? In this onn ction w recalled the m dieval cont oversy about th moment of time t which the soul actually enters into the foetus ince the oncept of murder becomes admiss bl only from that point onwards. Of course, too, you know the gruesom poem by Lenau which puts infantic de and birth-co tr l on the same plane — Strangely e ough, I happened, as though by chance t think of Lenau thi morning — Anothe echo of your dream. And ow I hall how you yet an ther incid tal wish fulfilme t yo dream. You walk up to your house with the lady on your rm So yo tak her home instead of pending the night at h r house as you did in reality The fact that th wish fulfilment whi h is the es sen f the dream di guises itself in such an unpleasant form, has perhaps more than on ex planation From my essay n th a tiology of anxiety eurosis you will see that I note *oitus interrup us* as o e of the f ct rs responsible fo t e development f e otic fear It wou d be onsi tent with this f aft repeated c tus of t is kind you w re l ft in an unc mf rtable frame of mind which now becomes an element of the compos tion f your dream You even mak use f this uncomfortabl tate f mind to conceal the wis fulfilment. At th same time the ment on f infanticide has ot yet bee ex plained. Why does thi crime, whi h is peculiar to females, occur to you — I will co fess t you that I was involved in such an affair years ago I was responsible for the fact that a girl tried to protect herself from the consequences of a *l a son* with me by procuring an abortion. I had nothing to do with the carrying out of her plan but for lon time I was naturally wor ried in cas the affair m ght be discovered."— I understand. This recollection furni hed a second reaso why the suppos t on that you had per formed *coitus i terruptus* clumsily must have been painful to you

A young physician, who heard this dream related in my lecture-room must ha e felt that ... ed to imitate it by ... nk ... he ... a ... men because he ... e

other statements had passed unquestioned but that his own had aroused general suspicio with the result that he would be punished with a heavy fine This dream is a poorly disguised fulfilment of th wish to be known as a phy s cian with a large income It also calls to mind the story of the youn gi l who was adv sed against accepting h r suitor becau e he was a man of quick temper who would assuredly beat her aft r their marriage Her answer was I wi h he *would* strike me! H r wi h to be married was so intense that he had taken i to cons deration the discomf rts p edicted f this marriage she had even raised them to the plan of a wish.

If I group together th very frequent dreams of this sort, which eem flatly to ontradict my theory in that they embody the denial of a wish or some occurrence obviously undesired under the head of *cou ter wish-dreams* I find that they m y all be eferred to two principles o e of which has ot yet been mentioned th ugh it plays l rg part in waking as well as dream life. One of the m tives insp ring these dreams is th wi h that I sh uld appear in the wrong These dreams occur regula ly in the c urse of treatment whe ever the pat ent is in a tat of resista ce indeed I can with a great degree of certai ty count on evoking uch a dream o ce I h e explain d t th pati nt my theory that the dream is a wish fulfilme t. Indeed I ha e reason to expect that many f

S mil *oun er wish-d* m have been repeatedly reported me within the las few years, by those who tend my lect res as t e rea ti to their first en coun er with the *w h th ory* f dreams.

my readers will have such dreams merely to fulfil the wish that I may prove to be wrong The last dream which I shall recount from among those occurring in the course of treatment once more demonstrates this very thing A young girl who had struggled hard to continue my treatment against the will of her relatives and the authorities whom they had consulted dreamt the following dream *At home she is forbidden to come to me any more She then reminds me of the promise I made her to treat her for nothing if necessary and I tell her I can show no consideration in money matters*

It is not at all easy in this case to demonstrate the fulfilment of a wish but in all cases of this kind there is a second problem the solution of which helps also to solve the first Where does she get the words which she puts into my mouth? Of course I have never told her anything of the kind but one of her brothers the one who has the greatest influence over her has been kind enough to make this remark about me It is then the purpose of the dream to show that her brother is right and she does not try to justify this brother merely in the dream it is her purpose in life and the motive of her illness

A dream which at first sight presents peculiar difficulties for the theory of wish fulfilment was dreamed by a physician (Aug Starcke) and interpreted by him *I have and see on the last phalange of my left forefinger a primary syphilitic affection*

One may perhaps be inclined to refrain from analysing this dream since it seems clear and coherent except for its unwished for content However if one takes the trouble to make an analysis one learns that *primary affection* reduces itself to *prima affectio* (first love) and that the repulsive sore in the words of Starcke proves to be the representative of wish fulfilments charged with intense emotion

The other motive for counter wish-dreams is so clear that there is a danger of overlooking it as happened in my own case for a long time In the sexual constitution of many persons there is a masochistic component which has arisen through the conversion of the aggressive sadistic component into its opposite Such people are called *ideal* masochists if they seek pleasure not in the bodily pain which may be inflicted upon them but in humiliation and psychic chastisement. It *is* obvious that such persons may have counter wish dreams and disagreeable dreams yet *these are for them* nothing more than wish fulfilments which satisfy their masochistic inclinations Here is such a dream A young man who in earlier youth greatly tormented his elder brother toward whom he was *homosexually inclined* but who has since undergone a complete change of character has the following dream which consists of three parts (1) *He is teased by his brother* (2) *Two adults are caressing each other with homosexual intentions* (3) *His brother has sold the business the management of which the young man had reserved for his own future* From this last dream he awakens with the most unpleasant feelings and yet it is a masochistic wish dream which might be translated It would serve me right if my brother were to make that sale against my interests *It* would be my punishment for all the torments he has suffered at my hands

I hope that the examples given above will suffice—until some further objection appears—to make it seem credible that even dreams with a painful content are to be analysed as wish fulfilments Nor should it be considered a mere matter of chance that in the course of interpretation one always happens upon subjects about which one does not like to speak or think The disagreeable sensation which such dreams arouse is of course precisely identical with the antipathy which would and usually does restrain us from treating or discussing such subjects—an antipathy which must be overcome by all of us if we find ourselves obliged to attack the problem of such dreams. But this disagreeable feeling which recurs in our dreams does not preclude the existence of a wish everyone has wishes which he would not like to confess to others which he does not care to admit even to himself On the other hand we feel justified in connecting the unpleasant character of all these dreams with the fact of dream-distortion and in concluding that these dreams are distorted and that their wish fulfilment is disguised beyond recognition precisely because there is a strong revulsion against—a will to repress—the subject matter of the dream or the wish created by *it* *Dream distortion* then proves in reality to be an act of censorship *We shall have included everything which the analysis of disagreeable dreams has brought to light if we reword our formula thus* *The dream is the (disguised) fulfilment of a (suppressed repressed) wish*

1 *Zentralblatt f r Psychoa ly e* Jah g II 19 1 1

I w'll be b rne th t w b t y t d posed of thi th m w sh ll d sc it g l t
A g t t mpo ry poet wh I m t ld, will be th g of psych -a lysis d dre m inter-

Now there still remain to be considered, as a particular sub-order of dreams with painful content, the anxiety-dreams, the inclusion of which among the wish-dreams will be still less acceptable to the uninitiated. But I can here deal very cursorily with the problem of anxiety-dreams; what they have to reveal is not a new aspect of the dream-problem; here the problem is that of understanding neurotic anxiety in general. The anxiety which we experience in dreams is only apparently explained by the dream-content. If we subject that content to analysis, we become aware that the dream-anxiety is no more justified by the dream-content than the anxiety in a phobia is justified by the idea to which the phobia is attached. For example, it is true that it is possible to fall out of a window, and that a certain care should be exercised when one is at a window, but it is not obvious why the anxiety in the corresponding phobia is so great, and why it torments its victims more than its cause would warrant. The same explanation which applies to the phobia applies also to the anxiety dream. In either case, the anxiety is only *fastened on to* the idea which accompanies it, and is derived from another source.

On account of this intimate relation of dream-anxiety to neurotic anxiety, the discussion of the former obliges me to refer to the latter. In a little essay on *Anxiety Neurosis*, written in 189 I maintained that neurotic anxiety has its origin in the sexual life, and corresponds to a libido which has been deflected from its object and has found no employment. The accuracy of this formula has since then been demonstrated with ever increasing certainty. From it we may deduce the doctrine that anxiety-dreams are dreams of sexual content, and that the libido appertaining to this content has been *transformed into anxiety*. Later on I shall have an opportunity of confirming this assertion by the analysis of several dreams of neurotics. In my further attempts to arrive at a theory of dreams I shall again have occasion to revert to the conditions of anxiety-dreams and their compatibility with the theory of wish-fulfilment.

V. THE MATERIAL AND SOURCES OF DREAMS

HAVING realized, as a result of analysing the dream of Irma's injection, that the dream was the fulfilment of a wish, we were immediately interested to ascertain whether we had thereby discovered a general characteristic of dreams, and for the time being we put aside every other scientific problem which may have suggested itself in the course of the interpretation. Now that we have reached the goal on this one path, we may turn back and select a new point of departure for exploring dream-problems, even though we *may for a time lose sight of the* theme of wish-fulfilment, which has still to be further considered.

Now that we are able, by applying our process of interpretation, to detect a *latent* dream-content whose significance far surpasses that of the *manifest* dream-content, we are naturally impelled to return to the individual dream-problems, in order to see whether the riddles and contradictions which seemed to elude us when we had only the manifest content to work upon may not now be satisfactorily solved.

The opinions of previous writers on the relation of dreams to waking life, and the origin of the material of dreams, have not been given here. We may recall however three peculiarities of the memory in dreams, which have been often noted, but never explained:

1. That the dream clearly prefers the impressions of the last few days (Robert, Strumpell, Hildebrandt; also Weed Hallam).

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pression, has nevertheless derived from his own experience an almost identical formula for the nature of the dream: "Una liberated emergence of suppressed yearnings under false features and names." (C. Spitteler, *Meine frühesten Erlebnisse*, in *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, October, 1913.)

I will here anticipate by citing the amplification and modification of this fundamental formula propounded by Otto Rank: "On the basis and with the aid of repressed infantile-sexual material, dreams regularly represent as fulfilled current, and as a rule also erotic, wishes in a disguised and symbolic form." (*Ein Traum*

psycho-analysis to the oft-repeated reproach that it asserts that *all dreams have a sexual content*. If one understands this sentence as it is intended to be understood, it only proves how little conscientiousness our critics are wont to display, and how ready our opponents are to overlook statements if they do not accord with their aggressive inclinations. Only a few pages back I mentioned the manifold wish-fulfilments of children's dreams (to make an excursion on land or water, to make up for an omitted meal, etc.). Elsewhere I have mentioned dreams excited by thirst and the desire to evacuate, and mere comfort- or convenience-dreams. Even Rank does not make an absolute assertion. He says "as a rule also erotic wishes," and this can be completely confirmed in the case of most dreams of adults.

The matter has, however, a different aspect if we employ the word *sexual* in the sense of *Eros*, as the word is understood by psycho-analysis. But the interesting problem of whether all dreams are not produced by *libidinal* motives (in opposition to *destructive* ones) has hardly been considered by our opponents.

See p. 87 above.

2 That it makes a selection in accordance with principles other than those govern ing our waking memory in that it recalls not essential and important but subor dinate and disregarded things

3 That it has at its disposal the earliest impressions of our childhood and brings to li ht details from this period of life which again seem trivial to us and which in waking life were believed to have been long since forgotten

These peculiarities in the dream s choice of material have of course been observed by previous writers in the manifest dream content

A Recent and Indifferent Impressions in the Dream

If I now consult my own experience with re gard to the origin of the elements appearing in the dream content I must in the first place express the opinion that in every dream we may find some reference to the experiences of the *preceding day* Whatever dream I turn to whether my own or somone else s this experi ence is always confirmed Knowing this I may perhaps begin the work of interpretation by looking for the experience of the preceding day which has stimulated the dream in many cases this is indeed the quickest way With the two dreams which I subjected to a close analysis in the last chapter (the dreams of Irma s injec tion and of the uncle with the yellow beard) the reference to the preceding day is so evident that it needs no further elucidation But in order to show how constantly this reference may be demonstrated I shall examine a por tion of my own dream chronicle I shall relate only so much of the dreams as is necessary for the detection of the dream source in question

1 *I pay a call at a house to which I gain admittance only with difficulty etc and mean while I am keeping a woman waiting for me*

Source A conver ation during the evening with a female relative to the effect that she would have to wait for a remittance for which she had asked until etc

I have written a monograph on a species (uncertain) of plant

Source In the mornin I had seen in a book seller s window a *monograph* on the genus Cyclamen

It d t th t R be t d —that th d m i t ded t d m m ry f th l mp i wh ch t h s ce d d g th d y— l g te abl f d ff t m mo es f h ldh d p pe d m w th m d g f f q y We sh uld be bl g d to l de that d m g ally pe form th r p c bed ta k y i d q tely

3 *I see two women in the street mother and daughter the latter being a patient*

Source A female patient who is under treat ment had told me in the evening what difficul ties her *mother* puts in the way of her continu in the treatment

4 *At S and R s bookshop I subscribe to a periodical which costs 20 florins annually*

Source During the day my wife has re minded me that I still owe her o *florins* of her weekly allowance

5 *I receive a communication from the So cial Democratic Committee in which I am ad dressed as a member*

Source I have received simultaneous *com munications* from the Liberal Committee on Elections and from the president of the Hu manitarian Society of which latter I am ac tually a member

6 *A man on a steep rock rising from the sea in the manner of Bocklin*

Source Dreyfus on Devil s Island also news from my relatives in *England* etc

The question might be raised whether a dream invariably refers to the events of the preceding day only or whether the reference may be extended to include impressions from a lon er period of time in the immediate past. This question is probably not of the first im portance but I am inclined to decide in favour of the exclusive priority of the day before the dream (the dream day) Whenever I thou ht I had found a case where an impression two or three days old was the source of the dream I was able to convince myself after careful in vestigation that this impression had been re membered the day before that is that a de monstrable reproduction on the dav before had been interpolated between the day of the event and the time of the dream and further I was able to point to the recent occa ion which might have given rise to the recollection of the older impression On the other hand I was unable to convince myself that a regular interval of biological significance (H Swoboda gives the first interval of this kind as eighteen hours) elapses between the dream exciting day time impression and its recurrence in the dream

I believe therefore that for every dream a dream stimulus may be found among these experiences on which one has not yet slept

Havelock Ellis who has likewise given at tention to th s problem states that he has not been able to find any such periodicity of re production in his dreams although he has

looked for it. He reports a dream in which he found himself in Spain; he wanted to travel to a place called *Daraus*, *Varaus* or *Zaraus*. On awaking, he was unable to recall any such place-names, and thought no more of the matter. A few months later he actually found the name Zaraus; it was that of a railway-station between San Sebastian and Bilbao, through which he had passed in the train e... months (2 o... days) before the date of the dream.

Thus the impressions of the immediate past (with the exception of the day before the night of the dream) stand in the same relation to the dream-content as those of periods indefinitely remote. The dream may select its material from any period of life, provided only that a chain of thought leads back from the experiences of the day of the dream (the recent impressions) of that earlier period.

But why this preference for recent impressions? We shall arrive at some conjectures on this point if we subject one of the dreams already mentioned to a more precise analysis. I select the

Dream of the Botanical Monograph

I have written a monograph on a certain plant. The book lies before me. I am just turning over a folded coloured plate. A dried specimen of the plant, as though from a herbarium, is bound up with every copy.

Analysis

In the morning I saw in a bookseller's window ... The C... C... ...

do. In connection with the theme of giving her flowers I am reminded of a story which I recently told to some friends of mine in proof of my assertion that we often forget in obedience to a purpose of the unconscious, and that forgetfulness always enables us to form a deduction about the secret disposition of the forgetful person. A young woman who has been accustomed to receive a bouquet of flowers from her husband on her birthday misses this token of affection on one of her birthdays, and bursts into tears. The husband comes in, and cannot understand why she is crying until she tells him "Today is my birthday." He claps his hand to his forehead, and exclaims "Oh, forgive me, I had completely forgotten it," and proposes to go out immediately in order to get her flowers. But she refuses to be consoled, for she sees in her husband's forgetfulness a proof that he no longer plays the same part in his thoughts as she formerly did. This Frau L. met my wife two days ago, told her that she was feeling well, and asked after me. Some years ago she was a patient of mine.

Supplementary facts: I did once actually write something like a monograph on a plant, namely, an essay on the coca plant, which attracted the attention of K. Koller to the anaesthetic properties of cocaine. I had hinted that the alkaloid might be employed as an anaesthetic, but I was not thorough enough to pursue the matter further. *It occurs to me, too,* that on the morning of the day following the dream (for the interpretation of which I did not find time until the evening) I had thought of cocaine in a kind of day-dream. If I were ever afflicted with glaucoma, I would go to Berlin, and there undergo an operation, incognito, in the house of my Berlin friend, at the hands of a surgeon whom he would recommend. The surgeon, who would not know the name of his patient, would boast, as usual, how easy these operations had become since the introduction of cocaine; and I should not betray the fact that I myself had a share in this discovery. With this phantasy were connected thoughts of how awkward it really is for a ... services of

d. I realize that there is concealed behind the memory of a definite event. Shortly after Koller's discovery my father contracted glaucoma; he was operated on by my friend Dr Koenigstein, the eye specialist. Dr Koller was in charge of the cocaine anaesthetization, and he made the remark that on this occasion all the three persons who had been responsible for the introduction of cocaine had been brought together.

My thoughts now pass on to the time when I was last reminded of the history of cocaine. This was a few days earlier, when I received a *Festschrift*, a publication in which grateful pupils had commemorated the jubilee of their teacher and laboratory director. Among the titles to fame of persons connected with the laboratory I found a note to the effect that the discovery of the anaesthetic properties of cocaine had been due to K. Koller. Now I suddenly become aware that the dream is connected with an experience of the previous

evening. I had just accompanied Dr Koenigstein to his home and had entered into a discussion of a subject which excites me greatly whenever it is mentioned While I was talking with him in the entrance hall Professor Gartner and his young wife came up I could not refrain from congratulating them both upon their *blooming* appearance Now Professor Gartner is one of the authors of the *Festschrift* of which I have just spoken and he may well have reminded me of it And Frau L of whose birthday disappointment I spoke a little way back had been mentioned though of course in another connection in my conversation with Dr Koenigstein

I shall now try to elucidate the other determinants of the dream content A *dried specimen* of the plant accompanies the monograph as though it were a *herbarium* And herbarium reminds me of the Gymnasium The director of our Gymnasium once called the pupils of the upper classes together in order that they might examine and clean the Gymnasium herbarium Small insects had been found—*book worms* The director seemed to have little confidence in my ability to assist for he entrusted me with only a few of the pages I know to this day that there were crucifers on them My interest in botany was never very great At my preliminary examination in botany I was required to identify a crucifer and failed to recognize it had not my theoretical knowledge come to my aid I should have fared badly indeed Crucifers suggest composites The artichoke is really a composite and in actual fact one which I might call my *favourite flower* My wife more thoughtful than I often brings this favourite flower of mine home from the market

I see the monograph which I have written lying before me Here again there is an association My friend wrote to me yesterday from Berlin I am thinking a great deal about your dream book I see it lying before me completed and I turn the pages How I envied him this power of vision! If only I could see it lying before me already completed!

The folded coloured plate When I was a medical student I suffered a sort of craze for studying monographs exclusively In spite of my limited means I subscribed to a number of the medical periodicals whose *coloured plates* afforded me much delight I was rather proud of this inclination to thoroughness When I subsequently began to publish books myself I had to draw the plates for my own treatises and I remember one of them turned out so badly that a well meaning colleague ridiculed me for it With this is associated I do not exactly know how a very early memory of my childhood My father by the way of a jest, once gave my elder sister and myself a book containing *coloured plates* (the book was a narrative of a journey through Persia) in order that we might destroy it From an educational point of view this was hardly to be commended I was at the time five years old and my sister less than three and the picture of us two children blissfully tearing the book to pieces (I should add like an *artichoke* leaf by leaf) is almost the only one from this period of my life which has remained vivid in my memory When I afterwards became a student I developed a conspicuous fondness for collecting and possessing books (an analogy to the inclination for studying from monographs a hobby alluded to in my dream thoughts in connection with cyclamen and artichoke) I became a *book worm (cf herbarium)* Ever since I have been engaged in introspection I have always traced this earliest passion of my life to this impression of my childhood or rather I have recognized in this childish scene a screen or concealing memory for my subsequent bibliophilia And of course I learned at an early age that our passions often become our misfortunes When I was seventeen I ran up a very considerable account at the bookseller s with no means with which to settle it and my father would hardly accept it as an excuse that my passion was at least a respectable one But the mention of this experience of my youth brings me back to my conversation with my friend Dr Koenigstein on the evening preceding the dream for one of the themes of this conversation was the same old reproach—that I am much too absorbed in my *hobbies*

For reasons which are not relevant here I shall not continue the interpretation of this dream but will merely indicate the path which leads to it In the course of the interpretation I was reminded of my conversation with D

[illegible] trains of thought which have been started—my own inclinations and those of my wife the cocaine the awkwardness of securing medical treatment from one s own colleagues

Cf The Psychopathology of Everyday Life

my preference for monographical t dies and my eglect of certain subjects such as botany —all these are continued in and lead up to one branch o a other of thi widely ramified con ersation The dream once more a umes the character of a justificatio of a plea for my rights (like th d eam of Irma s injection, the first to be analysed) it even ontin es the them whi h that dream introduced and discu ses it in as ociat on with the n w subject matter which has been added in the nterval between the two dreams E en the d eam s apparently indiffe ent f rm of expres on at once cquires a meaning N w t mean I am indeed th man who ha written that valuable a d suc essful tre tise (n cocain) just as ''

ing I can allow myself this But I m y dispense with the furthe interpretatio of the dream because my only purpose in recording it was t examin th relatio of th dream co tent to the xperience of the prev ous day whi h arouses t As lo as I kn w only the manifest conte t f this dream nly one re lation to any impress o of the day is obv ous

refers is an ndifferent one a subordin te cir cumstance I see a book in shop window whose titl holds me f r moment but whose content wo ld hardly interest m The second experien e wa of great psychi alu I talked earnestly with m friend the ey special st for about an hour I m d allusi ns in thi conversation whi h must ha e ruffled th feel ings f both f us and whi h m me wakened mem ries in co nection with which I was ware f a great ariety of i ner timul Further this con ersat on wa b ok ff unfini hed because som cquaintances j ined us What, ow is the relation f these two impress ons of the d y to on another and to the dream whi h f ll wed d ring the night?

In the manifest dream-content I fi d merely an allus on to the different impres on and I m thus bl to reaffirm that th dream prefers to tak up to its content experiences f a non-essential haract In the dream inter pre ation on the ontrary everythin con verges upon th important and ju tifi bly disturbing event. If I judge the sense f the dream in the only correct way a cording to the late t content which is brou ht to light in the analysis I find that I ha e unw ttin ly lighted upon a new and important discovery I see that the puzzlin theory that the dream deals only with the worthl ss odds and ends of th day s experiences has no ju tification I am al o c mpelled to contradict the ass r tion that the p chic life of the waking state is not contin ed in *the dream and that hence* th dream wastes our psych c energy on trivial mat rial. The very oppos te is true what has claimed our attention during the day dominates our dream thoughts al o and we take pains to *dream only* in connectio with uch matters as have gi en us food for thou ht during the day

Pe haps the most immediate explanation of the fact that I dream of the indifferent impres sion of the day while the impres ion which has with good rea on exc ted me causes me to dream is that here again we are dealing with the phe omeno f dream-distortion wh ch we have referred to as a psychic force pla ing the part of a ce sorship The recollection of the mo ograph on the gen s cyclamen is utilized as though it were an *allusion* to the con er sation with my friend, ju t as the mention of my patient s friend in the dream of the de f rred supper is repre ted by the allus on *smoked almon.* The only questio is by what interm diate links can the impress on of the mo ograph come to assume th relation of al lu ion to the conversation with the eye special ist ince such a relation is not at first perceptible? In the example of th deferred supper the relation is ev dent at the outset *smoked salmon* as the favourite d sh of th pat ent s friend belongs t the ci cle of ideas which the fri d personality would naturally evoke in the mind of the dreamer I u new example w re dealing with two entirely separate im pres ons which at first glance seem t have nothing in commo except indeed that they occur on the me day The m graph at tracts my attenti in the morn ng n the e ening I tak part in the co ersat on Th answer furnished by the analysis is as f ll ws S h relation betwee the two mpres o s as do n t exist f om the first are est blished subsequently between the dea-co tent of the on impress and the idea-conte t f the other I ha e already p ked out the *intermedi* ate links empha ized in th urse f writing th analys Only und me out de infl ence pe haps th ollecti of the flowers mi sed by Frau L, would th idea of the m ograph on the cyclamen ha e attached itself *to the*

idea that the cyclamen is my wife s favourite flower I do not believe that these inconspicuous thoughts would have sufficed to evoke a dream

There needs no ghost my lord come
from the grave
To tell us this

as we read in Hamlet But behold! in the analysis I am reminded that the name of the man who interrupted our conversation was *Gartner* (gardener) and that I thought his wife looked *blooming* indeed now I even remember that one of my female patients who bears the pretty name of *Flora* was for a time the main subject of our conversation It must have happened that by means of these intermediate links from the sphere of botanical ideas the association was effected between the two events of the day the indifferent one and the stimulating one Other relations were then established that of cocaine for example which can with perfect appropriateness form a link between the person of Dr Koenigstein and the botanical monograph which I have written and thus secure the fusion of the two circles of ideas so that now a portion of the first experience may be used as an allusion to the second

I am prepared to find this explanation attacked as either arbitrary or artificial What [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] been called not Flora but Anna? And yet the answer is not hard to find If these thought relations had not been available others would probably have been selected It is easy to establish relations of this sort as the jocular questions and conundrums with which we amuse ourselves suffice to show The range of wit is unlimited To go a step farther if no sufficiently fertile associations between the two impressions of the day could have been established the dream would simply have followed a different course another of the indifferent impressions of the day such as come to us in multitudes and are forgotten would have taken the place of the monograph in the dream would have formed an association with the content of the conversation and would have represented this in the dream Since it was the impression of the monograph and no other that was fated to perform this function this impres ion was probably that most suitable for

Still the psychological process by which, according to our exposition the indifferent experience substitutes itself for the psychologically important one seems to us odd and open to question In a later chapter we shall undertake the task of making the peculiarities of this seemingly incorrect operation more intelligible Here we are concerned only with the result of this process which we were compelled to accept by constantly recurring experiences in the analysis of dreams In this process it is as though in the course of the intermediate steps a *displacement* occurs—let us say of the psychic accent—until ideas of feeble potential by taking over the charge from ideas which have a stronger initial potential reach a degree of intensity which enables them to force their way into consciousness Such displacements do not in the least surprise us when it is a question of the transference of affective magnitudes or of motor activities That the lonely spinster transfers her affection to animals that the bachelor becomes a passionate collector that the soldier defends a scrap of coloured cloth—his flag—with his life blood that in a love affair a clasp of the hands a moment longer than usual evokes a sensation of bliss or that in *Othello* a lost handkerchief causes an outburst of rage—all these are examples of psychic displacements which to us seem incontestable But if by the same means and in accordance with the same fundamental principles a decision is made as to what is to reach our consciousness and what is to be withheld from it—that is to say what we are to think—this gives us the impression of morbidity and if it occurs in waking life we call it an *error* of thought We may here anticipate the result of a discussion which will be undertaken later namely that the psychic process which we have recognized in dream-displacement proves to be not a morbidly deranged process but one merely differing from the normal one of a more *primary* nature

Thus we interpret the fact that the dream content takes up remnants of trivial experiences as a manifestation of *dream distortion* (by displacement) and we thereupon remember that we have recognized this dream distortion as the work of a censorship operating between the two psychic instances We may therefore expect that dream analysis will constantly show us the real and psychically significant source of the dream in the events of the day the memory of which has transferred its accentuation to some indifferent memory This

conception is in complete opposition to Robert's theory, which consequently has no further value for us. The fact which Robert was trying to explain simply does not exist; its assumption is based on a misunderstanding, on a failure to substitute the real meaning of the dream for its apparent meaning. A further objection to Robert's doctrine is as follows: If the task of the dream were really to rid our memory by means of a special psychic activity of the slag of the day's recollections, our sleep would perforce be more troubled, engaged in more strenuous work, than we can suppose it to be judging by our waking thoughts. For the number of the indifferent impressions of the day against which we should have to protect our memory is obviously immeasurably large; the whole night would not be long enough to dispose of them all. It is far more probable that the forgetting of the indifferent impressions takes place without any active interference on the part of our psychic powers.

Still, something cautions us against taking leave of Robert's theory without further consideration. We have left unexplained the fact that one of the indifferent impressions of the day—indeed, even of the previous day—constantly makes a contribution to the dream content. The relations between this impression and the real source of the dream in the unconscious do not always exist from the outset; as we have seen, they are established subsequently, while the dream is actually at work, as though to serve the purpose of the intended displacement. Something, therefore, must necessitate *the opening up of connections in the direction of the recent but indifferent impression*; this impression must possess some quality that gives it a special fitness. Otherwise it would be just as easy for the dream-thoughts to shift their accentuation to some inessential component of their own sphere of ideas.

Experiences such as the following show us the way to an explanation. If the day has brought us two or more experiences which are worthy to evoke a dream, the dream will blend the allusion of both into a single whole; it obeys a *compulsion to make them into a single whole*. For example: One summer afternoon I entered a railway carriage in which I found two acquaintances of mine who were unknown to one another. One of them was an influential colleague, the other a member of a distinguished family which I had been attending in my professional capacity. I introduced the two gentlemen to each other; but during the long journey they conversed with each other through me, so that I had to discuss this or that topic now with one, now with the other. I asked my colleague to recommend a mutual acquaintance who had just begun to practise as a physician. He replied that he was convinced of the young man's ability, but that his undistinguished appearance would make it difficult for him to obtain patients in the upper ranks of society.

f

my patients—who was at this time prostrated by a serious illness. On the night following this journey I dreamt that the young friend whom I had asked one of my companions to recommend was in a fashionable drawing room, and with all the bearing of a man of the world was making—before a distinguished company, in which I recognized all the rich and aristocratic persons of my acquaintance—a funeral oration over the old lady (who in my dream had already died) who was the aunt of my second fellow-traveller. (I confess frankly that I had not been on good terms with this lady.) Thus my dream had once more found the connection between the two impressions of the day, and by means of the two had constructed a unified situation.

In view of many similar experiences, I am persuaded to advance the proposition that a dream works under a kind of compulsion which forces it to combine into a unified whole all the sources of dream-stimulation which are offered to it. In a subsequent chapter (on the function of dreams) we shall consider this impulse of combination as part of the process of condensation, another primary psychic process.

I shall now consider the question whether the dream-exciting source to which our analysis leads us must always be a recent (and significant) event, or whether a subjective experience—that is to say, the recollection of a psychologically significant event, a train of thought—may assume the role of a dream stimulus. The very definite answer derived from numerous analyses is as follows: The stimulus of the dream may be a subjective transaction, which has been made recent, as it were, by the mental activity of the day.

The tendency of the dream to work to blend every thing present of interest in a single transaction has already been noticed by several authors, for instance, by Delage and Delboeuf.

And this is perhaps the best time to sum marize in schematic form the different condi tions under which the dream sources are operative

The source of a dream may be

(*a*) A recent and psychologically significant event which is directly represented in the dream

(*b*) Several recent and significant events *which are combined by the dream in a single* whole

(*c*) One or more recent and significant events which are represented in the dream content by allusion to a contemporary but indifferent vent

(*d*) A subjectively significant experience (recollection train of thought) which is *con stantly represented in the dream by* allusion to a recent but indifferent impression

As may be seen in dream interpretation the condition is always fulfilled that one compo nent of the dream content repeats a recent impression of the day of the dream The com ponent which is destined to be represented in the dream may either belong to the same circle of ideas as the dream stimulus itself (as an essential or even an inessential element of the same) or it may originate in the neighbour hood of an indifferent impression which has been brought by more or less abundant associ ations into relation with the sphere of the dream stimulus The apparent multiplicity of these conditions results merely from the *alter native* that a *displacement has or has not oc curred* and it may here be noted that this alternative enables us to explain the contrasts of the dream quite as readily as the medical theory of the dream explains the series of states from the partial to the complete waking of the brain cells

In considering this series of sources we note further that the psychologically significant but not recent element (a train of thought a recol lection) may be replaced for the purposes of dream formation by a recent but psycholog ically indifferent element provided the two following conditions are fulfilled (1) the dream content preserves a connection with things recently experienced (2) the dream stimulus is still a psycholo ically significant event In one single case (*a*) both these con ditions are fulfilled by the same impre on. *If we now consider that these same indifferent* impressions which are utilized for the dream as long as they are recent lose this qualifica tion as soon as they are a day (or at most several days) older we are obliged to assume that the very freshness of an impression gives it a certain psychological value for dream *formation somewhat equivalent to the value* of emotionally accentuated memories or trains of thought Later on in the light of certain psychological considerations we shall be able to divine the explanation of this importance of *recent* impressions in dream formation

Incidentally our attention is here called to *the fact that at night and unnoticed by our consciousness important changes may occur in* the material comprised by our ideas and mem ories The injunction that before making a final decision in any matter one should sleep on it for a night is obviously fully justified But at this point we find that we have passed from *the psychology of dreaming to the psychology* of sleep a step which there will often be occasion to take

At this point there arises an objection which threatens to invalidate the conclusions at which we have just arrived If indifferent impressions can find their way into the dream only so long *as they are of recent origin how does it* happen that in the dream content we find elements also from earlier periods of our lives which, at the time when they were still recent pos sessed as Strumpell puts it no psychic value and which therefore ought to have been for gotten long ago elements that is which are neither fresh nor psychologically significant?

This objection can be disposed of completely if we have recourse to the results of the psycho analysis of neurotics The solution is as follows The process of shifting and rearrangement which replaces material of psychic significance by material which is indifferent (whether one is dreaming or thinking) has already taken place in these earlier periods of life and has since become fixed in the memory Those ele ments which were originally indifferent are in *fact no longer so since they have acquired the* value of psychologically significant material That which has actually remained indifferent can never be reproduced in the dream

From the *foregoing exposition the reader* may rightly conclude that I assert that there are no indifferent dream stimuli and therefore

The dre m of Irma s jectı the d m f the fr nd wh I my le

The d e m of th f eral o t d l ed by th yo g phys cia

Th d e m f the bota cal m g ph

The dre ms f my patı ts d r g a alysis are mostly of this k d

Cf Ch p VII t ansf e ce

no guileless dreams. This I absolutely and unconditionally believe to be the case, apart from the dreams of children and perhaps the brief dream reactions to nocturnal sensations. Apart from these exceptions whatever one dreams is either plainly recognizable as being psychically significant, or it is distorted and can be judged correctly only after complete interpretation, when it proves after all to be of psychic significance. The dream never concerns itself with trifles; we do not allow sleep to be disturbed by trivialities. Dreams which are apparently guileless turn out to be the reverse of innocent if one takes the trouble to interpret them; if I may be permitted the expression, they all show "the mark of the beast." Since this is another point on which I may expect contradiction, and since I am glad of an opportunity to show dream-distortion at work, I shall here subject to analysis a number of *guileless dreams* from my collection.

I

An intelligent and refined young woman who in real life is distinctly reserved, one of those people of whom one says that "still waters run deep," relates the following dream: *I dreamt that I arrived at the market too late, and could get nothing from either the butcher or the greengrocer woman.* Surely a guileless dream, but it has not the appearance of a real dream; I induce her to relate it in detail. Her report then runs as follows: *She goes to the market with her cook, who carries the basket. The butcher tells her, after she has asked him for something: "That is no longer to be obtained," and wants to give her something else, with the remark: "That is good, too." She refuses, and goes to the greengrocer woman. The latter tries to sell her a peculiar vegetable which is bound up in bundles, and is black in colour. She says: "I don't know that; I won't take it."*

The connection of the dream with the preceding day is simple enough. She had really gone to the market too late, and had been unable to buy anything. *The meat-shop was already closed* comes into one's mind as a description of the experience. But wait; is not that a very vulgar phrase which—or rather the opposite of which—denotes a certain neg

lect with regard to a man's clothing? The dreamer has not used these words; she has perhaps avoided them; but let us look for the interpretation of the details contained in the dream.

When in a dream something has the character of a spoken utterance—that is, when it is said or heard, not merely thought—and the distinction can usually be made with certainty—then it originates in the utterances of waking life, which have, of course, been treated as raw material, dismembered, and slightly altered, and above all removed from their context. In the work of interpretation we may take such utterances as our starting point. Where, then, does the butcher's statement, *That is no longer to be obtained*, come from? From myself; I had explained to her some days previously "that the oldest experiences of childhood are no longer to be obtained as such, but will be replaced in the analysis by transferences and dreams." Thus, I am the butcher, and she refuses to accept these transferences to the present of old ways of thinking and feeling. Where does her dream utterance, *I don't know that; I won't take it*, come from? For the purposes of the analysis this has to be dissected. *I don't know that* she herself had said to her cook, with whom she had a dispute on the previous day, but she had then added: *Behave yourself decently.* Here a displacement is palpable; of the two sentences which she spoke to her cook she included the insignificant one in her dream; but the suppressed sentence, *Behave yourself decently!* alone fits in with the rest of the dream-content. One might use the words to a man who was making indecent overtures, and ... mention. The

up in bundles (a longish vegetable, as she subsequently adds), and is also black: what can this be but a dream-combination of asparagus and black radish? I need not interpret asparagus to the initiated; and the other vegetable, too (think of the exclamation: "Blacky, save yourself!"), seems to me to point to the sexual theme at which we guessed in the beginning, when we wanted to replace the story of the dream by "the meat-shop is closed." We are not

Havelock Ellis, a kindly critic of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, writes in *The World of Dr*...

Cf. what is said of speech in dreams in the chapter "The Dream-Work." Only one of the writers on the subject—Delboeuf—seems to have recognized the origin of the speeches heard in dreams; he compares them with *clichés*.

here concerned with the full meaning of the dream so much is certain that it is full of meaning and by no means guileless

II

Another guileless dream of the same patient which in some respects is a pendant to the above *Her husband asks her Oughtn t we to have the piano tuned? She replies It s not worth while the hammers would have to be rebuffed as well* Again we have the reproduction of an actual event of the preceding day Her husband had asked her such a question and she had answered it in such words But what is the meaning of her dreamin it? She says of the piano that it is a *disgusting* old box which has a bad tone it *belonged* to her husband before they were married etc but the key to the true solution lies in the phrase *It isn t worth while* This has its origin in a call paid yesterday to a woman friend She was asked to take off her coat but declined saying Thanks it isn t worth while I must go in a moment At this point I recall that yesterday during the analysis she suddenly took hold of her coat of which a button had come undone It was as though she meant to say Please don t look in it isn t worth while Thus *box* becomes *chest* and the interpretation of the dream leads to the years when she was growing out of her childhood when she began to be dissatisfied with her figure It leads us back indeed to earlier periods if we take into consideration the *disgusting* and the *bad tone* and remember how often in allusions and in dreams the two small hemispheres of the female body take the place—as a substitute and an antithesis—of the large ones

III

I will interrupt the analysis of this dreamer in order to insert a short innocent dream which was dreamed by a young man *He dreamt that he was putting on his winter overcoat again this was terrible* The occasion for this dream is apparently the sudden advent of cold weather On more careful examination we note that the two brief fragments of the dream do not fit together very well for what could be terrible about wearing a thick or heavy coat in cold weather? Unfortunately for the innocency of this dream the first association under analysis yields the recollection that yesterday a lady had confidentially confessed to him that her last child owed its existence to the splitting of a condom He now reconstructs his thoughts in accordance with this suggestion A thin condom is dangerous a thick one is bad The condom is a pullover (*Ueber zieher*= literally *pullover)* for it is pulled over something and *Ueber zieher* is the German term for a light overcoat An experience like that related by the lady would indeed be terrible for an unmarried man

We will now return to our other innocent dreamer

IV

She puts a candle into a candlestick but the candle is broken so that it does not stand up The girls at school say she is clumsy but she replies that it is not her fault

Here too there is an actual occasion for the dream the day before she had actually put a candle into a candlestick but this one was not broken An obvious symbolism has here been employed The candle is an object which excites the female genitals its being broken *so that it does not stand upright* signifies impotence on the man s part (*it is not her fault*) But does this young woman carefully brought up and a stranger to all obscenity know of such an application of the candle? By chance she is able to tell how she came by this information While paddling a canoe on the Rhine a boat passed her which contained some students who were singing rapturously or rather yelling When the Queen of Sweden behind clo ed shutters with the candles of Apollo

She does not hear or else understand the last word Her husband was asked to give her the required explanation These verses are then replaced in the dream content by the innocent recollection of a task which she once performed *clumsily* at her boarding school becau e of the *closed shutters* The connection between the theme of masturbation and that of impotence is clear enough *Apollo* in the latent dream con-

Fo th u I m y em k that b h d the

A s b tit t o by w pp s
an lysis

ten connects this dream with an earlier one in which the virgin Pallas figured. All this is obviously not innocent.

V

Lest it may seem too easy a matter to draw conclusions from dreams concerning the dreamer's real circumstances I add another dream originating with the same person, which once more appears innocent. *I dreamt I doing something*, she relates, "*which I actually did during the day, that is to say, I filled a little trunk so full of books that I had difficulty in closing it. My dream was just like the actual occurrence.*" Here the dreamer herself emphasizes the correspondence between the dream and the reality. All such criticisms of the dream, and comments on the dream, although they have found a place in the waking thoughts properly belong to the latent dream-content, as further examples will confirm. We are told, then, that what the dream relates has actually occurred during the day. It would take us too far afield to show how we arrive at the idea of making use of the English language to help us in the interpretation of this dream. Suffice it to say that it is again a question of a little box (cf. p. [illegible] the dream of the dead child in the box) which has been filled so full that nothing can go into it.

In all these innocent dreams the sexual factor as the motive of the censorship is very prominent. But this is a subject of primary significance which we must consider later.

B. *Infantile Experiences as the Source of Dreams*

As the third of the peculiarities of the dream content, we have adduced the fact, in agreement with all other writers on the subject (excepting Robert) that impressions from our childhood may appear in dreams, which do not seem to be at the disposal of the waking memory. It is, of course, difficult to decide how seldom or how frequently this occurs, because after waking, the origin of the respective elements of the dream is not recognized. The proof that we are dealing with impressions of our childhood must thus be adduced objectively, and only in rare instances do the conditions favour such proof. The story is told by A. Maury as being particularly conclusive, of a man who decides to visit his birthplace after an absence of twenty years. On the night before his departure he dreams that he is in a totally unfamiliar locality, and that he there meets a strange man with whom he holds a conversation. Subsequently, upon his return home, he is able to convince himself that this strange locality really exists in the vicinity of his home, and the strange man in the dream turns out to be a friend of his dead father's, who is living in the town. This is, of course, a conclusive proof that in his childhood he had seen both the man and the locality. The dream, moreover, is to be interpreted as a dream of impatience, like the dream of the girl who carries in her pocket the ticket for a concert, the dream of the child whose father had promised him an excursion to the Hameau (p. 192) and so forth. The motives which reproduce just these impressions of childhood for the dreamer cannot, of course, be discovered without analysis.

One of my colleagues who attended my lectures, and who boasted that his dreams were very rarely subject to distortion, told me that he had sometime previously seen, in a dream, *his former tutor in bed with his nurse*, who had remained in the household until his eleventh year. The actual location of this scene was realized even in the dream. As he was greatly interested, he related the dream to his elder brother, who laughingly confirmed its reality. The brother said that he remembered the affair very distinctly, for he was six years old at the time. The lovers were in the habit of making him, the elder boy, drunk with beer whenever circumstances were favourable to their nocturnal intercourse. The younger child, our dreamer, at that time three years of age, slept in the same room as the nurse, but was not regarded as an obstacle.

In yet another case it may be definitely established without the aid of dream-interpretation, that the dream contains elements from childhood—namely, if the dream is a so-called *perennial* dream, one which, being first dreamt in childhood, recurs again and again in adult years. I may add a few examples of this sort to those already known, although I have no personal knowledge of perennial dreams. A physician in his thirties tells me that a yellow lion, concerning which he is able to give the most precise information, has often appeared in his dream-life, from his earliest childhood up to the present day. This lion, known to him from his dreams, was one day discovered *in natura* as a long-forgotten china animal. The young man then learned from his mother that the lion had been his favourite toy in early childhood, a fact which he himself could no longer remember

If we now turn from the manifest dream content to the dream thoughts which are revealed only on analysis the experiences of childhood may be found to recur even in dreams whose content would not have led us to suspect anything of the sort I owe a particularly delightful and instructive example of such a dream to my esteemed colleague of the yellow lion After reading Nansen s account of his polar expedition he dreamt that he was giving the intrepid explorer electrical treatment on an ice floe for the sciatica of which the latter complained! During the analysis of this dream he remembered an incident of his childhood without which the dream would be wholly unintelligible When he was three or four years of age he was one day listening attentively to the conversation of his elders they were talking of exploration and he presently asked his father whether exploration was a bad illness He had apparently confounded *Reisen* (journey trips) with *Reissen* (gripes tearing pains) and the derision of his brothers and sisters prevented his ever forgetting the humiliating experience

We have a precisely similar case when in the analysis of the dream of the monograph on the genus cyclamen I stumble upon a memory retained from childhood to the effect that when I was five years old my father allowed me to destroy a book embellished with coloured plates It will perhaps be doubted whether this recollection really entered into the composition of the dream content and it may be suggested that the connection was established subsequently by the analysis But the abundance and intricacy of the associative connections vouch for the truth of my explanation cyclamen—favourite flower—favourite dish—artichoke to pick to pieces like an artichoke leaf by leaf (a phrase which at that time one heard daily *a propos* of the dividing up of the Chinese empire) herbarium—bookworm whose favourite food is books I can further assure the reader that the ultimate meaning of the dream which I have not given here is most intimately connected with the content of the scene of childish destruction

In another series of dreams we learn from analysis that the very wish which has given rise to the dream and whose fulfilment the dream proves to be has itself originated in childhood so that one is astonished to find that *the child with all his impulses survives in the dream*

I shall now continue the interpretation of a dream which has already proved instructive I refer to the dream in which my friend R is my uncle We have carried its interpretation far enough for the wish motive—the wish to be appointed professor—to assert itself palpabl and we have explained the affection felt for my friend R in the dream as the outcome of opposition to and defiance of the two colleagues who appear in the dream thoughts The dream was my own I may therefore continue the analysis by stating that I did not feel quite satisfied with the olution arrived at I knew that my opinion of these colleagues who were so badly treated in my dream thoughts would have been expressed in very different language in my waking life the intensity of the wish that I might not share their fate as regards the appointment seemed to me too slight fully to account for the discrepancy between my dream opinion and my waking opinion If the desire to be addressed by another title were really so intense it would be proof of a morbid ambition which I do not think I cherish, and which I believe I was far from entertaining I do not know how others who think they know me would judge me perhaps I really was ambitious but if I was my ambition has long since been transferred to objects other than the rank and title of *Professor extraordinarius*

Whence then the ambition which the dream has ascribed to me? Here I am reminded of a story which I heard often in my childhood that at my birth an old peasant woman had prophesied to my happy mother (whose first born I was) that she had brought a great man into the world Such prophecies must be made very frequently there are so many happy and expectant mothers and so many old peasant women and other old women who since their mundane powers have deserted them turn their eyes toward the future and the prophetess is not likely to suffer for her prophecies Is it possible that my thirst for greatness has originated from this source? But here I recollect an impression from the later years of my childhood which might serve even better as an explanation One evening at a restaurant on the Prater where my parents were accustomed to take me when I was eleven or twelve years of age we noticed a man who was going from table to table and for a small sum improvising verses upon any subject that was given him I was sent to bring the poet to our table and he showed his gratitude Before asking for a subject he threw off a few rhymes about myself

and told us that if he could tru t his insp ra
h da become a minis
mpres
It was
my
ortra ts
Herbst,
Giskra Unger Berger and othe s and we il
luminated the h use in the r hon ur There
were even Jews amon them so that every dil
gent Jewish choolboy carried a mini terial
portf li in his satchel The impressio of that
time must be re po sible for the fact that until
shortly bef re I went to the uni ers ty I wanted
to study jurisprud n e and changed my mind
only at the last moment A medical man has
n chance of becoming a minist And now
for my dream It is only now that I begin to
see that it tra sl t s me fr m the sombre pres
ent to the hopeful d ys of th bourgeois Minis
try and completely fulfils what was then my
youthful amb t o I treating my tw estim
able and learned olle gues merely because
they re Jews badly o e a though he were
a simpl t n and the oth r as tho gh h were
a criminal, I am a ting a though I were the
Min st r I ha e put myself in his place What
a revenge I take upon his Excell ncy! He re
fuses to ppoint m *P of ssor e t ao d narius*
nd so in my dream I put myself in his place

I anothe case I n te the fact that although
the wish that e c tes the dream is a ontem
porary w h t is n vertheles greatly rein
fo ced by memories f childhood I r fe to a
series of dream which are based on th lon

carria, prese tly the train tarted, and I
realized that I had neve ent red th city at
all. The iew that ppeared in the dream was
modelled after a well known e gra g which
I had casually ed the day bef re in the
drawing oom of o f my patients In
other dream someo took me up a hill and
showed m R m half h ouded in mist nd
so dista t that I wa astonished at th dist ct
nes f the view The tent f this dream
is too ri h to be f lly reported h re. The mo-

tive to see the promised land afar is here
easily recognizable The city which I thus saw
in th mist is Lubeck the orig nal of the hill
is the Gl ichenberg In a third dream I am at
last in Rome To my d appointment the scen
ery is nything, but urban it con sts of *a l ttle
st eam of black water on one side of wh ch are
black rocks while on the other are meado s
with large wh te flowers I not ce a certain
Herr Zucker (with whom I am superficially ac
quain ed) a d resolve to ask h m to show me
the way to the city* It is obvious that I am
trying n vain to see in my dream a city which
I ha e never seen in my waking life If I re
ol e the landscape into its elements the white
flowers point to Ra enna which is known to
me and which once for a time replaced Rome
as the capital of Italy In the marshes around
Ra enna we had found the most beautiful wa
ter lilies in the midst f black pools of wat r
the dream makes th m grow in the meadows,
like the narc s of our own Aussee, because

the peculiar circumstance that I a k H r
Zucker to show me the wa In the material f
which the dre m is wo en I am able t recog
nize two f thos amu ing Jewish anecdotes
whi h conceal such profound d, at times
ch bitte w rldly wi dom nd wh h we are
fo d f quoting in our lett rs and conversa
t on. On is the story of the *constit t on* t
t lls how a poor Jew sneaks in o th Ka lsb d
express without t cket how he is d tected
and is treated more d more harshly by the
conductor at each succeedin call f r t ckets
and how when a friend wh m he mets at o e
of the stat during hi m serable journey
asks him wh re he i going h answers To
Ka lsbad—if my con titution h lds out As
sociated n mem ry with this i another tory
about a Jew who is gnorant of French, and
who has exp ess in truct ns t sk in Paris
f r th Rue Ri helieu Pari was f many
years the goal of my own l ging and I regard
ed the satisfact with which I first set foot
on the pa ements of Paris as a warrant that I
hould tt to the fulfilment of othe wishes
al Moreo er king the way is direct al-
lusion to Rome, f r as we know all roads
lead to Rome And furth the nam Zu ker
(uga) gain points to Ka lsb d whither we
se d person affli ted with the *const t t onal*
disease diabetes (*Z ckerk a kheit* sugar

I lon ro learned tha the f lfilment f such
wishes only called for h d courage, and I then
became aealoo pilgrim to Rome.

disease) The occasion for this dream was the proposal of my Berlin friend that we should meet in Prague at Easter A further association with sugar and diabetes might be found in the matters which I had to discuss with him

A fourth dream occurring shortly after the last mentioned brings me back to Rome I ee a street corner before me and am aston ished that so many German placards should be posted there On the previous day when writ ing to my friend I had told him with truly prophetic vision that Prague would probably not be a comfortable place for German travel lers The dream therefore expressed simulta neou ly the wish to meet him in Rome instead of in the Bohemian capital and the desire which probably originated during my student days that the German language mi ht be ac corded more tolerance in Prague As a matter of fact I must have understood the Czech lan guage in the first years of my childhood for I was born in a small village in Moravia amidst a Slav population A Czech nursery rhyme which I heard in my seventeenth year became without effort on my part so imprinted upon my memory that I can repeat it to this day although I have no idea of its meaning Thus in these dreams also there is no lack of mani fold relations to the impressions of my early childhood

During my last Italian journey which took me past Lake Trasimenus I at length discov ered after I had seen the Tiber and had reluc tantly turned back some fifty miles from Rome what a reinforcement my longing for the Eter nal City had received from the impressions of my childhood I had just conceived a plan of travelling to Naples via Rome the following year when this sentence which I must have read in one of our German classics occurred to me It is a question which of the two paced to and fro in his room the more impa tiently after he had conceived the plan of go ing to Rome—Assistant Headmaster Winckel mann or the great General Hannibal I my self had walked in Hannibal s footsteps like him I was destined never to see Rome and he too had gone to Campania when all were ex pecting him in Rome Hannibal with whom I had achieved this point of similarity had been my favourite hero during my years at the Gymnasium like so many boys of my age I bestowed my sympathies in the Punic war not on the Romans but on the Carthaginians Moreover when I finally came to realize the consequences of belonging to an alien race and was forced by the anti Semitic feel among my class mates to take a definite stand the figure of the Semitic commander assumed still greater proportions in my imagination Hannibal and Rome symbolized in my youth ful eyes the stru gle between the tenacity of the Jews and the organization of the Catholic Church The significance for our emotional life which the anti Semitic movement has since assumed helped to fix the thoughts and im pressions of those earlier days Thus the de sire to go to Rome has in my dream life be come the mask and symbol for a number of warmly cherished wishes for whose realization one had to work with the tenacity and single mindedness of the Punic general though their fulfilment at times seemed as remote as Han nibal s life long wish to enter Rome

And now for the first time I happened upon the youthful experience which even to-day still expresses its power in all these emotions and dreams I might have been ten or twelve years old when my father began to take me with him on his walks and in his conversation to reveal his views on the things of this world Thus it was that he once told me the following incident in order to show me that I had been born into happier times than he When I was a young man I was walkin one Saturday along the street in the village where you were born I was well dressed with a new fur cap on my head Up comes a Christian who knocks my cap into the mud and shouts Jew get off the pavement! — And what did you do? — I went into the street and picked up the cap he calmly replied That did not seem heroic on the part of the big strong man who was leading me a little fellow by the hand I con trasted this situation which did not please me with another more in harmony with my senti ments—the scene in which Hannibal s father Hamilcar Barcas made his son swear before the household altar to take vengeance on the Romans Ever since then Hannibal has had a place in my phantasies

I think I can trace my enthusiasm for the C h

Th wr ter wh se w ks I fo d th p sage was p ob bly J a P l R hte

I th first d ti of thi bo k I ga here the m H drub l m l g which I e pl l d my *P y k p th l gy I E eryd y Life*

after I learned to read was Thiers *Consulate and Empire* I remembe that I pasted on the fat backs of my wooden soldiers little labels bearing the names of th Imperial marshals a d that at that time Ma sena (s a Jew Mena se) was alread my owed fa o rite This preferen e is d ubtl ss al to be explained by the fact of my having been born, a hundred years later on the sam date. Napoleon him self is associated with Hannibal thr ugh the crossing f the Alps. And pe haps th devel opment f this martial deal may be tra ed yet f rther back, to the first three years of my childhood to wis es whi h my alternately f endly and h stile relati ns with a boy a year olde than myself must ha e evoked in the weak r of th two playmate

The deeper we g into th analysis of dreams th more often re we put on th track f childish experien es which play the part of dream sources in the latent dream-co tent.

We ha e le rned that dreams very rarely reproduce m mories in su h a manner as to constitute uncha ged d unabridged the sole — — Neverth l a few

childhood In the case f o e of m patien s dream ce ga e b rely distorted reproduct o of sexual inc dent, wh h wa m mediately recognized as an accurate re oll c tion. The mem ry of t had never been c m pletel lost in the waking life b t t had been greatly obscured d it was rev ified by th previous wo k f analysis. The dream had at the a e f twel e visited bedridd chool

the member f the oth r boy who howeve looked t him in surprise and indignation whereupon he becam embarrassed and let t go A dream repeated this scene twenty three years later with all th d tails of the om panying emot ons changing t, howe r in this respect that the dream r pla ed the pa e instead of the ctive r whil the person of t e choolma was replaced by a contemporary

A a rule of course een from childhood is represented in th man fest dream- tent only by an ll on and m st be disentangled from the dream by interpretation The citation of examples of this kind cannot be ery con vincing becau e any guarantee that they are really experiences of childhood s lackin if they belong to an earlier period of life they are no longer recognized b our mem ry The conclusion that such childi h experiences re cu at all in dreams s justified in psycho-analytic work by a great number of f ctors whi h in their combined results appear to be sufficiently reliable But when for the pur poses f dream interpretation such references to childish experiences are torn out of their co text they may not perhaps seem very im pre sive especially where I do not even gi e all the mat rial upon which the interpretation is based However I shall not let this deter me from givin a few examples.

I

W th o e of m f male patients all dreams ha e the character of *hurry* he is hurryin so as to be n time, so as not to miss her train, and so on In one dream *she h s to visit a girl friend her moth had to d her to ri e and not walk she runs however a d keeps on f lling* The material that emerged in the analysis al lowed o e to recognize a memory of childi h romping and, especially fo one dream went back to the popular childish game of rapidly repeating the w rds of a senten e as tho gh it was all o e word All these harmless jokes with little friends were remembered because they replaced other less harmless ones

II

The foll wing dream wa dreamed by another female patient *She is in large om i which there a e ll sorts of mach nes it is ather l ke wh t she would imagine an thopaedic inst t te to be She hears that I am press d fo t me nd th t she must undergo t e tment along with fi others B t she sists and unwilling to lie down on the b d—or whateve it is—wh ch is tend d for her She st nds n a corner and waits for me to s y It is not true The thers meanwhile la gh at her saying t is all foolish ess o her part At the same t me t is as tho gh sh were called upon t m k mber of l ttle sq are*

Th first part f the c tent of thi dream is an allu n to the treatment and t the transference t myself Th econd contains an

The Jewish descen f the M rsal is somewhat doubtful.

I the riginal t paragra h contains ma y plays t e rd H (hurry chase scurry game etc.) — TR.

allusion to a scene of childhood the two por tions are connected by the mention of the bed The orthopaedic institute is an allusion to one of my talks in which I compared the treat ment with re ard to its duration and its na ture to an orthopaedic treatment At the be ginning of the treatment I had to tell her that *for tl e present I had little time to give her* but that later on I would devote a whole hour to her daily This aroused in her the old sensi tiveness which is a leading characteristic of children who are destined to become hysterical Their desire for love is insatiable My patient was the youngest of six brothers and sisters (hence *with five others*) and as such her father s favourite but in spite of this she seems to have felt that her beloved father de voted far too little time and attention to her Her waiting for me to say *It is not true* was derived as follows A little tailor s apprentice had brought her a dress and she had given him the money for it Then she asked her hus band whether she would have to pay the money again if the boy were to lose it To tease her her husband answered Yes (the *teasing* in the dream) and she asked again and again and *waited for him to say It is not true* The thought of the latent dream content may now be construed as follows Will she have to pay me double the amount when I devote twice as much time to her?—a thought which is stingy or *filthy* (the uncleanliness of childhood is often replaced in dreams by greed for money the word *filthy* here supplies the bridge) If all the pa sage referring to her waiting until I say *It is not true* is intended in the dream as a circumlocution for the word *dirty the stand ing in the corner and not lying down on the bed* are in keeping with this word as compon ent parts of a scene of her childhood in which she had soiled her bed in punishment for which *she was put into the corner* with a warn ing that papa would not love her any more whereupon her brothers and sisters laughed at her etc The little squares refer to her young niece who showed her the arithmetical trick of writing figures in nine squares (I think) in such a way that on being added together in any direction they make fifteen

III

Here is a man s dream *He sees two boys tuss ling with each other they are cooper's boys as he concludes from the tools which a e lying about one of the boys has thrown the other down the prostrate boy is wearing ear rings with blue stones He runs towards the assail ant with lifted cane in order to chastise him. The boy takes refuge behind a woman as though she were his mother who is standing against a wooden fence She is the wife of a day labourer and she turns her back to the man who is dreaming Finally she turns about and stares at him with a horrible look so that he runs away in terror the red flesh of the lower lid seems to stand out from her eyes*

This dream has made abundant use of triv ial occurrences from the previous day in the course of which he actually saw two boys in the street one of whom threw the other down. When he walked up to them in order to settle the quarrel both of them took to their heels Cooper s boys—this is explained only by a subsequent dream in the analysis of which he used the proverbial expression *To knock the bottom out of the barrel* Ear rings with blue stones according to his observation are worn chiefly by *prostitutes* This suggests a familiar doggerel rhyme about two boys The other boy was called Marie that is he was a girl The woman standing by the fence after the scene with the two boys he went for a walk along the bank of the Danube and taking ad vantage of being alone urinated *against a wooden fence* A little farther on a respectably dressed elderly lady smiled at him very pleas antly and wanted to hand him her card with her address

Since in the dream the woman stood as he had stood while urinating there is an allusion to a woman urinating and this explains the *horrible look* and the prominence of the red flesh which can only refer to the genitals gaping in a squatting posture seen in child hood they had appeared in later recollection as *proud flesh* as a *wound* The dream unites two occasions upon which as a little boy the dreamer was enabled to see the genitals of little girls once by throwin the little girl down and once while the child was *u inating* and as is shown by another association he had retained in his memory the punishment admin istered or threatened by his father on account of these manifestations of sexual curiosity

IV

A great mass of childish memories which have been hastily combined into a phantasy may be found behind the following dream of an elderly lady *She goes out in a hurry to do some shopping On the G aben she sinks to her knees as though she had broken down A*

number of people collect around her especially cab-drivers but o one helps her to get up She makes many va n attempts finally she must have succeeded for she is put nto a cab which is to take her home A larg he vily Lden basket (something l ke a mark t basket) is th own after her th o gh the wi dow

This is the woman who is always harassed in her dreams just as he used to be harassed when a child. The first tuation of the d eam is pparently taken f om the sight f a fallen horse just as *broken down* po nts t horse racing In h r youth he was a ride still earlier she was probably al o a *hors* W th the idea of falling down is connected h r first childish reminiscenc of th seventeen year old son of th hall porte who had an epileptic seizure i th street and was brou ht home in a cab Of this of course he had only heard b t the idea of epileptic fits of *fall g down* acquired a great infl e ce over her phantasies and later on infl enced th form of her wn hysterical attacks. When person f th female se dreams of falling this almost always has a sexual significance sh bec mes a *fallen woma* and for the purpose of the dream und r consid ratio this interpretati n is probably the least d btful, for she falls in the Graben, the st eet in V enna which is known as the con urse f prostitutes The *market basket* dmits f m re than on nterp tat on in th sense of refusal (German *K b*=basket =snub refus l) t reminds h r f the many snubs which he at first admini t red to h r suit rs and which, she thinks he h rself re ce ved l er This agrees with the detail *no one will help her p* which she h rself t rprets as *bei g disdained* Furth r the *market ba ket* recalls phantasies which ha e already appeared in the course f analys s, wh ch she imagin s that she has married f beneath her tat on and now goes to the market as a market woman. Lastly the market-ba k t might be interpreted as the mark of a *serva t* Thi su gest further mem ries of her childhood—of a *cook* wh was discharged because sh t le *a e too sank to her knees* and begged for mercy Th dreame was at that time tw l e years f ge Then em rges a re llecti f a chambe maid wh was dismissed because she had an with the coachman of the household wh incidentally married her ft r

explained the throwing of the basket in par

h he wi dow?

lug age

in the

a sum

mer resort, of a gentleman threw some blue plums into the window of a lady s room and of her little si ter who was frightened because an di t who was passing looked in at the window And now from behind all this emerges an ob cure recollection from her tenth year of nurse in the country to whom one of the men ervants made love (and whose conduct the child may have noticed) and who was sent packing thrown o t together with her lover (in the dream we ha e the expression *th own into*) an incident which we have been approachi g by several ther paths The luggage or bo of a servant is disparagingly described in V enna as e en plums "Pack up your seven plums and get out!

My collection of course contains a plethora of such patients dreams the analysis of which leads back to imp ess ons of childhood, often dating back to th first three years of life which are remembered obscurely or not at all. But it is a questionable proceeding to draw conclusions from these and apply them to

f the neuros s and not by the nat e of dreams in ge ral In the interpretation of my own dreams however which is assuredly not undertaken o account of gra symptoms of illness it happens ju t as freque tly that in the late t dream-content I am unexpectedly co fro ted with a scene of my childhood and that a whol eries of my dreams will suddenly co rg upo the paths proceeding from a single childi h experience I ha e lready given examples of thi and I shall gi e yet m re in different conn ctions Perhaps I cannot close this chapt r more fittingly than by citing several dreams f my own, in which recent events a d long forgotten experiences of my childhood appea together as d eam-sources

I Afte I ha been tra elling and have

gone to bed hungry and tired the prime necessities of life begin to assert their claims in sleep and I dream as follows *I go into a kitchen in order to ask for some pudding There three women are standing one of whom is the hostess she is rolling something in her hands as though she were making dumplings She replies that I must wait until she has finished* (not distinctly as a speech) *I become impatient and go away affronted I want to put on an overcoat but the first I try on is too long I take it off and am somewhat astonished to find that it is trimmed with fur A second coat has a long strip of cloth with a Turkish design sewn into it A stranger with a long face and a short pointed beard comes up and prevents me from putting it on declaring that it belongs to him I now show him that it is covered all over with Turkish embroideries He asks How do the Turkish (drawings strips of cloth) concern you? But we soon become quite friendly*

In the analysis of this dream I remember quite unexpectedly the first novel which I ever read or rather which I began to read from the end of the first volume when I was perhaps thirteen years of age I have never learned the name of the novel or that of its author but the end remains vividly in my memory The hero becomes insane and continually calls out the names of the three women who have brought the greatest happiness and the greatest misfortune into his life Pelagie is one of these names I still do not know what to make of this recollection during the analysis Together with the three women there now emerge the three Parcae who spin the fates of men and I know that one of the three women the hostess in the dream is the mother who gives life and who moreover as in my own case gives the child its first nourishment Love and hunger meet at the mother s breast A young man—so runs an anecdote—who became a great admirer of womanly beauty once observed when the conversation turned upon the handsome wet nurse who had suckled him as a child that he was sorry that he had not taken better advantage of his opportunities I am in the habit of using the anecdote to elucidate the factor of retrospective tendencies in the mechanism of the psychoneuroses One of the Parcae then is rubbing the palms of her hands together as though she were making dumplings A strange occupation for one of the Fates and urgently in need of explanation! This explanation is furnished by another and earlier memory of my childhood When I was six years old, and receiving my first lessons from my mother I was expected to believe that we are made of dust and must therefore return to dust. But this did not please me and I questioned the doctrine Thereupon my mother rubbed the palms of her hands together—just as in making dumplings except that there was no dough between them—and showed me the blackish scales of *epidermis* which were thus rubbed off *as a proof that it is of dust that we are made.* Great was my astonishment at this demonstration *ad oculos* and I acquiesced in the idea which I was later to hear expressed in the words Thou owest nature a death Thus the women to whom I go in the kitchen as I so often did in my childhood when I was hungry and my mother sitting by the fire admonished me to wait until lunch was ready are really the Parcae And now for the dumplings! At least one of my teachers at the University—the very one to whom I am indebted for my *histological* knowledge (*epidermis*)—would be reminded by the name *Knodl* (*Knodl* means dumplin) of a person whom he had to prosecute for *plagiarising* his writings Committing a plagiarism taking anything one can lay hands on even thou h it belon s to another obviously leads to the second part of the dream in which I am treated like the *overcoat thief* who for ome time plied his trade in the lecture halls I have written the word *plagiarism*—without definite intention—because it occurred to me and now I see that it must belong to the latent dream content and that it will serve as a bridge between the different parts of the manifest dream content. The chain of associations — *Pélagie* — *plagiarism* — *plagiostomi* (sharks)—*fish bladder*—connects the old novel with the affair of Knodl and the overcoats (German *Uberzieher*=pullover overcoat or condom) which obviously refer to an appliance appertaining to the technique of sex This it is true is a very forced and irrational connection but it is nevertheless one which I could not have established in waking life if it had not already been established by the dream work Indeed as though nothing were sacred to this impulse to enforce associations the beloved name *Brucke* (bridge of word see above)

Both th ffects pertai g to th se childish scenes — t hm t d re gn t t th t ble— p rst

t h

now serves to remind me of the very institute in which I spent my happiest hours as a student wa..m f r nothme "So will you at the *breasts* of Wisdom every day more pleasure find") in the most complete contrast to the desires which plague me (German *plagen*) wh.. I dream. And finally there em rges the recollection of another dear teacher whose name once more sounds like something edible (*Fleischl—Fleisch* = meat—like *Knodl* = dumplings) and f pathetic scene in which the scales of epidermis play a part (mother—hostess) and mental derangement (the novel) and a remedy from the Latin pharmacopeia (*K ke* = kitchen) which numbs the sensation of *hunger* namely cocain

In this manner I could follow the intricate trains of thought till farther and could fully elucidate that part of the dream which is lacking in the analysis but I must refrain, because the personal sacrifice which this would involve is too great. I shall take up only one of the threads which will serve t lead us directly to one of the dream thoughts that lie at the bottom f the medley The stranger with th l g f ce and pointed beard, who wants to prevent me from putting on the overcoat, has the features f a tradesman of Spalat of whom my wife bought a great deal f *Turkish* cloth. His name was *P povil* a suspicious name wh.ch even ga e the humorist Stettenheim pretext for a suggestive remark He told me his name and blushingly shook m hand.* For the rest, I find the sam misuse of names as bove in the case f *Pl ge Knodl Bru ke Fleischl* No one will deny that such playing with names is a childish trick if I indulge in t the practice amounts to n act of retribution, f r my wn name has ften enou h been the subject of such feeble attempts at wit Goethe once remarked how sensitive man is in respect t his nam which he feels that he fills even as he fills his kin H rde having written the f llowing lines on his name

Der d von G t ern ab t wm t on
G ken oder m Fo e
S ud hr G tterb er cu k St ub
(Thou wh art born f the gods f th
G th or f the mud
Thus thy godlik mag even dust)

I realize that this digression on the misuse f names was intended merely to justify this complaint. But here let us stop The purchase at Spalato reminds me of another purchase at Cattaro where I was too cautious and missed the opportunity of makin an excellent bargain. (Missing an opportunity at the breast of the wet nurse see above.) One of the dream-thoughts occasioned by the sensation of hunger really amounts to this We should let nothing escape we should take what we can get, even if we do a little wrong we should never let an opportunity go by life is o hort and death inevitable. Because this is meant even sexually and because desire is unwilling to check tself before the thou ht of d ing wrong this philosophy of *carpe d em* has reason to fear the censorship and must conceal tself behind a dream. And so all orts of counter thoughts find xpression with recollections of the time when *spirit l nourishment* alone was suffici t fo the dreamer with hindrances of every kind and even threats of disgusting sexual punishments

II. A second dream requires a longer preliminary statement

I had driven to the Western Station in order t start on a holiday trip to the Aussee but I went on to the platform in time for the Ischl train which leaves ea lier There I saw Count Thun, who was again going t see th Empe or at Ischl. In spite f th rain h rr ved in an open carriage, came traight through the entrance gate for the local trains and with a curt gesture and n t a word of explanation he waved ba k the gatekeeper who did not know him and wanted t take his ticket. After he had left in the Ischl train, I was asked to leave the platform and return to th waiting room but after some difficulty I btained permission t remain. I passed th tim noting how many people bribed the officials to secure a ompartment I fully inte ded t make a complaint—that is to demand the same privilege. Meanwhile I sang something to myself which I afterwards recognized as the aria from *The Marriage f F garo*

If my lord Count would t ead a measure
t ead a measure
Let h m but s y his pl asure
A d I will pl y the tune

(Possibly other person would not ha e recognized the tune)

The whol evening I was in a h h-spirited pugnacious mood I chaffed the waiter and the cab-driver I hope without hurting their feelings and now all kinds of bold and revolutionary thoug ts came int my mind, such as

* *P pov* backside in German nursery language.

would fit themselves to the words of Figaro and to memories of Beaumarchais comedy of which I had seen a performance at the *Comédie Française* The speech about the great men who have taken the trouble to be born the seigneurial right which Count Almaviva wishes to exercise with regard to Susanne the jokes which our malicious Opposition journalists make on the name of Count Thun (German *thun*=do) calling him Graf Nichtsthun Count Do Nothing I really do not envy him he now has a difficult audience with the Emperor before him and it is I who am the real Count Do Nothing for I am going off for a holiday I make all sorts of amusing plans for the vacation Now a gentleman arrives whom I know as a Government representative at the medical examinations and who has won the flattering nickname of the Governmental bed fellow (literally *by sleeper*) by his activities in this capacity By insisting on his official status he secured half a first class compartment and I heard one guard say to another Where are we going to put the gentleman with the first class half compartment? A pretty sort of favouritism! I am paying for a whole first class compartment I did actually get a whole compartment to myself but not in a through carriage so there was no lavatory at my disposal during the night My complaints to the guard were fruitless I revenged myself by suggesting that at least a hole be made in the floor of this compartment to serve the possible needs of passengers At a quarter to three in the morning I wake with an urgent desire to urinate from the following dream

A crowd a students meeting A certain Count (Thun or Taaffe) is making a speech Being asked to say something about the Germans he declares with a contemptuous gesture that their favourite flower is coltsfoot and he then puts into his buttonhole something like a torn leaf really the crumpled skeleton of a leaf I jump up and I jump up but I am surprised at my implied attitude Then more indistinctly *It seems as though this were the vestibule (Aula) the exits are thronged and one must escape I make my way through a suite of handsomely appointed rooms evidently ministerial apartments with furniture of a colour between brown and violet and at last I come to a corridor in which a housekeeper a fat elderly woman is seated I try to avoid speaking to her but she apparently thinks I have a right to pass this way because she asks whether she shall accompany me with the lamp I indicate with a gesture or tell her that she is to remain standing on the stairs and it seems to me that I am very clever for after all I am evading detection Now I am downstairs and I find a narrow steeply rising path which I follow*

Again indistinctly *It is as though my second task were to get away from the city just as my first was to get out of the building I am riding in a one horse cab and I tell the driver to take me to a railway station I can t drive with you on the railway line itself I say when he reproaches me as though I had tired him out Here it seems as though I had already made a journey in his cab which is usually made by rail The stations are crowded I am wondering whether to go to Krems or to Znaim but I reflect that the Court will be there and I decide in favour of Gra or some such place Now I am seated in the railway carriage which is rather like a tram and I have in my buttonhole a peculiar long braided thing on which are violet brown violets of stiff material which makes a great impression on people* Here the scene breaks off

I am once more in front of the railway station but I am in the company of an elderly gentleman I think out a scheme for remaining unrecogni ed but I see this plan already being carried out Thinking and experiencing are here as it were the same thing He pretends to be blind at least in one eye and I hold before him a male glass urinal (which we have to buy in the city or have bought) I am thus a sick nurse and have to give him the urinal because he is blind If the conductor sees us in this position he must pass us by without drawing attention to us At the same time the position of the elderly man and his urinating organ is plastically perceived Then I wake with a desire to urinate

The whole dream seems a sort of phantasy which takes the dreamer back to the year of revolution 1848 the memory of which had been revived by the jubilee of 1898 as well as by a little excursion to Wachau on which I visited *Emmersdorf* the refuge of the student leader Fischof to whom several features of the manifest dream content might refer The association of ideas then leads me to

Th s epet t o has pt I to th t t f the d m, app re tly th ough bse t m d d d I h l ft it because analys shows th t t h s a m g

Th r d t sl p f I I med I t th t th Emm sd f W b t d t cal w th th f g f th I tl t Fisch f place of th sam nam

England, to the house of my brother who used in jest to twit his wife with the title of — A wh reupon en at the

sight of Count Thun, is like the f çade of an Italian church, without organic connection with the structure behind it but unlike such a f çade t is full of gaps and confused, and in many places portions of the interior break through. The first situation of the dream is made up of number of cenes, into which I am able to d sect t. The arrogant attitude of the Count in the dream s cop ed from a scene at my school which occurred in my fifteenth year We had hatched c nspiracy gainst an unpopular and ignorant teache the leading spirit in this conspiracy was a schoolmate who since that time seems to ha e taken Henry VIII of England as his model. It fell to me to carry out the *coup d'é at* and a discus o of the im portance of the Danube (German, *Donau*) to Austria (Wachau) was the occa ion f an open revolt *One of our f llow-conspirators was our* only aristocratic hoolmate—he was called the giraffe on account f his consp cu us height—and while he w s being reprimanded by the tyrant of the chool th professor of the *German* language h tood just as the Count stood in the dream. The explanation f the *favourit* flow and the putting into a button

peare s historical play wh h opens the civil wars f the *Red* and th *White* Roses the men tion f Henry VIII has pa ed the way to this reminiscence Now t is n very far from roses to red and white carnat ons (Meanwhil two little rhymes the one German, the other Span sh, insinuat themsel es into the analys *Rosen Tulpen Nelken al Bl men welken* and *Isabel flores qu s marchitan las flores* The panish line occurs in *F garo*) Here in Vienna ite carnations ha e becom the badge of the *A ti-Sem t* red ones f the *S cial D m cra* Behind th s is the recollectio of an a Semitic challenge dur g a railw journey in beaut f l S xony (Anglo-Saxo) The third scene contributing to the form t on f the first situation in the dream d tes from my ea ly stu

dent days There was a debate in a *German* stu dents club about the relation of philosophy to th en ral sciences Being a green youth full of

dent, wh has ince then shown his capacity l leadin men and organizin the masses and who m reo e bears a name bel nging to the animal kingdom, rose and gave us a tho ough dres ing down he too he aid had herded swin in his youth, and had then returned repentant to his f the s house. *I jumped up* (as in the dream) became *piggishly rude* and retorted that since I knew he had herded *swine I was ot surprised* at the tone of his discourse (In the dream I am *surprised at* my German Nationalistic feel ings) There was a great commotion and an alm st general demand that I sh uld retract my words but *I stood my ground*. The insulted tudent was too sensible to take the advice which was off red him, that he should send me a *chal e ge* and let the matter drop

The remaining elements of this cene of the *dream are of more remote origin. What does t* mean that the Coun should make a scornful referen e to colt-foot? H re I must question my train of associations. Coltsfoot (German *Huflattich*) *Latt ce* (lettuce) *Salath d* (the dog that grudges oth rs what he cannot eat him self) Here plenty of opp obrious epithets may be discerned *Gir-affe* (German *Affe*=m key ape) *pig sow dog* I might even arri e by way f the name at *donkey* and thereby pour c tempt upo an academ c profes or Furthermore I translate coltsfoot (H flatt ch) —I d not know wh ther I do o correctly—by *pis -en-l t* I get this idea from Zola s *Germinal* in which some children are told to bring som dandelion salad w th them. The dog—*chien*—has a name sounding not unlike the verb for the major funct on (*chier* as *pisser* stands f the mino o e) Now w sh ll soon have the indecent in all ts three phys cal categories fo in th sam *Germ nal* which deal with the f ture revolution there is a description of a very peculiar contest, which relates to the production of the gaseous e cretions known as *flatus* And now I cannot but observe how the way t this *flatus* ha been prepared a l g while ince beginning with the *flowers* and proceeding t th Spanish th me of *Isabel a* to *Ferdinand* and *Is b lla* and by way of Henry VIII

Roses, tulips nd carna ions flowers all ll withe
Do not cry li tle Isabella because you flowers have faded.

N t i *Germinal* but *La Terre*—a mistak f which I becam ware only in the nalysis. Here I would call en ion to the iden y f le ters in *Huflattich* and *Flatus*

to English history at the time of the Armada after the victorious termination of which the English struck a medal with the inscription *Flavit et dissipati sunt* for the storm had scattered the Spanish fleet I had thou ht of using this phrase half jestingly as the title of a chapter on Therapy if I should ever succeed in giving a detailed account of my conception and treatment of hysteria

I cannot give so detailed an interpretation of the second scene of the dream out of sheer regard for the censorship For at this point I put myself in the place of a certain eminent gentleman of the revolutionary period who had an adventure with an eagle (German *Adler*) and who is said to have suffered from incontinence of the bowels *incontinentia alvi* etc and here I believe that I *should not be justified* in passin the censorship even though it was an *aulic* councillor (*aula consiliarius aulicus*) who told me the greater part of this history The suite of rooms in the dream is suggested by his Excellency s private saloon carriage into which I was able to glance but it means as it so often does in dreams a woman The personality of the housekeeper is an ungrateful allusion to a witty old lady which ill repays her for the good times and the many good stories which I have enjoyed in her house The incident of the lamp goes back to *Grillpar er* who notes a charming experience of a similar nature of which he afterwards made use in *Hero and Leander* (the *waves* of the *sea* and of love—the Armada and the *storm*)

I must forego a detailed analysis of the two remaining portions of the dream I shall single out only those elements which lead me back to the two scenes of my childhood for the sake of which alone I have selected the dream The reader will rightly assume that it is sexual material which necessitates the suppression but he may not be content with this explanation There are many things of which one makes no secret to oneself but which must be treated as secrets in addressing others and here we are concerned not with the reasons which induce me to conceal the solution but with the motive of the inner censorship which conceals the real content of the dream even from myself Concerning this I will confess that the analysis reveals these three portions of the dream as impertinent boasting the exuberance of an ab urd megalomania long ago suppressed in my waking life which however dares to show itself with individual ramifications even in the manifest dream content (*it seems to me that I am a cunning fellow*) making the high spirited mood of the evening before the dream perfectly intelligible Boasting of every kind indeed thus the mention of Graz points to the phrase What price Graz? which one is wont to use when one feels unusually wealthy Readers who recall Master Rabelais s inimitable description of the life and deeds of Gargantua and his son Pantagruel will be able to enroll even the suggested content of the first portion of the dream among the boasts to which I have alluded But the followin belongs to the two scenes of childhood of which I have spoken I had bought a *new* trunk for this journey the colour of which a *brownish violet* appears in the dream several times (violet brown violets of a stiff cloth

I have been childhood itself has been replaced by my recollection of the story I am told that at the age of two I still used occasionally to wet my bed and that when I was reproved for doing so I *consoled* my father by promising to buy him a beautiful *new red* bed in N (the nearest large town) Hence the interpolation in the dream that we *had bought the urinal in the city or had to buy it* one must keep one s promises (One should note moreover the association of the male urinal and the woman s trunk *box*) All the megalomania of the child is contained in this promise The significance of dreams of urinary difficulties in the case of children has already been considered in the interpretation of an earlier dream (cf the dream on p 208) The psycho analysis of neurotics has taught us to recognize the intimate connection between wetting the bed and the character trait of ambition

Then when I was seven or eight years of age another domestic incident occurred which I remember very well One evening before going to bed I had disregarded the dictates of discretion and had satisfied my needs in my parents bedroom and in their presence Reprimanding

A u l c ted b g ph r D F W tt l re p o ch me f ba g m tt d the m of J hovah

me for this d linquency my fathe rem rked "That boy will ever amount to anythin This must ha e been a terrible affront to my amb tion for allus s to th s sc ne recur again and again in my d eams and are constantly coupled with e umerations of my ac compli hments and succ sses as tho gh I wanted to say 'You see I ha e amounted to somethi g after all Th childi h ce e fur ni hes the lements for the last image of the dream in which the roles a int rchanged f course f r the purpose of rev ge The eld rly man obv ou ly my fath r for th blindness in o e eye signifies his one ded glaucoma is n w urinating before me as I once urinat d before him By means of the glaucoma I re mind my fath r f cocaine which stood him in good stead during his operation though I had thereby fulfill d my p omise Bes d s I make sport of him s c he is blind I m st h ld the *glass* i fr nt of him d I delight in allus ons t my knowled e of the theory of hysteria, f which I am p oud

If th two child sh scenes of urination are a c rding to my the ry closely a sociated with the d s re fo greatness their resuscitat on on the j urn y to the Aussee was further favoured by the accidental circumstance that my com partment had no lavatory and that I must be prepared to postpone relief during the journey as actually happened in the mornin when I woke w th the ensation of a bodily need I suppo e one might be i clined to credit this ensation with being th actual stimulus of the dream I should however prefe a differ nt explanat o namely that the dream thoughts first gave rise to the des r to urinate It s quite unusual for me to be d stu bed in sleep by ny phys cal need least of all at the time when I woke o this occas on—a quarter to four in the morning I w uld forestall a further objec tion by emarking that I ha e ha dly ever felt a des r to urinat after waking ea ly on other journeys made under more c mfortable ci cum stances However I can leave this po nt unde cided w thout weakening my argum nt.

Furthe since experience n dream-analysis has drawn my attention to the f ct that even from dreams the interpret tio of which seems at first ght complet because the dream sources and the wish stimuli are eas ly demon strable important trains f thought p ceed which reach back int th ea l est years of childh od I had to ask myself whether this characteristic does n t eve constitute an es s tial condit on of dreaming If t were pe missible to ge eralize this notion I hould say that every dream s connected through its mani fe t c nte t with rece t experie ces while through its latent conte t t is connected with the mo t remote experiences and I can actually how in the analysis of hysteria that these re mote experienc s have m a very real sense remained *ecent* right up to the present But I till find t very difficult to p ove this conjec ture I shall ha e t eturn to th prob ble le in dream f rm tion of th liest experi nces of ur childhood n an ther c nn t on (chapt II)

Of th th ee peculiarit es of the d m m m

An the interp ta H is ne-eyed lik Od the f the f the gods—Od nsol n. Th solution in the ch'ldish sce I will b y him bed.

H re is some m re m te l f in rpreta H ld g the -glas recall th ry f pe sa (ill tera) t b op an h ed on wa ll nabl i g f The the

so ie bed he dream.—"Th k d xpe en g re b re

h ma dixatio (so f mothe -n b does ot necess ta qu l fica l b doc ne) — Th rds h b occurred me i the d eam th k od xperienc re the same th g ref to he d on f hys rical ymp m with h h th m le al (la) is also assoc d —I need r l be pr oc le I *G k* Viennese i n- ts on true bjects l rare od cos l p- pearanc ou l l d pref rabl mical d

wh ch they b ild up l the m t harmless d omm pl ce m l f tual xpe ce Th ymp- oms tach themselve p m ly these pha tas es

en f wh h h d ed f gl inal f men, ch as is used hosp tals.

ory considered above one—the preference for the unimportant in the dream content—has been satisfactorily explained by tracing it back to dream distortion We have succeeded in establishing the existence of the other two peculiarities—the preferential election of recent and also of infantile material—but we have found it impossible to derive them from the motives of the dream Let us keep in mind these two characteristics which we still have to explain or evaluate a place will have to be found for them elsewhere either in the discussion of the psychology of the sleeping state or in the consideration of the structure of the psychic apparatus—which we shall undertake later after we have seen that by means of dream interpretation we are able to glance as through an inspection hole into the interior of this apparatus

But here and now I will emphasize another result of the last few dream analyses The dream often appears to have several meanings not only may several wish fulfilments be combined in it as our examples show but one meaning or one wish fulfilment may conceal another until in the lowest stratum one comes upon the fulfilment of a wish from the earliest period of childhood and here again it may be questioned whether the word *often* at the beginning of this sentence may not more correctly be replaced by *constantly*

C The Somatic Sources of Dreams

If we attempt to interest a cultured layman in the problems of dreams and if with this end in view we ask him what he believes to be the source of dreams we shall generally find that he feels quite sure he knows at least this part of the solution He thinks immediately of the influence exercised on the formation of dreams by a disturbed or impeded digestion (Dreams come from the stomach) an accidental position of the body a trifling occurrence during sleep He does not seem to suspect that even after all these factors have been duly considered something still remains to be explained

In the introductory chapter we examined at length the opinion of scientific writers on the role of somatic stimuli in the formation of dreams so that here we need only recall the results of this inquiry We have een that three kinds of somatic stimuli will be di tinguished the objective sensory stimuli which proceed from external objects the inner states of excitation of the ensory organs having only a subjective reality and the bodily stimuli arising within the body and we have also noticed that the writers on dreams are inclined to thrust into the background any psychic sources of dreams which may operate simultaneously with the somatic stimuli or to exclude them altogether In testing the claims made on behalf of these somatic stimuli we have learned that the significance of the objective excitation of the sensory organs—whether accidental stimuli operating during sleep or such as cannot be excluded from the dormant relation of these dream ima es and ideas to the internal bodily stimuli and confirmed by experiment that the part played by the subjective sensory stimuli appears to be demonstrated by the recurrence of hypna ogic sensory images in dreams and that although the broadly accepted relation of these dream images and ideas to the internal bodily stimuli cannot be exhaustively demonstrated it is at all events confirmed by the well known influence which an excited state of the digestive urinary and sexual organs exercises upon the content of our dreams

Nerve stimulus and *bodily stimulus* would thus be the anatomical sources of dreams that is according to many writers the sole and exclusive sources of dreams

But we have already considered a number of doubtful points which seem to question not so much the correctness of the somatic theory as its adequacy

However confident the representatives of this theory may be of its factual basis—e pecially in respect of the accidental and external nerve stimuli which may without d fficulty be recognized in the dream content—nevertheless they have all come near to admitting that the rich content of ideas found in dreams cannot be derived from the external nerve stimuli alone In this connection Miss Mary Whiton Calkins tested her own dreams and tho e of a second person for a period of six weeks and found that the element of external sensory perception was demonstrable in only 13 2 per cent and 6 7 per cent of these dreams respectively Only two dreams in the whole collection could be referred to organic sensations These statis

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t ly t o mpe f cily t g t d S f f ly d ly t t fi t f ymb ls d m due t ry stim l s h s be s bject d to th h valuati o ly by Otto Ra k

ties confirm what a cursory survey of our own experience would already have led us to suspect.

A distinction has often been made between *nerve stimulus dreams* which have already been thoroughly investigated and other forms of dreams Spitta, for example, divided dreams into nerve stimulus dreams and association dreams. But it was obvious that this solution remained unsatisfactory unless the link between the somatic sources of dreams and their ideational content could be indicated.

In addition to the first objection, that of the insufficient frequency of the external sources of stimulus, a second objection presents itself namely the inadequacy of the explanations of dreams afforded by this category of dream-sources. There are two things which the representatives of this theory have failed to explain firstly why the true nature of the external stimulus is not recognized in the dream, but is constantly mistaken for something else and secondly why the result of the reaction of the perceiving mind to this misconceived stimulus should be so indeterminate and variable We have seen that Strumpell, in answer to these questions asserts that the mind, since it turns away from the outer world during sleep is not in a position to give the correct interpretation of the objective sensory stimulus, but is forced to construct illusions on the basis of the indefinite stimulation arriving from many directions In his own words (*Die Natur und Entstehung der Traume* p 108)

When by an external or internal nerve-stimulus during sleep a feeling or a complex of feelings, or any sort of psychic process arises in the mind and is perceived by the mind, this process calls up from the mind perceptual images belonging to the sphere of the waking experiences that is to say earlier perceptions either unembellished, or with the psychic values appertaining to them. It collects about itself as it were a greater or lesser number of such images from which the impression resulting from the nerve-stimulus receives its psychic value. In this connection it is commonly said, as in ordinary language we say of the waking procedure that the mind *interprets* in sleep the impressions of nervous stimuli. The result of this interpretation is the so-called *nerve stimulus dream*—that is a dream the components of which are conditioned by the fact that a nerve-stimulus produces its psychical effect in the life of the mind in accordance with the laws of reproduction.

In all essential points identical with this doctrine is Wundt's statement that the concepts of dreams proceed, at all events for the most part from sensory stimuli and especially from the stimuli of general sensation and are therefore mostly phantastic illusions—probably only to a small extent pure memory-conceptions raised to the condition of hallucinations To illustrate the relation between dream-content and dream stimuli which follows from this theory Strumpell makes use of an excellent simile. It is as though the ten fingers of a person ignorant of music were to stray over the keyboard of an instrument. The implication is that the dream is not a psychic phenomenon, originating from psychic motives, but the result of a physiological stimulus, which expresses itself in psychic symptomatology because the apparatus affected by the stimulus is not capable of any other mode of expression. Upon a similar assumption is based the explanation of obsessions which Meynert attempted in his famous simile of the dial on which individual figures are most deeply embossed.

Popular though this theory of the somatic dream stimuli has become and seductive though it may seem, it is none the less easy to detect its weak point. Every somatic dream stimulus which provokes the psychic apparatus in sleep to interpretation by the formation of illusions may evoke an incalculable number of such attempts at interpretation It may consequently be represented in the dream-content by an extraordinary number of different concepts. But the theory of Strumpell and Wundt cannot point to any sort of motive which controls the relation between the external stimulus and the dream-concept chosen to interpret it and therefore it cannot explain the "peculiar choice which the stimuli often enough make in the course of their productive activity (Lipps, *Grundtatsachen des Seelenlebens* p 170) Other objections may be raised against the fundamental assumption behind the theory of illusions—the assumption that during sleep the mind is not in a condition to recognize the real nature of the objective sensory stimuli. The old physiologist Burdach shows us that the mind is quite capable even during sleep of a correct interpretation of the

I would advise everyone to read the exact and detailed records (collected in two volumes) of the dreams experimentally produced by Mourly Vold in order to convince himself how little the conditions of the experiments help to explain the content of the individual dream, and how little such experiments help us towards an understanding of the problems of dreams.

sensory impressions which reach it and of reacting in accordance with this correct interpretation inasmuch as he demonstrates that certain sensory impressions which seem important to the individual may be excepted from the general neglect of the sleeping mind (as in the example of nurse and child) and that one is more surely awakened by one s own name than by an indifferent auditory impression all of which presupposes of course that the mind discriminates between sensations even in sleep Burdach infers from these observations that we must not assume that the mind is incapable of interpreting sensory stimuli in the sleeping state but rather *that it is not sufficiently interested in them* The arguments which Burdach employed in 1830 reappear unchanged in the works of Lipps (in the year 1883) where they are employed for the purpose of attacking the theory of somatic stimuli According to these arguments the mind seems to be like the sleeper in the anecdote who on being asked Are you asleep? answers No and on being again addressed with the words Then lend me ten florins takes refuge in the excuse I am asleep

The inadequacy of the theory of somatic dream stimuli may be further demonstrated in another way Observation shows that external stimuli do not oblige me to dream even though these stimuli appear in the dream content as soon as I begin to dream—supposing that I do dream In response to a touch or pressure stimulus experienced while I am asleep a variety of reactions are at my disposal I may overlook it and find on waking that my leg has become uncovered or that I have been lying on an arm indeed pathology offers me a host of examples of powerfully exciting sensory and motor stimuli of different kinds which remain ineffective during sleep I may perceive the sensation during sleep and through my sleep as it were as constantly happens in the case of pain stimuli but without weaving the pain into the texture of a dream And thirdly I may wake up in response to the stimulus simply in order to avoid it Still another fourth reaction is possible namely that the nerve stimulus may cause me to dream but the other possible reactions occur quite as frequently as the reaction of dream formation This however would not be the case *if the incentive to dreaming did not lie outside the somatic dream sources*

Appreciating the importance of the above mentioned lacunae in the explanation of dreams by somatic stimuli other writers—Scherner for example and following him the philosopher Volkelt—endeavoured to determine more precisely the nature of the psychic activities which cause the many coloured ima es of our dreams to proceed from the somatic stimuli and in so doing they approached the problem of the essential nature of dreams as a problem of psychology and regarded dreaming as a psychic activity Scherner not only gave a poetical, vivid and glowing description of the psychic peculiarities which unfold themselves in the course of dream formation but he also believed that he had hit upon the principle of the method the mind employs in dealing with the stimuli which are offered to it The dream according to Scherner in the free activity of the phantasy which has been released from the shackles imposed upon it during the day *strives to represent* symbolically the nature of the organ from which the stimulus proceeds Thus there exists a sort of dream book a guide to the interpretation of dreams by means of which bodily sensations the conditions of the organs and states of stimulation may be inferred from the dream images Thus the image of a cat expressed *extreme ill temper the image of pale* smooth pastry the nudity of the body The human body as a whole is pictured by the phantasy of the dream as a house and the individual organs of the body as parts of the house In *toothache dreams* a vaulted vestibule corresponds to the mouth and a staircase to the descent from the pharynx to the oesophagus in the *headache dream* a ceiling covered with disgusting toad like spiders is chosen to denote the upper part of the head Many different *symbols are employed by our dreams for* the same organ thus the breathing *lung finds its* symbol in a roaring stove filled with flame. the heart in empty boxes and baskets and the bladder in round bag shaped or merely hollow objects It is of particular significance that at the close of the dream the stimulating organ or its function is often represented without disguise and usually on the dreamer s own body Thus the *toothache-dream* commonly end by the dreamer drawing a tooth out of his mouth

It cannot be said that this theory of dream interpretation has found much favour with other writers It seems above all extravagant and o Scherner s *readers have hesitated to give* it even the small amount of credit to which it is, in my opinion entitled As will be seen it tends to a revival of dream interpretation *by means* of *symbolism* a method employed by the ancients only the province from which the in

terpretation is to be derived is restricted to the human body. The lack of a scientifically comprehensible technique of interpretation must seriously limit the applicability of Scherner's theory. Arbitrariness in the interpretation of dreams would appear to be by no means excluded, especially since in this case also a stimulus may be expressed in the dream-content by several representative symbols; thus even Scherner's follower Volkelt was unable to confirm the representation of the body as a house. Another objection is that here again the dream activity is regarded as a useless and aimless activity of the mind, since, according to this theory, the mind is content with merely forming phantasies around the stimulus with which it is dealing, without even remotely attempting to abolish the stimulus.

Scherner's theory of the symbolization of bodily stimuli by the dream is seriously damaged by yet another objection. These bodily stimuli are present at all times, and it is generally assumed that the mind is more accessible to them during sleep than in the waking state. It is therefore impossible to understand why the mind does not dream continuously all night long, and why it does not dream every night about all the organs. If one attempts to evade this objection by positing the condition that special excitations must proceed from the eye, the ear, the teeth, the bowels, etc., in order to arouse the dream-activity, one is confronted with the difficulty of proving that this increase of stimulation is objective, and proof is possible only in a very few cases. If the dream of flying is a symbolization of the upward and downward motion of the pulmonary lobes, either this dream, as has already been remarked by Strumpell, should be dreamt much oftener, or it should be possible to show that respiration is more active during this dream. Yet a third alternative is possible—and it is the most probable of all—namely, that now and again special motives are operative to direct the attention to the visceral sensations which are constantly present. But this would take us far beyond the scope of Scherner's theory.

The value of Scherner's and Volkelt's disquisitions resides in their calling our attention to a number of characteristics of the dream-content which are in need of explanation, and which seem to promise fresh discoveries. It is quite true that symbolizations of the bodily organs and functions do occur in dreams: for example, that water in a dream often signifies desire to urinate, that the male genital organ may be represented by an upright staff or a pillar, etc. With dreams which exhibit a very animated field of vision and brilliant colours, in contrast to the dimness of other dreams, the interpretation that they are "dreams due to visual stimulation" can hardly be dismissed, nor can we dispute the participation of illusion-formation in dreams which contain noise and a medley of voices. A dream like that of Scherner, that two rows of fair handsome boys stood facing one another on a bridge, attacking one another, and then resuming their positions, until finally the dreamer himself sat down on a bridge and drew a long tooth from his jaw; or a similar dream of Volkelt's, in which two rows of drawers played a part, and which again ended in the extraction of a tooth: dream

writers
missing
with ut

seeking the kernel of truth which may be contained in it. We are therefore confronted with the task of finding a different explanation of the supposed symbolization of the alleged dental stimulus.

Throughout our consideration of the theory of the somatic sources of dreams I have refrained from urging the argument which arises from our analyses of dreams. If, by a procedure which has not been followed by other writers in their investigation of dreams, we can prove that the dream possesses intrinsic value as psychic action, that a wish supplies the motive of its formation, and that the experiences of the previous day furnish the most obvious material of its content, any other theory of dreams which neglects such an important method of investigation—and accordingly makes the dream

which only one kind has come under our observation, while the other kind alone has been observed by the earlier investigators. It only remains now to find a place in our theory of dreams for the facts on which the current doctrine of somatic dream-stimuli is based.

We have already taken the first step in this direction in advancing the thesis that the dream-work is under a compulsion to elaborate into a unified whole all the dream-stimuli which are simultaneously present (p. x above). We have seen that when two or more experiences capable of making an impression on the mind have

been left over from the previous day the wishes that result from them are united into one dream similarly that the impressions possessing psychic value and the indifferent experiences of the previous day unite in the *dream material provided that connecting ideas* between the two can be established Thus the dream appears to be a reaction to everything which is simultaneously present as actual in the sleeping mind As far as we have hitherto analysed the dream material we have discovered it to be a collection of psychic remnants and memory traces which we were obliged to credit (on account of the preference shown for re*cent and for infantile material*) with a character of psychological actuality though the nature of this actuality was not at the time determinable We shall now have little difficulty in predicting what will happen when to these actualities of the memory fresh material in the form of sensations is added during sleep These stimuli again are of importance to the dream because they are actual they are united with the other psychic actualities to provide the material for dream formation To express it *in other words the stimuli which occur dur*ing sleep are elaborated into a wish fulfilment of which the other components are the psychic remnants of daily experience with which we are already familiar This combination however is not inevitable we have seen that more than one kind of behaviour toward the physical stimuli received during sleep is possible Where this combination is effected a conceptual material for the dream content has been found which will represent both kinds of dream sources the somatic as well as the psychic

The nature of the dream is not altered when *omatic material is* added to the psychic dream sources it still remains a wish fulfilment no matter how *its expression is determined* by the actual material available

I should like to find room here for a number of peculiarities which are able to modify the significance of external stimuli for the dream I imagine that a co operation of individual physiological and accidental factors which depend on the circumstances of the moment determines how one will behave in individual cases of more intensive objective stimulation during sleep habitual or accidental profundity of sleep in conjunction with the intensity of the stimulus will in one case make it possible so to suppress the stimulus that it will not disturb the sleeper while in another case it will force the sleeper to wake or will assist the attempt to subdue the stimulus by weav... it into the texture of the dream In accordance with the multiplicity of these constellatio..., external objective stimuli will be expressed more rarely or more frequently in the case of one person than in that of another In my own case since I am an excellent sleeper and obstinately refuse to allow myself to be disturbed during sleep on any pretext whatever this in

deed I have noted only a single dream in which an objective painful source of stimulation is *demonstrable* and it will be highly instructive to see what effect the external stimulus had in this particular dream

I am riding a gray horse at first timidly and awkwardly as though I were merely carried along Then I meet a colleague P also on horseback and dressed in rough frie e he is sitting erect in the saddle he calls my a ten tion to something (probably to the fact that I have a very bad seat) Now I begin to feel more and more at ease on the back of my highly intelligent horse I sit more comfort bly

horse I ride between two vans and just man age to clear them After riding up the street for some distance I turn round and wish to dis mount at first in front of a little open chapel which is built facing on to the street Then I do really dismount in front of a chapel wh ch stands near the first one the hotel is in the same street I might let the horse go there by itself but I prefer to lead it thither It seems as though I should be ashamed to arrive there on horseback In front of the hotel there stands a page boy who shows me a note of mine which has been found and ridicules me on account of it On the note is written doubly underlined Eat nothing and then a second sentence (indistinct) something like Do not work at the same time a ha y idea that I am in a strange city in which I do no work

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work which I had nevertheless done during the day had conspired with the pain t upset me. I was not alt gether in a condition to discharge my duties as a physician b t in v ew of the na ture and the l cat o f the malady t was pos s'ble to im gine something else for which I was most of all unfit namely riding Now it s this very activity of riding into which I am plunged by the dream it is the most e erget c denial of the pain which imagination could conce ve As a matter of f ct I cannot ride I do not dream of doing so I never sat on a horse but once—and then without a saddle—and I d d not l'ke t But in this dream I ride as though I had o bo'l on the perineum o rather *I r de just b cause I wa t to have one* To judge from the d cripti n my saddle s th poultice wh ch has enabled me to f ll asleep Probably be g thus comforted I did not feel anything f my pain du ing the first few hours of my sleep Then the painful sensati s made them selves felt, and tried to wake me whe eupon th dream came and s d to me soothingly Go on sleep ng you are ot go ng to wake! Y u h e o boil for you are ding on ho se-back and w th a bo l just th re no one could ride! And the dream was s cc ssf l the pain was stifled, nd I went o sleeping

B t the dream was n t satisfied with sug gesting way the boil by tenaci usly holding fa t to an d a compat bl w th the malady (th s beh g like the hall cinatory insanity of a mother who ha lo t her child or f a me cha t who has lost his f rtune) In addi t o the details f the se sation denied and of ... n th d eam

of the h rse xactly orrespo ds w th th *pep-per-and salt* suit in whi h I last saw my col league P in the country I ha e been w rned that highly seas ned food th ca se of boils and in any case it is preferabl as an aetiolog ical explanat on t *s gar* which m ght be thought of n c nn tio w th furunculosis My f d P likes t *rid th h gh horse* with me ever nce he took my place the treatm t of a female patient whose case I had per f rm d great feats (*Kunstst cke* in th d am I sit the h rse at first s deways lik a tri k rid er *Kunst cuer*) but wh really lik th horse in the story of the Sunday eq estrian, led me wherever she wi hed. Thus th h rse comes to be a symbol c represent t of lady pa

h dream it is *h ghly intell gent*) I ... wh ch ... was ... you ... my ... ians few well wishers amo g ... of the city recently said to me with reference to the same household And it was a *feat* to practise psychotherapy for e ght to ten hours a day while suffering such pain but I know that I ca not continue my pecul arly strenu ... y length of time without perfect

...

finding its w y f om the w s s ... ing to some very early childish quarrels which must h ve occurred between myself and a neph ew who s a year older than I and is now l ing in E gland It ha also taken up lem nts from my j urn ys in Italy the street in the dre m is bu lt up out of impress ons of Vero a and S e a A still deeper i terp etation l ads to sexual dream tho ghts and I recall what the dream-allusions to that beautiful country were ... d to mean in th dream f a female

hou e in which I preceded my frie d i a phy cian a d to the plac where th bo l is located

I a oth r dream, I was similarly successful in warding off a threat ned disturba ce of my sleep thi time the threat came fr m a sensory stimul s It was only chan e however that en bled me to d scover the co n ction betwee the d eam and the accide tal dream stimulus and in this way to unde st nd the d eam One mids mme morn ng n a Tyrolese mounta n res rt I woke w th th kn wledge that I had dreamed *The Pope is dead* I was not able to interpret this ho t no visual dream. I could remember only o e poss ble bas s of the dre m n mely that shortly bef e th s th ...

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work which I had nevertheless done during the day had conspired with the pain t upset me w t altogether in a condition to discharge — he na is pos- I was is this most ery acti ty of riding into whi h I am plunged by the dream it is the mo t e erg t c denial of the pain which maginati n c uld co ce ve. As a matte of fact I cannot ride I do not dream of d ing so I never at n a horse but on e—and th n witho t saddle—and I d d not like it. But in this dream I ride as though I had no boil o the perineum or rather *I ride just bec use I w t to have one* To judge from the description my saddle is the poultice wh ch has enabled m to fall asleep Probably being thus c mforted I did not feel anything of my pain durin the first few hours of my sleep Then the painful sensati ns made them selves felt, and tried to wake m whereupon th dream came and said to me soothingly Go o sleeping yo re not going to wake! Y u ha e o boil, for y u a e ding on horse-back and w th a boil just there o one c uld ride And th dream was suc essful the pain was stifled, and I went o sleeping

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few well wishers among the of the city recently said to me with reference to the same hous hold And it was a *feat* to practise psychotherapy for eight to ten hours a day while suffering such pain but I know that I ca not continue my peculia ly strenu w k f r any length of time w thout perfect

ot wo k do ot eat On further interpreta I see that the dream acti t has succeeded in finding its way from the wish tuat on of r d ing to some very ea ly childish quarrels which must have occurred betwee myself and a neph ew who is a ye r older tha I a d is now liv in in England It h also taken up eleme ts from my journeys in Italy the street in the dream is built up out of impres ons of Verona and S ena. A still deeper interpretation leads to sexual dream thoughts and I recall what the dream llus ons to that beautiful country were supposed t mean in the dream of a female patient wh had never been to Italy (*to Italy* German *gen Italien=Genital en=genitals*) at the same time there are references to the h use in which I preceded my friend P as phys cian and to the pl ce where the boil s located.

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midsummer morning in a Tyrolese m untain re rt I woke w th the knowledge that I had d eamed *The Pope is dead* I was not able to interpret this short, non visual d eam. I could rem mbe only e poss bl basis of the dream namely that shortly before this the ewspapers had reported that His Holiness was lightly dispo ed. B t in the c urse of the m rning my w fe ask d me D d you hea th dreadful tolling f the church bells this morn in ? I had no idea that I had he rd t but now I und rstood my dream It was th eac t n of my need fo sleep t th noise by which th p ous Tyroleans we e trying t wake m I a enged myself on them by the conclus on

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is at an end From among the interpretations of the stim lus which are thus admissible that one is selected which can secure the best con nection with the wi h impul es that ar ly n in wait in the mind Th s everything d finite ly determined, and nothin is left to caprice Th misin rpret tio is not an illusion but—if you will—an excu e Here again as in substitu tio by di plac ment in the serv ce f the dream-cen orship we have an act of deflection of the ormal psy hic procedure

If the external nerve timuli and the inner bodily timuli are suffici tly ntense to com pel psychic ttentı n th y represent—that s if they result in dreaming at all, and not in waking—a fixed po t for dream f rmation a ucleus in the dream mat rial, f r which an appropriate wish fulfilment s ought ju t as (see above) mediating ideas between two psy chical dream-stimul are sought To this ex t nt t is tru of a n mbe of dreams that the somatic eleme t di tates the dream-conte t. In this extreme case even wish that i not actually present may be roused f r the pur pos of dream f rmation. But the dream can — repre ent a wish in me

whi h seems a ontradict b t be omes pe f ctly int lligibl f w take into account th presence of two s rts of psy hic in tance a d th ens rship that s b sts between th m

I the psychi life there exist w ha e seen *epr* d wi hes wh h bel g t th first sy t m and t wh se fulfilme t the se o d sys tem opposed We d t mean this his- t ric sense—th t such w shes ha ce exi ted and ha e bseque tly bee destroyed Th d trin f *pr ssion* whi h we eed in th tudy of psy h eurose asserts that ch repressed wishes till exist but simulta eou ly w th an in hib ti whi h w ghs th m d wn. La gua has hit po th truth when t speaks of th *sup- pr on* (sub-pres pu h g under) f h mpulses Th psychi m hani m wh ch enables su h upp essed wishes t f c th way t re lization is r tained in being and in w king rder B t f t happens that ch a suppressed w sh is fulfill d, th anqui hed in hib ti f the se ond sys em (which i ca pable of consciousness) is then expressed as discomfort. And in order to conclude this argument If sensat o s of a disagreeable character which originate from somatic sources are present during sleep this constellation is utilized by the dream activity to procure the fulfilment—w th more or less ma ntenance of the censorsh p—of an otherw se suppressed wi h.

This state of affairs makes poss'ble a certain number of anxiety-dreams while others of these dream formations which are unfavourable to the wi h theory exhibit a diff rent mechan sm For the anxiety in dreams may of course be of a p ychoneurotic character originat n i psy cho sexual excitation, in which case the anx i ty correspo ds to repres ed l bido Then this anxiety like the whole anxiety-dream has the s gnificance of a neurotic ympt m a d we tand at the di ding line wh re the wi h ful filling tende cy of dreams is frustrated. But in othe anx ety-dre ms the feeling of anxiety c mes from somatic sources (as n the case of pers ns suffering from pulmonary or cardiac tr uble w th occa onal d fficulty in breath ng) and then it is used to help such strongly sup- pressed wishes to attain fulfilment in a dream the dre ming f wh h from psych c moti es would have re ulted i th same rele se of anx ety It s not difficult t reco cile these two ppar tly co trad ctory cases Wh two psy chic f rmatio an affect e incl nat on and a conceptual c nte t re intimately c nnected e ther o e be g ctu lly prese t will evoke the other even in a dream now the anxiety of so- mat c origin evok the suppre ed conceptual onte t ow it is the relea ed conceptual on tent, cc mpanied by exual excitement which causes the release f anxiety In th o e case t may be said that a somatically d termined affect psy hically interpreted n th other case ll s of psychic origin but the content whi h has been s ppressed is s ly replaced by a somatic t rpret t on wh h fits the anx i ty Th difficult es which lie in the way of under ta di g all thi have little to d with dream they are d to the f ct that in dis- cus g th se po ts we are to ching upon the problems of the devel pme t of anxiety nd of ep es on.

Th gen ral aggregate of bod'ly se sat n must undoubt dly be in luded amo g th domi nant d eam-stimuli f int rn l bod ly rigin Not that t is capabl of supplying the dream c nte t b t t fo ces th dream tho hts to make a cho e from the materi l destined to

which formed the content of my dream and continued to sleep without any further interest in the tolling of the bells

Among the dreams mentioned in the previous chapters there are several which might serve as examples of the elaboration of so called nerve stimuli The dream of drinking in long draughts is such an example here the somatic stimulus seems to be the sole source of the *dream and the wish arising from the sensation* —thirst—the only motive for dreaming We find much the same thing in other simple dreams where the somatic stimulus is able of itself to generate a wish The dream of the sick woman who throws the cooling apparatus from her cheek at night is an instance of an unusual *manner of reacting to a pain stimulus with a* wish fulfilment it seems as though the patient had temporarily succeeded in making herself analgesic and accompanied this by ascribing her pains to a stranger

My dream of the three Parcae is obviously a hunger dream but it has contrived to shift the *need for food right back to the child s longing* for its mother s breast and to use a harmless desire as a mask for a more serious one that cannot venture to express itself so openly In the dream of Count Thun we were able to see by what paths an accidental physical need was brought into relation with the strongest but *also the most rigorously repressed impulses* of the psychic life And when as in the case reported by Garnier the First Consul incorporates the sound of an exploding infernal machine into a dream of battle before it causes him to wake the true purpose for which alone [illegible]

behaves just as the great Napoleon did He dreams of a certain G Reich in *Hussiatyn* [illegible]

attention still further he is obliged to wake only to hear his wife—who is suffering from bronchial catarrh—violently coughing

Let us compare the dream of Napoleon I—who incidentally was an excellent sleeper—with that of the sleepy student who was awakened by his landlady with the reminder that he had to go to the hospital and who thereupon dreamt himself into a bed in the hospital and then slept on the underlying reasoning being as follows If I am already in the hospital I needn t get up to go there This is obviously a convenience dream the sleeper frankly admits *to himself his motive in dreaming but he* thereby reveals one of the secrets of dreaming in general In a certain sense all dreams are *convenience dreams* they serve the purpose of continuing to sleep instead of waking *The dream is the guardian of sleep not its disturber* In another place we shall have occasion to justify this conception in respect to the psychic factors that make for waking but we can already demonstrate its applicability to the objective external stimuli Either the mind does not concern itself at all with the causes of sensations during sleep if it is able to carry this attitude through as against the intensity of the *stimuli* and their significance *of which it is* well aware or it employs the dream to deny these stimuli or thirdly if it is obliged to recognize the stimuli it seeks that interpretation of them which will represent the actual sensation as a component of a desired situation which is compatible with sleep The actual sen*sation is woven into the dream in order to deprive it of its reality* Napoleon is permitted to go on sleeping it is only a dream memory of the thunder of the guns at Arcole which is trying to disturb him

The wish to sleep to which the conscious ego has adjusted itself and which (together with the dream censorship and the secondary elaboration to be mentioned later) represents the ego s contribution to the dream must thus always be taken into account as a motive of dream formation and every successful dream is a fulfilment of this wish The relation of this general constantly present and unvarying sleep-wish to the other wishes of which now one and now another is fulfilled by the dream content will be the subject of later consideration In the wish to sleep we have discovered a motive capable of supplying the deficiency in the theory of Strumpell and Wundt and of explaining the perversity and capriciousness of the interpretation of the external stimulus The correct interpretation of which the sleeping mind is perfectly capable would involve active interest and would require the sleeper to wake hence of those interpretations which are possible at all only such are admitted as are acceptable to the dictatorial censorship of the sleep wish The logic of dream situations would run *for example* *It is the nightingale* and not the lark For if it is the lark love s night

Th tw [illegible] f m wh h I k w of this dream d n t [illegible] ly g ee [illegible] t its t t

I curmudgeonly person, but as I willingly ad mit a woman of cleanly instincts, takes a dif ferent ew f the m tter She lies in wait for me to see wh ther I shall take the l'bert re- ferred t a.d, if he sees that I do I can dis tinctly hear h r growl For da s thereafter when we meet he refuses to greet m with the cust mary signs f respect. On the da before the dream the h usekeeper s attitude was rein forced by that of the maid. I had just finished my usual h rried n t t th pat ent when the servant confronted me in the ante-room ob- servin, "You m ght as well ha e wiped our shoes today doctor before you cam into the room. The red carpet is all dirty again from your feet. This is the only justificatio for the appearance of the tairs and the maid in my dream.

Between my leaping upsta rs and my spitting on the stairs there is an intim te connection. Pharyngitis and cardiac tro bles are both supposed to be punishments for the ce f smoking account of which ne m own housekeepe does not credit me with e cessive tidiness that my reputation suffers in both the houses which my dream fuses into o e

I must postpon th further interpretation f this dream until I can indicate th origin of the typ cal dream of being incompletely clothed In the meantime as a prov sional deduction from the dream just rel ted I not that the dream-sensati of inhib ted movement s al ways aroused at a point wh re a certain co nection requires it. A peculia c diti of my motor system during sleep cannot be respo sible f this dream-co tent, sinc a m ment earlier I found myself as though in nfirma tion f this f ct, hopping lighty up th tairs.

D Typical D eams

Generally speaking we are ot in po tion to interpret an the pers s dream if h is un willing t f rnish us with th unc nsci s thoughts which lie behind the dream-content and f this reason the pra tical pplicab'lity f our method f dream int rpretation i ften seriously restricted. But there re dreams whi h xhib t mplete contra t t the in div dual customary liberty to e dow his dream w ld with special indi duality the e-

The ts emen tha ou method f dream-interpre ta on is inappl cabl hen we have no our disposal the dreame a soci on-material m be qua. ed. In one case ou wo k f erpreta ion is indepe den f these associatio named when the dreamer makes use f ymbolic elements his dream. W then em- loy w a is, rictl speak ng, second auxiliary method of dream-in erpretation. (See below)

by making it macces ble to an alien under tand g there are a number of dreams which almost e ery one has dreamed in the same mann r and of wh ch we are accustomed to assume that they ha e the same gnifica ce in the case of every dreamer A peculiar inter est attaches to these typical dreams because no matter who dreams them they presumably all deri e from the same sources so that they would seem to be particula ly fitted to p ovide us with informat on as to the sources of dreams.

With qu te pecial expectations therefore we shall proceed to test ur technique of dream interpretat on on these t pical dreams and only with extreme relucta ce shall we admit that precisely in respect of this material our meth od is not fully erified. In the interpretation of typical dreams we as a rule fa l to bta those associations from the dreamer wh ch in other cases ha e led us to comprehen i n of the dream or else these assoc ations are co fused and inadequate so that they do not help us to sol e our problem

Why th s is the case and how we can remedy this defect in our technique are po s which will be di cu ed in a later chapte The reader will then und rsta d why I can deal with o ly a few of the group of typ cal dreams in this chapter and why I have postponed the di cus- s on of the others

( ) THE EMBARRASSME T DREAM OF NAKED ESS

I a dream in which one is naked or scantily clad in the presence of stran ers t sometimes happens that o e is ot in the lea t a hamed of e s c dit o B t the dream of nakedness demands our ttention only when shame and when wi hes

ter the painful sit tion. It is o ly n this con necti that the dream s typ cal therwise the n leus of ts conte t may be in ol ed in all orts of the c nect on or may be re pla ed b indi dual amplifications. The essen tial point that one ha a pai ful feeling of shame and is anxious t hide o naked ess usually by means of loc m ti but is abso- lutely unable t d o I bel eve that the great ma) rity of my re d rs will t some tim ha found th mselves in this tuation in a dream

The n ture and mann r of the expo ure is usually rathe ague The dreamer will say pe haps, I was in my chemi e but this is

serve the purpose of representation in the dream content inasmuch as it brings within easy reach that part of the material which is adapted to its own character and holds the rest at a distance Moreover this general feeling which survives from the preceding day is of course connected with the psychic residues that are significant for the dream Moreover this feeling itself may be either maintained or over come in the dream so that it may if it is pain ful veer round into its opposite

If the somatic sources of excitation during sleep—that is the sensations of sleep—are not of unusual intensity the part which they play in dream formation is in my judgment sim ilar to that of those impressions of the day which are still recent but of no great signifi cance I mean that they are utilized for the dream formation if they are of such a kind that they can be united with the conceptual content of the psychic dream source but not otherwise They are treated as a cheap ever ready material which can be used whenever it is needed and not as valuable material which itself prescribes the manner in which it must be utilized I might suggest the analogy of a connoisseur giving an artist a rare stone a piece of onyx for example in order that it may be fashioned into a work of art Here the size of the stone its colour and its markings help to decide what head or what scene shall be rep re ented while if he is dealing with a uniform and abundant material such as marble or sand stone the artist is guided only by the idea which takes shape in his mind Only in this way it seems to me can we explain the fact that the dream content furnished by physical stimuli of somatic origin which are not unusu ally accentuated does not make its appearance in all dreams and every night

Perhaps an example which takes us back to the interpretation of dreams will best illustrate my meaning One day I was trying to under stand the significance of the sensation of being inhibited of not being able to move from the spot of not being able to get something done etc which occurs so frequently in dreams and is so closely allied to anxiety That night I had the following dream *I am very incompletely dressed and I go from a flat on the ground floor up a flight of sta rs to an upper story In doing this I jump up three stairs at a time a d I am glad to find that I can mount the st rs so quickly Suddenly I notice that a servant maid is coming do n the stairs—that is to-wards me I am ashamed and try to hurry away and now comes this feeling of being in hibited I am glued to the stairs and cannot move from the spot*

Analysis The situation of the dream is taken from an every day reality In a house in Vienna I have two apartments which are connected only by the main staircase My consultation rooms and my tudy are on the raised ground floor and my living rooms are on the first floor Late at night when I have finished my work downstairs I go upstairs to my bedroom On the evening before the dream I had actually gone this short distance with my garments in disarray—that is I had taken off my collar tie and cuffs but in the dream this had changed into a more advanced but as usual indefinite degree of undress It is a habit of mine to run up two or three steps at a time moreover there was a wish fulfilment recognized even in the dream for the ease with which I run up-stairs reassures me as to the condition of my heart Further the manner in which I run up-stairs is an effective contrast to the sensation of being inhibited which occurs in the second half of the dream It shows me—what needed no proof—that dreams have no difficulty in representing motor actions fully and completely carried out think for example of flying in dreams!

But the stairs up which I go are not those of my own house at first I do not recognize them only the person coming towards me informs me of their whereabouts This woman is the maid of an old lady whom I visit twice daily in order to give her hypodermic injections the stairs too are precisely similar to those which I have to climb twice a day in this old lady s house

How do these stairs and this woman get into my dream? The shame of not being fully dressed is undoubtedly of a sexual character the servant of whom I dream is older than I surly and by no means attractive These ques tions remind me of the following incident When I pay my morning visit at this house I am usually seized with a desire to clear my throat the sputum falls on the stairs There is no spittoon on either of the two floors and I consider that the stairs should be kept clean not at my expense but rather by the provision of a spittoon The housekeeper another elder

Ra k b s sh w mbe f t d th t tain w k g-d e m p k d by g t m l (d am f t d ej cul t) espec ally calcul t d to d m t t th fl ct b twee the eed fo leep d the d m d f th ga ed a w ll as the infl e ce of th l tter n the d eam-co te t.

nothing but the mass-phantasy of the child hood of the indiv dual. This is why in paradise me are naked and unashamed, until the moment arrives when shame and fear waken ex ment arrives when shame and fear waken ex pulsion follows and sexual life and cultural development begin. Into this paradise dreams can take us back every night we have alread en tured the conjecture that the impressions of our earliest childhood (from the prehistoric period until about the end of the third year) crave reproduction fo their own sake per haps without further ref rence to the r con tent so that their repetition is a wi h fulfilment. Dreams of nakedness, then, are *e h b on dreams*

The nucleus of an exhib tio -dream is fur nished by o e s own person, which is seen not as that f a child b t as t exi ts in the present and by the idea of canty clothing which emerges indi tinctly ow g to the superimposition of so many la e tuations of being par tially clothed, o ut of on d ration for the censorship to these elements are added the persons in whose presence on is ashamed. I know of n xample in whi h th actual spectators f these infantile exhib tions reappea in a dream f r a dream is hardl ever a im ple rec llection. Strangely en ugh, those per sons who re the objects of our sexual in erest in childhood are mitted from all reproduc t ns in dreams in hysteria or in bsess onal eurosi paran ia alone restores th specta tors and is fanaticall con inced f their presen although they remain unseen The substi tut for these persons ffered by the dream the *number f st anger* wh take o tice of the specta le ffered them, s precisel the *counter wish* t that singl intimat ly known person for whom th exposure wa intended. *A mber f t anger* m reover ften oc cur in dreams in all sorts f other nnections as *counter wish* they always signif secret It will be seen that even that resti ut on f the old stat of ffairs that occurs in parano om plies with the counte tendency On is no longer alon on is qui posit ly being watched but the spectat rs are *a mber of st ang curiously indeterminat pe ple*

Furthermore repressi n finds a place in the exhib tion-dream F th disagreeable se sa tion of the dream is of course the reaction on th part of the second psychic instance to the f ct that the exhib tionistic cene which has been condem ed by the censorship has never theless succeeded in presenting tself The only way to a oid this ensatio would be to refrain from reviving the scene

In a later chapter we shall deal once again with the feeling of inhib tion. In our dreams i represents to perfection *a conflict of the will a denial* A cording to our unconscious purpose the exhibition is to proceed according to the demands of the censorship it is to come to an end.

The relation of our typical dreams to fairy tales and other fiction and poetry is neither sporadic nor accidental. Sometimes the penetrating insight of the poet has analytically rec ognized the process f transformation of which the poet is otherwise th instrument, and has f ll wed it up in the reverse direct on that is t sa has traced a poem to a dream. A friend has called my ttent on to the following passage in G Kelle s *Der Grune Heinrich* "I do n t wish, dear Lee that you should ever come to realize from experience the exqui te and piquant truth in the situat on of Odysseus when he ppears, naked and covered with mud bef re Nausicaa and her pla mates Would you like to know what t means? Let us for a moment consider the incident closely If you are ever parted f om your home and from all that s dear to you and wander about in a ... h e seen much and ex ... s..nning and glittering in th e es s l el and gracious figures will come to meet you and then you will uddenl discover that you are ragged naked and covered with dust. An indescribable feeling f hame and fear overcomes you you try t cover yourself to hide and you wak up bathed in sweat As l ng as humanity exist this will be the dream of th care-laden, tempest-tossed man and thus H m r has drawn this tuation from th profoundest depths of the eternal nature of humanity

What are the profoundest depths of the eternal nature of humanity which the poet comm nly h pe to awaken n his listen rs but these stirrings f the psychic lif which are roo ed in that e f hildhood, wh h subse quently becomes prehi toric Childish wishes,

Ferenczi has recorded numbe f in resting dreams of nakedness in women which were withou

rarely a clear image in most cases the lack of clothing is so indeterminate that it is described in narrating the dream by an alternative I was in my chemise or my petticoat As a rule the deficiency in clothing is not serious enou h to justify the feeling of shame attached to it For a man who has served in the army naked ness is often replaced by a manner of dressing that is contrary to regulations I was in the street without my sabre and I saw some offi cers approaching or I had no collar or I was wearing checked civilian trousers etc

The persons before whom one is ashamed are almost always strangers whose faces re main indeterminate It never happens in the typical dream that one is reproved or even no ticed on account of the lack of clothing which causes one such embarrassment On the con trary the people in the dream appear to be quite indifferent or as I was able to note in one particularly vivid dream they have stiff and solemn expressions This gives us food for thou ht

The dreamer s embarrassment and the spec tator s indifference constitute a contradiction such as often occurs in dreams It would be more in keeping with the dreamer s feelings if the strangers were to look at him in astonish*ment or were to laugh at him or be outraged* I think however that this obnoxious feature has been displaced by wish fulfilment while the embarrassment is for some reason retained so that the two components are not in agree ment We have an interesting proof that the dream which is partially distorted by wish ful filment has not been properly understood for it has been made the basis of a fairy tale fa miliar to us all in Andersen s version of *The Emperor s New Clothes* and it has more re cently received poetical treatment by Fulda in *The Talisman* In Andersen s fairy tale we are told of two impostors who weave a costly gar ment for the Emperor which shall however be visible only to the good and true The Em peror goes forth clad to this invisible garment and since the imaginary fabric serves as a sort of touchstone the people are frightened into behaving *as though they did not notice* the Em peror s nakedness

But this is really the situation in our dream It is not very venturesome to assume that the unintelligible dream content has provided an incentive to invent a state of undress which gives meaning to the situation present in the memory This situation is thereby robbed of its original meaning and made to serve alien ends But we shall see that uch a misunderstanding of the dream content often occurs through the conscious activity of a second psychic system and is to be recognized as a factor of the final form of the dream and further that in the de velopment of obsessions and phobias similar misunderstandings—still of course within the same psychic personality—play a decisive pa. It is even possible to specify whence the ma terial for the fresh interpretation of the dream is taken The impostor is the dream the Em peror is the dreamer himself and the moraliz ing tendency betrays a hazy knowledge of the fact that there is a question in the latent dream content of forbidden wishes victims of repression The connection in which such dreams appear during my analysis of neurotics proves beyond a doubt that a memory of the dream er s earliest childhood lies at the foundation of the dream Only in our childhood was there a time when we were seen by our relatives as well as by strange nurses servants and visitors, in a state of insufficient clothing and at that time we were not ashamed of our nakedness In the case of many rather older children it may be observed that being undressed has an exciting effect upon them instead of making them feel ashamed They laugh leap about *slap or thump their own bodies* the mother or whoever is present scolds them sayin Fie that is shameful—you mustn t do that! Chil dren often show a desire to di play themselves it is hardly possible to pass through a village in country districts without meeting a two-or three year old child who lifts up his or her blouse or frock before the traveller pos ibly in his honour One of my patients has retained in his conscious memory a scene from his eighth year in which after undressing for bed he wanted to dance into his little sister s room in his shirt but was prevented by the servan In the history of the childhood of neurotics exposure before children of the opposite sex plays a prominent part in paranoia the delu sion of being ob erved while dressing and un dressing may be directly traced to these experi ences and among those who have remained perverse there is a class in whom the childish impulse is accentuated into a symptom the class of *exhibitionists*

This age of childhood in which the sense of shame is unknown seems a paradise when we look back upon it later and paradise itself is

Th ch ld ppe i th f iry tal i o f r there a l ttl child dd nly es t B t he hasn t yth g o t lll

years earlier and which had at that time been frankly admitted as real. Further—and this, perhaps, is not unimportant from the standpoint of the theory of dreams—a recollection from the dreamer's earliest childhood was at the root of this wish also. When the dreamer was a little child—but exactly when cannot be definitely determined—she heard that her mother, during the pregnancy of which she was the outcome, had fallen into a profound emotional depression, and had passionately wished for the death of the child *in her womb*. Having herself grown up and become pregnant, she was only following the example of her mother.

If anyone dreams that his father or mother, his brother or sister, has died, and his dream expresses *grief*, I *should never* adduce this as proof that he wishes any of them dead *now*. The theory of dreams does not go as far as to require this; it is satisfied with concluding that the dreamer has wished them dead at some time or other during his childhood. I fear, however, that this limitation will not go far to appease my critics; probably they will just as energetically deny the possibility that they ever had such thoughts, as they protest that they do not harbour them now. I must therefore reconstruct a portion of the submerged infantile psychology on the basis of the evidence of the present.

Let us first of all consider the relation of children to their brothers and sisters. I do not know why we presuppose that it must be a loving one, since examples of enmity among adult brothers and sisters are frequent in everyone's experience, and since we are so often able to verify the fact that this estrangement originated during childhood, or has always existed. Moreover, many adults who today are devoted to their brothers and sisters, and support them in adversity, lived with them in almost continuous enmity during their childhood. The elder child ill-treated the younger, slandered him, and robbed him of his toys; the younger was consumed with helpless fury against the elder, envied and feared him, or his earliest impulse toward liberty and his first revolt against injustice were directed against his oppressor. The parents say that the children do not agree, and cannot find the reason for it. It is not difficult to see that the character even of a well-behaved child is not the character we should wish to find in an adult. A child is absolutely egoistical; he feels his wants acutely, and strives remorselessly to satisfy them, especially against his competitors, other children, and first of all against *his brothers and sisters*. And yet we do not on that *account* call a child *wicked*—we call him *naughty*; he is not responsible for his misdeeds, either in our own judgment or in the eyes of the law. And this is as it should be; for we may expect that within the very period of life which we reckon as childhood, altruistic impulses and morality will awake in the little egoist, and that, in the words of Meynert, a secondary ego will overlay and inhibit the primary ego. *Morality, of course*, does not develop simultaneously in all its departments, and furthermore, the duration of the amoral period of childhood differs in different individuals. Where this morality fails to develop we are prone to speak of *degeneration*; but here the case is obviously one of arrested development. Where the primary character is already overlaid by the later development, it may be at least partially uncovered again by an attack of hysteria. The correspondence between the so-called hysterical character and that of a naughty child is positively striking. The obsessional neurosis, on the other hand, corresponds to a super-morality, which develops as a strong reinforcement against the primary character that is threatening to revive.

Many persons, then, who now *love* their brothers and sisters, and who would feel bereaved by their death, harbour in their unconscious hostile wishes, survivals from an earlier period, wishes which are able to realize themselves *in dreams*. *It is* however, quite especially interesting to observe the behaviour of little children up to their third and fourth year towards their younger brothers or sisters. So far the child has been the only one; now he is informed that the stork has brought a new baby. The child inspects the new arrival, and expresses his opinion with decision: "The stork had better take it back again!"

I seriously declare it as my opinion that a child is able to estimate the disadvantages which he has to expect on account of a new comer. A connection of mine who now gets on

Cf. also "Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-year-old Boy," *Collected Papers*, III, and "On the Sexual Theories of Children," *Ibid.*, II.

Hans, whose phobia was the subject of the analysis in the above-mentioned publication, cried out ... the age of three and a half while feverish, shortly after the birth of his sister: "But I don't want to have a little sister." In his neurosis, eighteen months later, he frankly confessed the wish that his mother should drop the child into the bath while bathing it, in order that it might die. With all this, Hans was a good-natured, affectionate child, who soon became fond of his sister and took her under his special protection.

now suppressed and forbidden break into the dream behind the unobjectionable and permis sibly conscious wishes of the homeless man and it is for this reason that the dream which is objectified in the legend of Nausicaa regu larly develops into an anxiety dream

My own dream of hurrying upstairs which presently changed into being glued to the stairs is likewise an exhibition dream for it reveals the essential ingredients of such a dream It must therefore be possible to trace it back to experiences in my childhood and the knowl edge of these should enable us to conclude how far the servant s behaviour to me (i e her re proach that I had soiled the carpet) helped her to secure the position which she occupies in the dream Now I am actually able to furnish the desired explanation One learns in a psycho analysis to interpret temporal proximity by material connection two ideas which are ap parently without connection but which occur in immediate succession belong to a unity which has to be deciphered just as an *a* and a *b* when written in succession must be pro nounced as one syllable *ab* It is just the same with the interrelations of dreams The dream of the stairs has been taken from a series of dreams with whose other members I am fa miliar having interpreted them A dream in cluded in this series must belong to the same context Now the other dreams of the series are based on the memory of a nurse to whom I was entrusted for a season from the time when I was still at the breast to the age of two and a half and of whom a hazy recollection has remained in my consciousness According to in formation which I recently obtained from my mother she was old and ugly but very intelli gent and thorou h according to the inferences which I am justified in drawing from my dreams she did not always treat me quite kindly but spoke harshly to me when I showed insufficient understanding of the necessity for cleanliness Inasmuch as the maid endeavoured to continue my education in this respect she is entitled to be treated in my dream as an in carnation of the prehistoric old woman It is to be assumed of course that the child was fond of his teacher in spite of her harsh behaviour

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ficient in Schl g/e t gkeit?

(*b*) DREAMS OF THE DEATH OF BELOVED PERSONS

Another series of dreams which may be called typical are those whose content is that a be loved relative a parent brother sister child or the like has died We must at once distin guish two classes of such dreams those in which the dreamer remains unmoved and those in which he feels profoundly grieved by the death of the beloved person even expressing this grief by shedding tears in his sleep

We may ignore the dreams of the first group they have no claim to be reckoned as typical If they are analysed it is found that they signify somethin that is not contained in them that they are intended to mask another wish of some kind This is the case in the dream of the aunt who sees the only son of her sister lying on a bier (p 201) The dream does not mean that she desires the death of her little nephew as we have learned it merely conceals the wish to see a certain beloved per son again after a long separation—the same person whom she had seen after as long an interval at the funeral of another nephew This wish which is the real content of the dream give no cause for sorrow and for that reason no sorrow is felt in the dream We see here that the feeling contained in the dream does not belong to the manifest but to the lat ent dream content and that the affective con tent has remained free from the distortion which has befallen the conceptual content.

It is otherwise with those dreams in which the death of a beloved relative is imagined and in which a painful affect is felt These signify as their content tells us the wish that the per son in question might die and since I may here expect that the feelings of all my readers and of all who have had such dreams will lead them to reject my explanation I must endeavour to rest my proof on the broadest possible basis

We have already cited a dream from which we could see that the wishes represented as fulfilled in dreams are not always current wishes They may also be bygone discarded buried and repressed wishes which we must nevertheless credit with a sort of continued ex istence merely on account of their reappear ance in a dream They are not dead like per sons who have died in the sense that we know death but are rather like the shades in the Odyssey which awaken to a certain degree of life so soon as they have drunk blood The dream of the dead child in the box (p 202) contained a wish that had been present fifteen

wings and become angels. After this explanation, all the brothers and sisters and cousins in the dream now have wings like angels, and—this is the important point—they fly away. Our little angel-maker is left alone; just think, the only one out of such a crowd! That the children romp about a meadow from which they fly away points almost certainly to butterflies—it is as though the child had been influenced by the same association of ideas which led the ancients to imagine Psyche, the soul, with the wings of a butterfly.

Perhaps some readers will now object that the inimical impulses of children toward their brothers and sisters may perhaps be admitted, but how does the childish character arrive at such heights of wickedness as to desire the death of a rival or a stronger playmate, as though all misdeeds could be atoned for only by death? Those who speak in this fashion forget that the child's idea of being dead has little but the word in common with our own. The child knows nothing of the horrors of decay, of shivering in the cold grave, of the terror of the infinite Nothing, the thought of which the adult, as all the myths of the hereafter testify, finds so intolerable. The fear of death is alien to the child, and so he plays with the horrid word, and threatens another child: "If you do that again, you will die, just like Francis died"; at which the poor mother shudders, unable perhaps to forget that the greater proportion of mortals do not survive beyond the years of childhood. Even at the age of eight, a child returning from a visit to a natural history museum may say to her mother: "Mamma, I do love you so; if you ever die, I am going to have you stuffed and set you up here in the room, so that I can always, always see you!" So different from our own is the childish conception of being dead.[1]

Being dead means, for the child, who has been spared the sight of the suffering that precedes death, much the same as being gone, and ceasing to annoy the survivors. The child does not distinguish the means by which this absence is brought about, whether by distance, or estrangement, or death.[2] If during the child's prehistoric years a nurse has been dismissed, and if his mother dies a little while later, the two experiences, as we discover by analysis, form links of a chain in his memory. The fact that the child does not very intensely miss those who are absent has been realized, to her sorrow, by many a mother when she has returned home from an absence of several weeks, and has been told, upon inquiry: "The children have not asked for their mother once." But if she really departs to "that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns," the children seem at first to have forgotten her, and only subsequently do they begin to remember their dead mother.

While, therefore, the child has its motives for desiring the absence of another child, it is lacking in all those restraints which would prevent it from clothing this wish in the form of a death-wish; and the psychic reaction to dreams of a death-wish proves that, in spite of all the differences of content, the wish in the case of the child is after all identical with the corresponding wish in an adult.

If, then, the death-wish of a child in respect of his brothers and sisters is explained by his childish egoism, which makes him regard his brothers and sisters as rivals, how are we to account for the same wish in respect of his parents, who bestow their love on him, and satisfy his needs, and whose preservation he ought to desire for these very egoistical reasons?

Towards a solution of this difficulty we may be guided by our knowledge that the very great majority of dreams of the death of a parent refer to the parent of the same sex as the dreamer, so that a man generally dreams of the death of his father, and a woman of the death of her mother. I do not claim that this happens constantly, but that it happens in a great majority of cases is so evident that it requires explanation by some factor of general significance.[3] Broadly speaking, it is as though a sexual preference made itself felt at an early age,

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[1] To my astonishment, I was told that a highly intelligent boy of ten, after the sudden death of his father, said: "I understand that father is dead, but I can't see why he does not come home to supper." Further material relating to this subject will be found in the section *Kinderseele*, edited by Frau Dr. von Hug-Hellmuth, in *Imago*, vol. i–v, 1912–18.

[2] The observation of a father trained in psychoanalysis was able to detect the very moment when his very intelligent little daughter, aged four, realized the difference between *being away* and *being dead*. The child was being troublesome at table, and noted that one of the waitresses in the *pension* was looking at her with an expression of annoyance. "Josephine ought to be dead," she thereupon remarked to her father. "But why dead?" asked the father soothingly. "Wouldn't it be enough if she went away?" "No," replied the child, "then she would come back again." To the unbounded self-love (narcissism) of the child, every inconvenience constitutes the crime of *lèse majesté*, and, as in the Draconian code, the child's feelings prescribe for all such crimes the one invariable punishment.

[3] The situation is frequently disguised by the intervention of a tendency to punishment, which, in the form of a moral reaction, threatens the loss of the beloved parent.

very well with a sister who is four years her junior responded to the news of this sister s arrival with the reservation But I shan t give her my red cap anyhow If the child should come to realize only at a later stage that its happiness may be prejudiced by a younger brother or sister its enmity will be aroused at this period I know of a case where a girl not three years of age tried to strangle an infant in its cradle because she suspected that its continued presence boded her no good Children at this time of life are capable of a jealousy that is perfectly evident and extremely intense Again perhaps the little brother or sister really soon disappears and the child once more draws to himself the whole affection of the household then a new child is sent by the stork is it not natural that the favourite should conceive the wish that the new rival may meet the same fate as the earlier one in order that he may be as happy as he was before the birth of the first child and during the interval after his death? Of course this attitude of the child towards the younger brother or sister is under normal circumstances a mere function of the difference of age After a certain interval the maternal instincts of the older girl will be awakened towards the helpless new born infant

Feelings of hostility towards brothers and sisters must occur far more frequently in children than is observed by their obtuse elders

In the case of my own children who followed one another rapidly I missed the opportunity of making such observations I am now retrieving it thanks to my little nephew whose undisputed domination was disturbed after fifteen months by the arrival of a feminine rival I hear it is true that the young man behaves very chivalrously toward his little sister that he ki ses her hand and strokes her but in spite of this I have convinced myself that even before the completion of his second year he is using his new command of langua e to criticize this person who to him after all seems superfluous Whenever the conversation turns upon her he chimes in and cries angrily Too (l)ittle too (l)ittle! During the la t few months since the child has outgrown thi disparagement owing to her splendid development he has found another reason for his insistence that she does not deserve so much attention He reminds us on every suitable pretext She hasn t any teeth We all of us recollect the case of the eldest dau hter of another sister of mine The child who was then six years of age spent a full half hour in going from one aunt to another with the question 'Lucie can t understand that yet can she? Lucie was her rival—two and a half years younger

I have never failed to come across this dream of the death of brothers or sisters denotin an intense hostility e g I have met it in all my female patients I have met with only one exception which could easily be interpreted into a confirmation of the rule Once in the course of a sitting when I was explaining this state of affairs to a female patient since it seemed to have some bearing on the symptoms under consideration that day she answered to my astonishment that she had never had such dreams But another dream occurred to her which presumably had nothin to do with the case—a dream which she had first dreamed at the age of *four* when she was the younge t child and had since then dreamed repeatedly *A number of children all her brothers a d sisters with her boy and girl cousins were romping*
grew win
no idea c
we can hardly fail to recognize it as a dream of the death of all the brothers and sisters in its original form and but little influenced by the censorship I will venture to add the following analysis of it on the death of one out of this large number of children—in this case the children of two brothers were brou ht up together as brothers and sisters—would not our dreamer at that time not yet four years of age have asked some wise grown up person What becomes of children when they are dead? The answer would probably have been 'They grow

S h ca f d th In th exp c of ch ld e m y s b f g tt th f m ly b t p ych -a alyt cal est g t o sh w th t th y a ry g fi c t f a l t e
S th bo w s w itt g t m my bserv t s lat g t th g ll h t le tt t d f ch ld e t a d th b othe d t d t

was a be g t w th b th ? A d he w self what d d I w t w th b th ? A d he w n t ly sel ss h w al o e t bl m Wh w t d t pl gu y-ca t g om

etc A particularly clever and l ely little gi l not yet four years f age in whom this trait of child psych logy is unusually tran parent says frankly Now mummy can go away then daddy must marry me and I will be his wife No does this wish by any mean ex clude th po bility that the child may most t d rly love its mother If the little boy is allowed to sleep at his mother s s de wh ever his father goes on a journey and if after his fathers ret rn he h s t go back to the nursery to a person whom h likes far less the wish may readily ri that his father m ght always be bse t, o that he might keep his place be s d his dea beautiful mamma and the fathe d th s bvi u ly a mean for the at tainment f this wish f r the child s experience has taught him that *dead* f lks like grandpapa f r example are always absent they never com back.

While such obs rvati ns of youn children readily c ommod t themselves t the inter pretation s ggested they do not it is true carry the c mplet c vict on which is fo ced upo a physician by th psycho-analys s of adult eu otics The dreams f ne rotic pat e ts are ommun cated with preliminaries of such a nat re that th r int rpret tion as wi h-dreams bec mes itabl One day I find lady de pressed and weep g She says "I d n t want to see my relati es any more they mu t hud d r at m Thereupon lm st without any trans tio sh tells me that he ha remem bered dream whose significanc of course she does not understand She dreamed t when she was four years old and it was this *A fox or a lynx is walking bout the o f then som th g fall down or sh falls down nd after that her m ther is arried out f the house—dead* wh e t the dream weeps b tterly I have no oo e inf rmed he that this dream must signify a hildish wi h t see he m ther dead and th t t is beca se f this dream that he thinks that he relati es m st shudder at her than sh furnishes m terial in explan tion of the dream. Lynx-eye s an opp obrious epithet which a street boy once bestowed on her when he was a ery small child and when she was three years old a brick o tile f ll on he m th head so that he bled profusely

I on had occasion t make tho o gh study of young girl who was passing thro gh arious psychic tates In the stat of frenzied on fusion with which her illness began, th patient man fest d a qui peculiar version f her mother she struck her and abused her whenever he approached the bed while at the same period he was affectionate and submissi e to a much older sister Then there followed a lucid but rather apathetic cond tion with badly dis tu bed sleep. It was i this phase that I began to treat her and to analyse her dreams An enormous number of th se dealt in a more or less veiled fa hion w th the death of the girl s mother now she was present at the funeral of an old woman, now he saw herself and her ister sitting t a table dressed in mourn ng the meaning of the dreams c uld *not* be doubt ed. Duri g her progressi e improvement hys terical phob as made the r appearance the most di tres of which was the fear that som th g had happened to her mo her Wher ever he mi ht be at the time she had then to hurry home order to co nce herself that her mother was still alive Now this case con s dered n conjunction with the rest of my ex perie ce was ery instructive it howed, in pol glot *translations* as it were the different wa s n wh ch the psychic apparatus reacts to the same exciting idea In the state of con fu on which I regard as an overthrow of the second psychic instance by the first in stance at other times suppressed, the uncon ous enm ty towards the mother gained the upper hand and found physical express on then, when the patient became calm r the in surrection was suppressed, and the domination of the censorship restored, and thus enmity had acces only to the realms of dreams, in which it realized the wish that the mother might die and fte the normal c ndition had been still f rther trengthened it created the ex essive c nc rn for the mother as a hysterical counter react on and *defensive phenom non.* In the light of these con derations it is no longer inexplicable why hysterical girls are so often extravagantly attached to their mothers

On anoth occas on I had an opportunity of obtaining a profound insight into the un conscious psychic lif of a young man f r whom an obses i nal neurosis made lif almost unendurable so that h could not go int the

might ha e been mmitted in the city It goes without sayi g that this man was as moral he was highly cultured. The analysis—which, by the way led to cure—revealed, as the basis of this distres ing bse sion murderous impulses in respect of his rather overstrict

as though the boy regarded his father and the girl her mother as a rival in love—by whose re moval he or she could but profit

Before rejecting this idea as monstrous let the reader again consider the actual relations between parents and children We must distin guish between the traditional standard of con duct the filial piety expected in this relation and what daily observation shows us to be the fact More than one occasion for enmity lies hidden amidst the relations of parents and chil dren conditions are present in the greatest *abundance under which wishes which cannot* pass the censorship are bound to arise Let us first consider the relation between father and son In my opinion the sanctity with which we have endorsed the injunctions of the Deca logue dulls our perception of the reality Per haps we hardly dare permit ourselves to per ceive that the greater part of humanity neglects *to obey the fifth commandment In the lowest* as well as in the highest strata of human so ciety filial piety towards parents is wont to recede before other interests The obscure leg ends which have been handed down to us from the primeval ages of human society in myth ology and folklore give a deplorable idea of the despotic power of the father and the ruthless ness with which it was exercised Kronos de vours his children as the wild boar devours the litter of the sow Zeus emasculates his father and takes his place as ruler The more tyranni cally the father ruled in the ancient family the more surely must the son as his appointed suc cessor have assumed the position of an enemy and the greater must have been his impatience to attain to supremacy through the death of his father Even in our own middle class families the father commonly fosters the growth of the germ of hatred which is naturally inherent in the paternal relation by refusing to allow the son to be a free agent or by denying him the means of becoming so A physician often has occasion to remark that a son s grief at the loss of his father cannot quench his gratification that he has at last obtained his freedom Fath ers as a rule cling desperately to as much of the sadly antiquated *potestas patris familias* as still survives in our modern society and the poet who like Ibsen puts the immemorial strife between father and son in the foreground of his drama is sure of his effect The cau es of conflict between mother and dau hter aris *when the daughter grows up and finds herself* watched by her mother when she longs for real sexual freedom while the mother is reminded by the budding beauty of her dau hter that for her the time has come to renounce sexual claims

All these circumstances are obvious to every one but they do not help us to explain dreams *of the death of their parents in persons* for whom filial piety has long since come to be un questionable We are however prepared by the foregoing discussion to look for the or n of a death wish in the earliest years of child hood

In the case of psychoneurotics analysis con firms this conjecture beyond all doubt For *analysis tells us that the sexual* wi hes of the child—in so far as they deserve this designation in their nascent state—awaken at a very early age and that the earliest affection of the girl child is lavished on the father while the earli est infantile desires of the boy are directed up on the mother For the boy the father and for the girl the mother becomes an obnoxious rival, and we have already shown in the case of bro thers and sisters how readily in children this feeling leads to the death wish As a general rule sexual selection oon makes its appear ance in the parents it is a natural tendency for the father to spoil his little daughters and for the mother to take the part of the sons while both so long as the glamour of sex does not prejudice their judgment are strict in train the children The child is perfectly *conscious* of this partiality and offers resistance to the parent who opposes it To find love in an adult is for the child not merely the satisfaction of a special need it means also that the child s will is indulged in all other respects Thus the child is obeying its own sexual instinct and at the same time reinforcing the stimulus proceeding from the parents when its choice between the parents corresponds with their own

The signs of these infantile tendencies are for the most part over looked and yet some of them may be observed even after the early years of childhood An eight year old girl of my acquaintance whenever her mother is called away from the table takes advantage of her ab ence to proclaim herself her successor Now I shall be Mamma Karl do you want some more vegetables? Have some more do

At l st n om of the mythol g cal ts Ac c d g t th rs emas l t w fl ted o ly by K os o h s f th U a os
W th g d to th myth l g al s gn fic f th s motu e cf Ott Ra k *Der Myth d G b t d s Helde* v f *S h ften gew S l ku de* (909) d *D I s im t D cht g nd S g* (191) ch p 2
Author ty of the father —ED

own, because the oracle laid upon us before our birth th ery curse which rested upon him. It may be that we were all destined to direct our first sexual impulses toward our m thers and our first impulses f hatred and vi lence toward ur f thers our dreams convince us that w were Kin Oed pus, who slew his father Laius and wedded his m ther Jocasta, is nothing more or less than wish fulfilment—the ful filment f the wish of our childhood. But we more fortunate than he, in so far as we ha e n t becom psychoneurotics, ha e since our childhood su ceeded in withdrawing our sexual impulses from our mothers and in forgetting our jealousy of our f thers. We recoil from the person f r whom this primiti e wish of our childhood has been fulfilled with all the force f the repression which these wishes ha e un dergone in our minds ince childhood. As the poet brings the guilt of Oedipus to li ht by his investigation, he f rces us to become aware f ur own i n r sel es, in which the same im pulses are till extant, even though they are suppressed. The antithesis with which the chor us departs

B h H th s is O d pus
Who wr lled th gre t riddl and was first in power
Wh fortune all th townsmen praised and envied
S in wh t dread erm y he sunk!

—this dm n o to hes us d our wn prid we who sin e th years of ur childhood, have grown so w and so powerful in our own es...n Like Oedipus w li e in ignorance f the desires that ffend m rality the desires

ma erial of imm morial antiquity th content

of which was the painful disturbance of the child s relat ons to ts parents caused by the first impul es of sexualit Jocasta comforts Oedipus—who is not yet enligh ened but is troubled by the recollection of the oracle—by an allusion to a dream which is often dreamed though it cannot in her opinion, mean any thing

For many a man k th s en h mself in dreams
His mother's mate b ke who gives o heed
To s ch ke matters bears the easier l fe

The dream of having xual in ercourse w th on s moth r was as common then as t s to-da with many people who tell it with indig nation and astonishm t. As may well be im agined, it is the key to the tragedy a d the complement t the dream of the death of the father The Oedipus f b e is the reaction of phantasy to these two typical dreams and just as such a dream when occurring to an d lt is experienced w th feeli gs of a ersion, so the co tent of the fable must include terror a d elf-cha t ment The form which it ub-seque tly assumed was the result of an un ... dary laboration of the ... co- di ... lty ... must of course fail with this material as with an ther

An ther of the great poet c tragedies Shake-speare *Hamlet* is rooted in the same soil as *O d pus Rex* But the wh le diff ren e in the psychic life f the two widely separated pe riods of ci ilization, and the progress d rin the course of time of repress on in the emo-ti al lif of humanity is manifested in the d rin treatment f th same material. In *Oed pus Re* th ba e wish-phantasy of the child s brought to light and realized as it is in dreams in *H m t* i remains repressed and we learn f its exi t ce—as w discove the rele facts in a euros s—only through the in hib t ry eff ct which proceed from t I t m re mod rn drama the curious f ct that it s po ble to remain in c mplete uncertain y as t the character f the hero has proved t be quit on i ent with the ove powering ffect f the tragedy The play is based upo Hamlet s hes t tion in omplishing th task of reven e assigned t him the text does n t give the cause or th motive f this hesitat n ha e th manif ld ttempts at interpretati n uc ceeded in d ing so According to th till pre

Tales

Cf. the dream-material f exhib tionism pp. 38-9

father—impulses which to his astonishment had consciously expressed them elves when he was seven years old but which of course had originated in a much earlier period of his child hood After the painful illness and death of his father when the young man was in his thirty first year the obsessive reproach made its appearance which transferred itself to strangers in the form of this phobia Anyone capable of wishing to push his own father from a mountain top into an abyss cannot be trusted to spare the lives of persons less closely related to him he therefore does well to lock himself into his room

According to my already extensive experi ence parents play a leading part in the infantile psychology of all persons who subsequently be come psychoneurotics Falling in love with one parent and hating the other forms part of the permanent stock of the psychic impulses which arise in early childhood and are of such importance as the material of the subsequent neurosis But I do not believe that psychoneu rotics are to be sharply distinguished in this respect from other persons who remain normal —that is I do not believe that they are capable of creating something absolutely new and pe culiar to themselves It is far more probable— and this is confirmed by incidental observations of normal children—that in their amorous or hostile attitude toward their parents psycho neurotics do no more than reveal to us by mag nification something that occurs less markedly and intensively in the minds of the majority of children Antiquity has furnished us with legend ary matter which corroborates this belief and the profound and universal validity of the old legends is explicable only by an equally uni versal validity of the above mentioned hypothe sis of infantile psychology

I am referring to the legend of King Oedipus and the *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles Oedipus the son of Laius king of Thebes and Jocasta is exposed as a suckling because an oracle had informed the father that his son who was still unborn would be his murderer He is rescued

native place for he is destined to become the murderer of his father and the husband of his mother On the road leading away from his supposed home he meets King Laius and in a sudden quarrel strikes him dead He comes to Thebes where he solves the riddle of the Sphinx who is barring the way to the city whereupon he is elected king by the grateful Thebans and is rewarded with the hand of Jocasta He reigns for many years in peace and honour and begets two sons and two daughters upon his unknown mother until at last a plague breaks out—which causes the Thebans to con sult the oracle anew Here Sophocles trag edy begins The messengers bring the reply that the plague will stop as soon as the mur derer of Laius is driven from the country But where is he?

Where shall be found,
Faint and hard to be known the trace of the ancient guilt?

The action of the play consists simply in the disclosure approached step by step and ar tistically delayed (and comparable to the work of a psycho analysis) that Oedipus himself is the murderer of Laius and that he is the son of the murdered man and Jocasta Shocked by the abominable crime which he has unwittingly committed Oedipus blinds himself and departs from his native city The prophecy of the oracle has been fulfilled

The *Oedipus Rex* is a tragedy of fate its tragic effect depends on the conflict between the all powerful will of the gods and the vain efforts of human beings threatened with dis aster resignation to the divine will and the perception of one s own impotence is the lesson which the deeply moved spectator is supposed to learn from the tragedy Modern authors have therefore sought to achieve a similar tragic effect by expressing the same conflict in stories of their own invention But the playgoers have looked on unmoved at the un availing efforts of guiltless men to avert the fulfilment of curse or oracle the modern trag edies of destiny have failed of their effect

If the *Oedipus Rex* is capable of moving a modern reader or playgoer no less powerfully than it moved the contemporary Greeks the only possible explanation is that the effect of the Greek tragedy does not depend upon the conflict between fate and human will but up on the peculiar nature of the material by which this conflict is revealed There must be a voice within us which is prepared to acknowledge the compelling power of fate in the *Oedipus* while we are able to condemn the situations occurring in *Die Ahnfrau* or other tragedies of fate as arbitrary inventions And there actually is a motive in the story of King Oedipus which ex plains the verdict of this inner voice His fate moves us only because it might have been our

out of all connect on with the general expla nation of dreams and a problem that may ery ed mains a problem needle sly

has found a way of av ... and the distortion for which the cens rship s respon ble An n ariabl co com tant phe nome o then s that painful em tions are f lt the dream Simila ly an anx t -dream c cu s only when the cens rship is ent r ly or part ally overpowered and on the other hand, the ov rpow ring f the c ns rsh p s f cilitat d whe the actual sensation of anxiety is al m m t c s u ces It thus be orship histor velop pa f l

me t of anxiety or other p r s aff ct

I h e poken in the f rego ng sect ons of th go m f the child s psych and I ow empha ize this peculiarity in ord r t suggest onn t n for d eams too ha e retained th s haract ri ti All dream re absolutely st cal n every d eam the beloved ego appears en th ugh n d gui ed f rm The w hes that are lized n d eams a e n var ably the w shes of this go t is only a decep ti e ppearan e f interest n anoth r person is belie d to ha e oked a dream I will now analy e a few exampl wh ch ppear to con tradict this as ert on.

I

A boy n t yet f u years of ag relates the foll n d eam *He aw la ge g rnished d sh w l cl was large joi t f r t m t a id th j t was s ddenly—not carved—but eat p ll did ot s th per on wh ate t*

Wh ca h be this strang pers of who e luxu ous epa t the little fell w dream? The exp rien e f th day m t upply the an wer F ome days past the boy m cordance w th the doct r s d s had be living o milk d t b t o the eveni g of the dream-day he h d been naughty and as punishment had been depri ed of his upper He had already ... ure and had borne ... would ... to the ... begi

fact that he was hungry ... this is dem nstrated nim to produce ts effect ... even by the dream which re eals the begin ni gs of dream-d stort on There is no doubt that he him elf is the per on whose des res are d rected toward this abundant meal and a meal of roast meat at that But ince he knows that this is forb dden him he does n t dare as hun gry children do in dreams (cf my little Anna s dream about strawberries p 192) to sit down to the m al himself The person remains anon ymous

E the larg abund t, immoderate d rerated thi gs occurri g i dre m m y be hild

II

One night I dream that I ee on a book ell e s counter a new vol me of o e of tho e col lectors eries which I am in the hab t of buy n (monographs on art stic s bjects history famous artis ic ce tres etc) *The new collec t n s e itled Famous Orators (o Ora t ons) and the first number bea s the name of Dr Lecher*

On analysis it seems to me imp obable that the fam f Dr Lech r the long wi ded speak r of the German Oppo it on should occupy my th u hts while I am dreaming The fact is that a few d ys ago I u dertook the psychological tr atme t of som new patient and am n w forced to talk for ten to twel e hours a day Thus I my elf am a long winded spe ker

III

On a other occas on I d eam that a univer s ty lecture of my acquai ta ce says to me *My so the myop c* The follows a dialogue of brief observati ns and replies A third po tion of the dream follows in which I and my sons appea and so f r as the latent dream co tent is co cerned the father the son and Professo M re m ely lay f gures rep e t i g myself d my elde t s n. Later on I shall examine this d e m agai on acc unt of an oth r peculiarity

IV

The following d eam gives an example of really base ego tical feelings which c nceal th m el es behind an affectio ate co ern

My friend Ott lo ks ill his f ce is b own and his ey s protrud

Otto is my family phys cia t whom I owe a d bt gre t r than I can e h pe t epay since he has watched for y rs ove the health

vailing conception a conception for which Goethe was first responsible Hamlet represents the type of man whose active energy is paraly ed by excessive intellectual activity Sicklied o er with the pale cast of thought According to another conception the poet has endeavoured to portray a morbid irresolute character on the verge of neurasthenia The plot of the drama however shows us that Hamlet is by no means intended to appear as a character wholly incapable of action On two separate occasions we see him as ert himself once in a sudden outburst of rage when he stabs the eavesdropper behind the arras and on the other occasion when he deliberately and even craftily with the complete unscrupulousness of a prince of the Renaissance sends the two courtiers to the death which was intended for himself What is it then that inhibits him in accomplishing the task which his father s ghost has laid upon him? Here the explanation offers itself that it is the peculiar nature of this task Hamlet is able to do anything but take vengeance upon the man who did away with his father and has taken his father's place with his mother—the man who shows him in realization the repressed desires of his own childhood The loathing which should have driven him to revenge is thus replaced by self reproach by conscientious scruples which tell him that he himself is no better than the murderer whom he is required to punish I have here translated into consciousness what had to remain unconscious in the mind of the hero if anyone wishes to call Hamlet an hysterical subject I cannot but admit that this is the deduction to be drawn from my interpretation The sexual aversion which Hamlet expresses in conversation with Ophelia is perfectly consistent with this deduction—the same sexual aversion which during the next few years was increasingly to take possession of the poet s soul until it found its supreme utterance in *Timon of Athens* It can of course be only the poet s own psychology with which we are confronted in *Hamlet* and in a work on Shakespeare by Georg Brandes (1896) I find the statement that the drama was composed immediately after the death of Shakespeare s father (1601)—that is to say when he was still mourning his loss and during a revival as we may fairly assume of his own childish feelings in respect of his father It is known too that Shakespeare s son who died in childhood bore the name of Hamnet (identical with Hamlet) Just as *Hamlet* treats of the relation of the son to his parents so *Macbeth* which was written about the [illegible] period is based upon the theme of childlessness Just as all neurotic symptoms like dreams themselves are capable of hyper interpreta[illegible] and even require such hyper interpretation before they become perfectly intelligible o every genuine poetical creation must have proceeded from more than one motive mo e than one impulse in the mind of the poet and must admit of more than one interpretation I have here attempted to interpret only the deepest stratum of impulse in the mind of th crea tive poet

With re ard to typical dreams of the death of relatives I must add a few words upon their significance from the point of view of the theory of dreams in general These dreams show us the occurrence of a very unusual state of th ngs they show us that the dream thought created by the repressed wish completely es capes the censorship and is transferred to the dream without alteration Special co ditio s must obtain in order to make this possible. The following two factors favour the production of these dreams first this is the last wish that we could credit our elves with harbouring we believe such a wish would never occur to us even in a dream the dream-censorship is therefore unprepared for this monstrosity just as the laws of Solon did not foresee the necessity of establishing a penalty for patricide. Secondly the repressed and unsuspected wi h is in this special case frequently met half way by a residue from the day s experience in the form of some *concern* for the life of the beloved person This anxiety cannot enter into the dream otherwise than by taking advantage of *the corresponding wish but the wish is able to* mask itself behind the concern which has been aroused during the day If one is inclined to think that all this is really a very much simpler process and to imagine that one merely continues during the night and in one s dream what was begun durin the day one removes the dreams of the death of those dear to us

[illegible] alytical [illegible] rd [illegible] rd [illegible] the

b th of th h h bee d m trated by O Rank F th att mpts t *ly l f M b th* w ll be f d my essay S m Chara t Types Met w th Psych A lyt c W k *C ll t d P pers* IV [illegible] L J k l s *Sh k p M b th i Im t* (9 8) d *Th O d p C mpl a Expl t f H ml t s My tery Study M tr* (Am rican Jo rnal of P ychol gy [19] v l xxi)

are m olved in th gam in after years they repeat their sensati ns in dream but in d eams they omit th ha ds th t held them o that now they re free t float or fall. W know that all small children ha a fo d ess for u h games as rock , a d ee-sawing a d if they see gymna tic performances a the circus th r reco ectio of such games is refre h d. In om bo s a h sterical atta k will con t m pl in th rep oduction of such pe forma es which they a compli h with great dexterit N t infrequently sexual ns ti ns re excited by t ese games f mo ement, which re quite eu ral in themsel es T expres the matter in a few word the e citing games of child hood are repeated in dreams of fl in f ling, feelin , and th lik b t the ol ptuous feel ings re ow tran formed into anxi t But as every moth knows the xcited play of chil dren ften enough culminates in quarrellin and tears.

I ha e theref re good reason f rejecti the explanati that t is the s ate of our der mal sen t ons during leep the sensation f the movements f the lu gs, etc., that ev k s dreams f fl in and fallin I ee that these ery ens ti ns ha e been reprod ced from th memory t which the dream ref rs—and that they are therefore dream-co tent nd not dream-sour es

I d t f r moment deny howeve that I am una e to f rnish a full expla of this series f typical dreams. Precisely here m ma t rial lea e m in the lurch. I mu t adh re t th general opinion that all the d rmal and ki netic sensations of these typ cal dreams re wakened as oo as any psychic moti f whatever kind has eed of them, and that they re eel ted when t e i uch need f them Th relatio t infantil experiences seems t be onfirmed by th indications which I ha e obtained from the anal ses of psycho-neurot cs But I am unable to sa wh t other meanings mi ht in the course of the dream r s life have become attached to the memory of these ensations—different perhaps in each i dividual despite th t pi al appearance of these dreams—and I hould ery much like to be in a position to fill this gap with careful anal es f good examples To th se who wonder why I complain of a lack of material despite th frequency of these d eams f flying falling tooth-drawing etc I must explain that I my self ha e never experienced any such dreams ce I ha e turned m atte t on to the ub-ject of d eam interpretation. The dreams of eurotics wh ch are at my disposal however are ot ll capab e of interpretat on, and ery ofte it is impos bl to penetrate to the f r thest poi t of the r hidden intention a certain psych c force which participated in the build ing up of th neuro s and which a a n be comes act e durin its d solution opposes interpret tio of the final problem

(c) The Ex m a on D e m

F eryone who has received his certificate of which represents that he has not taken his t de ree to which h rmly objects while still asleep that he has already been pract fo years, or is already univers ty lecturer the seni r partner of a firm of lawyers d o on. These re the in radicable memories of the punishments we suffered as children for m deeds which we h d committed—memories whi h were revived in us on the *dies irae d es illa* f th gruelling examin tion at the two c t cal juncture in our careers as s udents The *examinat on-anxi ty* of eurotics is likewise i ten ified by this childish fear When our tu has taken ove our f rth education N w w dream f our matriculat o or th examina tion fo th doct degree—and wh has not been faint hearted on uch occa ons —when eve we fear that we m y be puni hed b ome unpleasan result because we ha e d me-thing careles l o wr gly because w ha e

Psycho-analytic inves ation ha enabled t con-clude tha in the predilection shown by children f he ever hese moore hich the downward movemen wa ts maximum I used to have co ous feel in my ge ta hich al ou h wa no rea y lea me I mus describe voluptuous feelin I have en heard from patients tha the firs erections with ur uous sensatio uch t ey ca remembe ha had boyhood occurred w I they were climb-I is estabi shed w th com lete certainty by ps cho-anal tha he firs sexual sensations ften have thei g in the scu lings nd wrestlin f child hood.

Da f wrath.—Ed

of my children has treated them successfully when they have been ill and moreover has given them presents whenever he could find any excu e for doing so He paid us a visit on the day of the dream and my wife noticed that he looked tired and exhausted At night I dream of him and my dream attributes to him certain of the symptoms of Basedow s disease If you were to disre ard my rules for dream interpretation you would understand this dream to mean that I am concerned about the health of my friend and that this concern is realized in the dream It would thus constitute a con tradiction not only of the assertion that a dream is a wish fulfilment but also of the assertion that it is accessible only to egoistical impulses But will those who thus interpret my dream explain why I should fear that Otto has Base dow s disease for which diagnosis his appear ance does not afford the slightest justification? My analysis on the other hand furnishes the following material deriving from an incident which had occurred six years earlier We were driving—a small party of us including Pro fessor R—in the dark through the forest of N which lies at a distance of some hours from where we were staying in the country The driv er who was not quite sober overthrew us and the carriage down a bank and it was only by good fortune that we all escaped unhurt But we were forced to spend the ni ht at the near est inn where the news of our mishap aroused great sympathy A certain gentleman who showed unmistakable symptoms of *morbus Basedowii*—the brownish colour of the skin of the face and the protruding eyes but no goitre —placed himself entirely at our disposal and asked what he could do for us Professor R answered in his decisive way Nothing except lend me a nightshirt Whereupon our generous friend replied I am sorry but I cannot do that and left us

In continuing the analysis it occurs to me that Basedow is the name not only of a physician but also of a famous pedagogue (Now that I am wide awake I do not feel quite sure of this fact) My friend Otto is the person whom I have asked to take charge of the physical edu cation of my children—especially during the age of puberty (hence the nightshirt) in case any thing should happen to me By seeing Otto in my dream with the morbid symptoms of our above mentioned generous helper I clearly mean to say If anything happens to me he will do just as little for my children as Baron L did for us in spite of his amiable offers The egoistical flavour of this dream should now be obvious enough

But where is the wish fulfilment to be found in this? Not in the vengeance wreaked on my friend Otto (who seems to be fated to be badly treated in my dreams) but in the following circumstance Inasmuch as in my dream I represented Otto as Baron L I likewise identified myself with another person namely with Professor R for I have asked something of Otto, just as R asked something of Baron L at the time of the incident I have described And this is the point For Professor R has gone his way independently outside academic circles just as I myself have done and has only in his later years received the title which he had earned long before Once more then I want to be a professor! The very phrase *in his later years* is a wish fulfilment for it means that I shall live long enough to steer my boys through the age of puberty myself

Of other typical dreams in which one flies with a feeling of ease or falls in terror I know nothing from my own experience and whatever I have to say about them I owe to my psychoanalyses From the information thus obtained one must conclude that these dreams also reproduce impressions made in childhood—that is that they refer to the games involving rapid motion which have such an extraordinary attraction for children Where i the uncle who has never made a child fly by running with it across the room with outstretched arms or has never played at falling with it by rocking it on his knee and then suddenly straightenin his leg or by lifting it above his head and suddenly pretending to withdraw his supporting hand? At such moments children shout with joy and insatiably demand a repetition of the perform ance especially if a little fright and dizziness

Whil D Ernest Jo es w s d l eri g a lect re be f n Am ca t fic soc ety d was speak f go m d m l rn d l dy took exp t t th scie t fic g al zat Sh th ght the lect w t ll d t p ce s ch a rd t only o th d ms of A t b t h d ght t l cl d th d m f Am ca A f h rself she w that all h d m w re t tly altru tic. I j t ce t th l dy with b ti nal p d t m y h w be m ked that th d gm th dre m wh lly g t m t t be m d rstood. F sm h ryth g that oc p ec scious th k g m y ppe d eam (th t t w ll th l t t d m th ght) th altru t c feel l g m y p bly occu S m l ly affect t m us feel g f th perso lf th y t th co sc may occ d m Th truth f th asse t is th ref est t d t the f ct that m g th sc t m l f d ms ne ry ft fi d g t l t d es whi h seem t have bee rc me l th w ki g tat

is out of place on the roof of a hou e a d a headle s man cannot run the man too is larg e than the house and f the whole th g is meant to repr s nt a la d cape the s gle letters of the lphabet have no ri ht in it s nce they do not o c r in natu e A correct judgment of the p ct r puzzl s poss ble only if I m ke no u h object o s t the whole and its pa ts and f on th c tr ry I t ke the trouble to replace ea h image by a syllable o word wh ch t m y repre e t by vi tue f some all s on or relatio The words thus put together a e no longe me nin l s but m ht const tute the most bea tiful and p egnant aph rism Now a dream s such a p ture puz le a d o r p ed eces ors in the rt of dre m nterpretat on ha e made th mist k of judging the *rebus* s a tistic c mpo t n As such of course t appears no se s cal and worthl ss

A *Co d s tio*

The first thi g that be omes clear to the e t gato wh he compa s the dr am c n te t w th the dream thoughts is th t a treme d us *work of c dens t on* has be cc m pl h d The d eam s meag e paltry and lac c in mp ri on w th the ra ge a d cop us ess of th d e m th u hts Th d m when writ t d wn fills h lf a page the alys s which c ta the d am thought requ e ix e ght t l t mes s mu h space Th rat o a with diff re t dreams but n my exp rie c t is alway of the same d r As a rul the ex te t f th compr s on which has been com pl h d s unde -estimated owi g to the f ct th t th dream th ughts which have been b ught t light are b l eved to be the whole f th m t ri l wh eas co tinuat of the w k of i t rpr t t n wo ld ev al till f rther th ght h dd th d eam W hav al eady fo d t nec ry to em k that e can never be re lly u th t e h s interp et d a d e m

—strictly pe k g—i d t rm bl E pt m y be tak n— d t first ght the obj ct o seems pe fectly pla ble—to the as e t o th t th d p oportion betw en d eam co tent a d dream thought j tifi the c clus on that a d ble de sat n f psychic materi l occurs in th f rm t f dre m Fo w ften ha e th feel g th t w h ve b d e min a gr t d l ll ght and h the forg tten m t f wh t we ha e dre med. The d eam

wh ch we remember on waking would thus *appear* to be merely a remnant of the total dream work which would surely equal the dream thoughts in range if only we could remember it completely To a certain extent this is un d ubtedly true there is no getting away from the fact that a dream is most accurately re p oduced if we try to remember it immediate ly after waking and that the recollect on of it becomes more and more defective as the d y

d eam work is not affected by the possi ty of f rgett a part of d eams for it may be dem o strated by the multitude of deas pertai n ing to those ind dual parts of the dream which do remain i the memory If a large part of the d eam has eally escaped the memory we are prob bly deprived of access to a new series of dream thou hts We ha e no justification for expecting that those portions of the dream

In view of the very great number of deas which nal s elicits f r each i dividual ele

sequently occurs to the mind during analy is as formin part of the d eam thoughts—in other words to a sume that all thes th hts ha e been active in the sleeping state and have take part n the format on of the d eam Is it ot m e probable th t new combinat ons of th ughts are de loped in the c ur e of a al ysis wh ch d d not partic p te in the format on of the d e m? To thi objection I ca give o ly a c dit onal reply It s true of cou se that separat ombinat s of thou ht make the r first appea c duri g the a lysis b t o e can co vince s lf e ery t me this happe s that s h new combinat ns ha e been estab l hed only betwe n tho ghts which have l re dy been connected in ther ways in the d e m th ughts the new omb t s a e o to peak o olla es short circu ts which e

R f re ce t th d sati i d eams be f d i h w k f m y w iters the bjec D Prel i hi *Phi ph d My k* tha h is bsol tely th d sati -process f the cces f d had occu red

not been as thorough as we might have been—in short whenever we feel the burden of responsibility

For a further explanation of examination dreams I have to thank a remark made by a colleague who had studied this subject who once stated in the course of a scientific discussion that in his experience the examination dream occurred only to persons who had passed the examination never to those who had flunked We have had increasing confirmation of the fact that the anxiety dream of examination occurs when the dreamer is anticipatin a responsible task on the followin day with the possibility of dis rnce recour e will then be had to an occasion in the past on which a great anxiety proved to have been without real justification having indeed been refuted by the outcome Such a dream would be a very striking example of the way in which the dream content is misunderstood by the waking instance The exclamation which is regarded as a protest against the dream But I am already a doctor etc would in reality be the consolation offered by the dream and should therefore be worded as follows Do not be afraid of the morrow think of the anxiety which you felt before your matriculation yet nothin happened to justify it for now you are a doctor etc But the anxiety which we attribute to the dream really has its origin in the residues of the dr am day

The tests of this interpretation which I have been able to make in my own case and in that of others although by no means exhaustive were entirely in its favour For example I failed in my examination for the doctor s degree in medical jurisprudence never once has the matter worried me in my dreams while I have often enough been examined in botany zoology and chemistry and I sat for the examinations in these subjects with well justified anxiety but escaped disaster throu h the clemency of fate or of the examiner In my dreams of school examinations I am always examined in history a subject in which I passed brilliant [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

fact that on the examination paper which I returned to him I had crossed out with my fingernail the second of three questions as a hint that he should not insist on it One of my patients who withdrew before the matriculation examination only to pass it later but failed in the officer s examination o that he did not become an officer tell me that he of en dreams of the former examination but never of the latter

W Stekel who was the first to interpret the *matriculation dream* maintains that this dream invariably refers to sexual experiences and sexual maturity This has frequently been confirmed in my experience

VI The Dream Work

ALL other previous attempts to solve the problems of dreams have concerned themselves directly with the manifest dream content as it is retained in the memory They have sought to obtain an interpretation of the dream from this content or if they dispensed with an interpretation to base their conclusions concerning the dream on the evidence provided by this content We however are confronted by a different set of data for us a new psychic material interposes itself between the dream conte t and the results of our investigations the la t dream content or dream thoughts which are obtained only by our method We develop the solution of the dream from this latent content and not from the manifest dream content We are thus confronted with a new problem an entirely novel task—that of examinin and tracing the relations between the latent dream thoughts and the manifest dream content and the proce ses by which the latter has grown out of the former

The dream thoughts and the dream content pre ent themselves as two descriptions of the same content in two different languages or to put it more clearly the dream content appears to us as a translation of the dream thoughts into another mode of expression whose symbols and laws of composition we must learn by comparing the origin with the tran lation The dream thou hts we can understand without further trouble the moment we have ascertained them The dream content i as it were presented in hieroglyphics whose symbols must be translated one by one into the language of the dream thoughts It would of course be incorrect to attempt to read these symbols in accordance with their values as pictures instead of in accordance with their meaning as symbols For instance I have before me a picture puzzle (rebus)—a house upon whose roof there is a boat then a single letter then a running figure, whose head has been omitted and o on As a critic I might b tempted to judge this composition and its elements to be non en al A boat

See also pp 26

the lady with the flowers a train of thou ts bra-ches o to the fa ourit fl wers of m wife whos ther bran h leads to the titl f the has til seen monogra h. Furt er *bo nical* recalls an ep ode at the Gymn um, and a uni ers ty exami n on and fresh subject—that f mv hobb es—wh h was broached in the above-men oned conversation, is linked up, by means f what is humorou ly called my *favourite flower* th rti ho wi h t train f thoughts proceedi from the forgotten flowers be nd reco a e th re lies on t one hand a reco lect on of Ialv and on the o h r a reminis cence of a scene of my hildhood in which I first formed an cquaintance—which has since t en grown so i timate—wi h books *Bo ni al* then, veritab e ucleus a d, for t dream the meeti -poi t of man train of thou t which, I can test fy h d all really been brou t m connection by the conversation referred t H re we fi d ourselves in a thou h factory in which, as in *Th W aver's Masterpiece*

Th I sh t to and f o
Fly and th th us unnoted flow
One th ow links p a thousand threads.

Monogr h in the dream, again touches two themes the o e-s ded na ure of m studies and the costliness f my ho b es

The impres on derived from this first in vest tio is tha th ements *b nical* and *mon r h* were taken up in o the dream-con ten because they were h t ffer t most merous poin s f co ct with the greatest mber f dream-thoug and thus repre sen ed *nodal poin* t which a great numbe f t dream-thou s met together and be cause they were f *manif d* nificance in re spect f t meaning of the dream. Th f ct upo w this explan on is based may be expressed in o e f rm E ery ement of t dream-co en p oves t be *over-d er min d*—that appears everal times over in t dream-thou s.

W all learn more f we exami e the ther components of the dream in respect of their occurrence in th dream-thoughts The *c l red p* te ers (f t analysis on p S) to a new subj ct the criticism passed upo m work by colleagues and also to subject al re represen ed in th dream—my hobbies—and f rther to a memory f my childhood, in hich I pull t pieces boo with co oured pa es the *dried specimen* f the plant rela es t m experience with the h rbarium t the G mnasium and gives this memory particular emphasi Thus I perceive the nature of the relati be ween the dream-content and dream thou s Not only are the elements of the dream determined several times over by the dream-thoug but the indi idual dream thou ts are represen ed in the dream by sev eral lements S arting from an element of th dream th pa h of the a sociation leads to a number of dream-thoughts and from a single dream-thought t several elements of the dream In the process of dream formation therefore t s not the case that a ngle dream thought, or a group of dream-thoughts s pp ies the dream-content with an abbreviation of it elf as s representative and tha the next dream thoug supplies another abbreviation as its rep resentative (m ch as representatives are lected from amon the population) but rather that the w ol ma s of the dream-thoughts is sub jected t a certain elabora on, in the course of which those elemen s that recei e the strong est and comp etest support tand out in relief so that the process mi ht perhaps be likened t election by t *scruti du lis e* Whatever dream I ma subject to such a di section, I al wa s find th same fundamental princip e con firmed—that the dream-elemen s have been f rmed out of the whole ma s of the dream thou h and that every on of them ppears in relatio to th dream-thou t to have a mu ip determination

I is certainly n t superfluous to demonstra e this relation of the dream-c ten to the dream thou s by means of further exampl which is distingu ed by particularly artful in ter twining of reciprocal relati ns. The drea s that of a patien whom I am trea ing for claustrop obia (fear of enclosed spaces) It will soon become ev dent why I feel myself called upon t e tl this exceptio ally clever p ece of dream activity

II. A Beautiful Dream

The d e mer is dri g w h a great mber f com anion in X t ker ther is mod t h st ry (which is not th case) *A th trical performan is being given one f th ores f th n. He is fr ect or then actor Fin y th comp ny s told to cha ge their cl h s in order to return to th c y S m f th company are shown in o ro ms on th groun floor o hers to oom on th f st floor Then dis t en. Th peo e p stairs ar ngry be use th s dow irs have not yet finish d ha ing so th they cannot come down His brother is p airs he*

made po sible by the existence of other more fundamental modes of connection In respect of the great majority of the groups of thoughts re vealed by analysis we are obliged to admit that they have already been active in the formation of the dream for if we work through a succes sion of such thoughts which at first sight seem to have played no part in the formation of the dream we suddenly come upon a thought which occurs in the dream content and is indispen sable to its interpretation but which is never theless inaccessible except through this chain of thoughts The reader may here turn to the dream of the botanical monograph which is obviously the result of an astonishing degree of condensation even thou h I have not given the complete analy is

But how then are we to ima ine the psy chic condition of the sleeper which precedes dreaming? Do all the dream thoughts exist side by side or do they pursue one another or are there several simultaneous trains of thought proceeding from different centres which sub sequently meet? I do not think it is necessary at this point to form a plastic conception of the psychic condition at the time of dream formation But let us not forget that we are concerned with *unconscious* thinking and that the process may easily be different from that which we observe in ourselves in de liberate contemplation accompanied by con sciousness

The fact however is irrefutable that dream formation is based on a process of condensa tion How then is this condensation effected?

Now if we consider that of the dream thou hts ascertained only the most restricted number are represented in the dream by means of one of their conceptual elements we might conclude that the condensation is accomplished by means of omission inasmuch as the dream is not a faithful translation or projection point by point of the dream thou hts but a very incomplete and defective reproduction of them This view as we shall soon perceive is a very inadequate one But for the present let us take it as a point of departure and ask ourselves If only a few of the elements of the dream thoughts make their way into the dream con tent what are the conditions that determine their selection?

In order to solve this problem let us turn our attention to tho e elements of the dream con tent which must have fulfilled the cond tions for which we are looking The mo t suitable material for this investigation will be a dream to whose formation a particularly intense con densation has contributed I select the dream cited on page 07 of the botanical mono graph

I

Dream content *I have written a monograph*

the plant is bound up in this copy as in a herbarium

The most prominent element of this dream is the *botanical monograph* This is derived from the impressions of the dream-day I had actually seen a *monograph on the genus Cyclamen* in a bookseller s window The men tion of this genus is lacking in the dream-con tent only the monograph and its relation to botany have remained The *botanical mono graph* immediately reveals its relation to the *work on cocaine* which I once wrote from co caine the train of thou ht proceeds on the o e hand to a *Festschrift* and on the other to my friend the oculist Dr *Koenigstein* who was partly responsible for the introduction of co caine as a local anaesthetic Moreover Dr Koeni stein is connected with the recollection of an interrupted conversation I had had with him on the previous evenin and with all orts of ideas relating to the remuneration of medi cal and surgical services among colleagues This conversation then is the actual dream stimu lus the monograph on cyclamen is also a real incident but one of an indifferent nature as I now see the *botanical monograph* of the dream proves to be a *common mean* between the two experiences of the day taken over unchanged from an indifferent impression and bound up with the psychically significant ex perience by means of the most copious as o ciations

Not only the combined idea of the *botanical monograph* however but also each of its ep arate elements *botanical* and *monograph* pene trates farther and farther by manifold associations into the confused tangle of the dream thoughts To *botanical* belong the recol lections of the person of Professor Gartner (German *Gartner=gardener*) of his *blooming* wife of my patient whose name is *Flora* and of a lady concerning whom I told the story of the forgotten *flowers Ga tner* again leads me to the laboratory and the conversation with *Koenigstein* and the allusion to the two female pa tients belongs to the ame conversation From

referred to an impress on of the dreame s childhood If this s c rrect it must ha e re f rr d to the wet nurse of the dreamer who is n w a man of nearly thirty years of age The bo om of the nurse is in real ty an nn f r the child Th n rse as well s Daudet s *Sappl o* appears n allusion to his rece tly abandoned mistress

Th (elder) brother of the patient also appears in the dream-co t nt he is *up tairs* whil th dre mer hims lf is *down tai s* This again s an inver on for the br ther a I happe to know has lost hi cial pos t on hile my pat e t h.s retained hi In relating the dream co tent the dr amer a oided .ay in that h br ther was upsta rs a d that he him elf wa d wnstairs This would have been to ob o s an expressio f r in Austria we .ay that man is *o the gro ind fl or* wh n h ha l st his f rtu e and s cial po tion just as we say that he h *come down* Now the fact that at th po t the dream somethi is repre e ted in erted mu t ha e a mea g and th e n m st apply to some other elat betwe n th d m thoughts a d the d eam-c ntent The e s an ind at on which sug est how this in ers o t be u d rstood It b ou ly pplies to th e d f th dream wh e the um tances f limbing a e the ver f tho de nbed in *S ppho* Now t is d t what in ers on s meant I *S ppho* the m carries th woman wh sta ds in a sexu l relati n to him the dream tho hts co ly the e is a ef nc to a woman car ry g man a d as this co ld occu ly in childhood, the efe e e s once m e to the se wh carrie th heavy hild Thus the final port of th dre m uc eeds i represen ing S pph d the u in the .ame allu. n

Just th am *S pph* has t b en s l ct ed by the poet w thout efe c t a Lesb n pra t e th portions f th d eam in whi h peopl are busy *p t ir* and *down to s bove* d *beneath* po t to f nci of exu l c n te t with which the d mer s occup ed and wh ch, supp sed cra ings re n t uncon ct d w th hi u is Dream int rp tation tself doe ot h w that th s f cie and t m m ri f ct al happeni gs it ly f m hes with set f th ught and lea t t t d t rmine the act l valu In thi ase re l d imagi ed happe ing appea t f t f q al val e—and t nly h re b t l th reat on of m important psy chi truct res than dream A large company as we al dy k w ignifies a cret. The

t t ku women s favour Through the mea um o a t experience indiffe e t in it.elf the ep ode of the gentleman who talks angrily of the King of Italy refers to the intru. on of people of low rank nto aristocratic society It is as though the w rning which Daudet g ves to young men wer to be supplemented by a imilar warning appl cable to a suckling child

I the two dreams here cited I ha e hown by l cs whe e o e of the eleme ts of the dre m recurs in th dream thou h.s in order t make the mult ple relatio s of the former more bv ous Since howe er the a alys s of these dreams has not been c rried to comple t o it w ll probably be worth while to con rd r to

The chief pers n in the dream content s u y patient Irma who s s en with the fe tu es wh ch belon to her waking l fe and who therefo e in th first instance rep esents herself But her att tude as I examin her at the window is

Inasmuch as Irma u a up bra wh ch r calls my anxi ty about my eld st dau hter she comes to represe t th s child f mi e behind whom connected with h r by the dent ty f the r names is co ceal d the perso of the patie t who died from th effe ts of pois In the fu ther course of the dream the s gn fica ce of Irma s personality changes (w thout the alt ratio of her image as it is seen in the d m) she be omes e of the child en wh m we exam e in the pub lic dispe saries f child n s disea.es whe e my frie ds di play th diffe e c n th men tal c paciti s The tr tion was obviously effected by the dea of my littl daught r Ow ing to h unwilli gn ss t open her mouth the s me Irm titutes an all n to another

is downstairs and he is angry with his brother because they are so hurried (This part obscure) *Besides it was already decided upon their arrival who was to go upstairs and who down Then he goes alone up the hill towards the city and he walks so heavily and with such difficulty that he cannot move from the spot easily*

The difficulty experienced in climbing the hill was o distinct that for some time after waking he was in doubt whether the experience was a dream or the reality

Judged by the manifest content this dream can hardly be eulogized Contrary to the rules I shall begin the interpretation with that portion to which the dreamer referred as being the most distinct

The difficulty dreamed of and probably experienced during the dream—difficulty in climbing accompanied by dyspnoea—was one of the symptoms which the patient had actually exhibited some years before and which in conjunction with other symptoms was at the time attributed to tuberculosis (probably hysterically simulated) From our study of exhibition dreams we are already acquainted with this sensation of being inhibited in motion peculiar to dreams and here again we find it utilized as material always available for the purposes of any other kind of representation The part of the dream content which represents climbing as difficult at first and easier at the top of the hill made me think while it was being related of the well known masterly introduction to Daudet s *Sappho* Here a young man carries the woman he loves upstairs she is at first as light as a feather but the higher he climbs the more she weighs and this scene is symbolic of the pro ress of their relation in describing which Daudet seeks to admonish young men not to lavish an earnest affection upon girls of humble origin and dubious antecedents Although I knew that my patient had recently had a love affair with an actress and had broken it off I hardly expected to find that the interpretation which had occurred to me was correct The situation in Sappho is actually the *reverse* of that in the dream for in the dream climbin was difficult at the first and easy later on in the novel the symbolism is pertinent only if what was at first easily carried finally proves to be a heavy burden To my astonishment the patient remarked that the interpretation fitted in very well with the plot of a play which he had een the previous evenin The play was called *Rund um Wien* (*Round about Vienna*) and treated of the career of a girl who was at first respectable, but who subsequently lapsed into the *de monde* and formed relations with highly placed lovers thereby *climbing* but finally he went *downhill* faster and faster This play reminded him of another entitled *Von Stufe zu Stufe* (*From Step to Step*) the poster advertising which had depicted *a flight of stairs*

To continue the interpretation The actress with whom he had had his most recent and complicated affair had lived in X treet There is no inn in this street However while he was spending part of the summer in Vienna for the sake of this lady he had lod ed (German *abgestiegen=stopped* literally *stepped off*) at a small hotel in the neighbourhood When he was leaving the hotel he aid to the cab-driver

I am glad at all events that I didn t get any vermin here! (Incidentally the dread of vermin is one of his phobias) Whereupon the cab-driver answered How could anybody stop there! That isn t a hotel at all it s really nothing but a *pub!*

The *pub* immediately reminded him of a quotation

Of a wonderful host
I was lately a guest

But the host in the poem by Uhland is an *apple tree* Now a second quotation continues the train of thou ht

FAUST *(dancing with the young witch)*
A lovely dream once came to me
I then beheld an apple tree
And there two fairest apples shone
They lured me so I *climbed thereon*

THE FAIR ONE
Apples have been desired by you
Since first in Paradise they grew
And I am moved with joy to know
That such within my garden grow

There is not the slightest doubt what is meant by the apple tree and the apples A beautiful bosom stood high mong the charms by which the actress had bewitched our dreamer

Judging from the context of the analysis we had every reason to assume that the dream

I est m t g the gnifi f thi p g we m y ecall th me g f d ms f cl mb g tairs as expla ned th h pt o Symb l m

try *trimethylamin* which receives support from several quarters finds its way into the dream-content. *Amyls* too might have got into the dream-content unchanged, but it yields to the influence of the *Wilhelm* group inasmuch as out of the whole range of recollections covered by this name an element is sought out which is able to furnish a double determination for *amyls*. *Propyls* is closely associated with *amyls*; from the *Wilhelm* group comes Munich with its propylaeum. Both groups are united in *propyls—propylaeum*. As though by a compromise this intermediate element then makes its way into the dream-content. Here a common mean which permits of a multiple determination has been created. It thus becomes palpable that a multiple determination must facilitate the penetration into the dream-content. For the purpose of this mean formation a displacement of the attention has been unhesitatingly effected from what is really intended to something adjacent to it in the associations.

The study of the dream of Irma's injection has now enabled us to obtain some insight into the process of condensation which occurs in the formation of dreams. We perceive, as peculiarities of the condensing process, selection of those elements which occur several times over in the dream-content, the formation of new unities (composite persons, mixed images) and the production of common means. The purpose which is served by condensation and the means by which it is brought about will be investigated when we come to study in all their bearings the psychic processes at work in the formation of dreams. Let us for the present be content with establishing the fact of dream condensation as a relation between the dream thought and the dream-content which deserves attention.

The condensation work of dreams becomes most palpable when it takes words and means as its object. Generally speaking words are often treated in dreams as things and therefore undergo the same combinations as the ideas of things. The results of such dreams are comical and bizarre word formations.

1 A colleague sent an essay of his in which he had, in my opinion, overestimated the value of a recent physiological discovery and had expressed himself in recover in extravagant terms. On the following night I dreamed a sentence which ... of the superlatives *colossal pyramidal* but it was not easy to say where it came from. At last the monster fell apart into the two names *Nora* and *Ekdal* from two well known plays by Ibsen. I had previously read a newspaper article on Ibsen by the writer whose latest work I was now criticising in my dream.

2 One of my female patients dreams that *a man with a fair beard and a peculiar glittering eye is pointing to a sign board attached to a tree which reads uclamparia—wet*.

Analysis—The man was rather authoritative looking and his peculiar glittering eye at once recalled the church of San Paolo near Rome where she had seen the mosaic portraits of the Popes. One of the early Popes had a golden eye (this is really an optical illusion to which the guides usually call attention). Further associations showed that the general physiognomy of the man corresponded with her own clergyman (pope) and the shape of the fair beard recalled her doctor (myself) while the stature of the man in the dream recalled her father. All these persons stand in the same relation to her: they are all guiding and directing the course of her life. On further questioning the golden eye recalled gold—money—the rather expensive psycho-analytic treatment, which gives her a great deal of concern. Gold, moreover, recalls the gold cure for alcoholism—Herr D whom she would have married, if it had not been for his clinging to the disgusting alcohol habit—she does not object to anyone's taking an occasional drink; she herself sometimes drinks beer and liqueurs. This again brings her back to her visit to San Paolo (*fuori la mura*) and its surroundings. She remembers that in the neighbouring monastery of the *Tre Fontane* she drank a liqueur made of *eucalyptus* by the Trappist monks of the monastery. She then relates how the monks transformed this malarial and swampy region into a dry and wholesome neighbourhood by planting numbers of eucalyptus trees. The word *uclamparia* then resolves itself into *eucalyptus* and *malaria* and the word *wet* refers to the former swampy nature of the locality. *Wet* also suggests dry. *Dry* is actually the name of the man whom she would have married but for his over indulgence in alcohol. The peculiar name of *Dry* is of Germanic origin (*drei*=three) and hence alludes to the monastery of the Three (*drei*) Fountains. In talking of Mr Dry's habit she used the strong expression "He could drink a

Given by translator as the author's example could not be translated.

lady who was examined by me and also in the same connection to my wife Further in the morbid chan es which I discover in her throat I have summarized allusions to quite a number of other persons

All these people whom I encounter as I fol low up the as ociations suggested by *Irma* do not appear personally in the dream they are concealed behind the dream person *Irma* who is thus developed into a collective image which as might be expected has contradictory features Irma comes to represent these other per ons who are discarded in the work of con densation inasmuch as I allow anything to happen to her which reminds me of these per sons trait by trait

For the purpo es of dream condensation I may construct a *composite person* in yet an other fashion by combining the actual features of two or more persons in a sin le dream im age It is in this fashion that the Dr M of my dream was constructed he bears the name of Dr M and he speaks and acts as Dr M does but his bodily characteristics and his malady belong to another person my eldest brother a single feature paleness is doubly deter mined owing to the fact that it is common to both persons Dr R in my dream about my uncle is a similar composite person But here the dream image is constructed in yet another fashion I have not united features peculiar to the one person with the features of the other thereby abridging by certain features the mem ory picture of each but I have adopted the method employed by Galton in producing fam ily portraits namely I have superimposed the two images so that the common features stand out in stronger relief while those which do not coincide neutralize one another and become indistinct In the dream of my uncle the *fair beard* stands out in relief as an emphasized fea ture from a physiognomy which belongs to two persons and which is consequently blurred further in its reference to growing grey the beard contains an allusion to my father and to myself

The construction of collective and composite persons is one of the principal methods of dream conden ation We shall presently have oc casion to deal with this in another connection

The notion of *dysentery* in the dream of Ir ma s injection has likewise a multiple determi nation on the one hand because of its para phasic assonance with diphtheria and on the other because of its reference to the patient whom I sent to the East and whose hysteria had been wrongly diagnosed

The mention of *propyls* in the dream proves again to be an interesting case of condensation Not *propyls* but *amyls* were included in the dream thoughts One mi ht think that here a simple di placement had occured in the co of dream formation This i in fact the case but the di placement erves the purposes of the condensation as is shown from the follow g supplementary analysis If I dwell for a mo ment upon the word *propylen* (German) its as sonance with the word *propylaeum* su ge ts it self to me But a *propylaeum* is to be found not only in Athens but also in Munich In the latter city a year before my dream I had vis ited a friend who was seriously ill and the ref erence to him in *trimethylamin* which follows clo ely upon *propyls* is unmistakable

I pass over the striking circumstance that here as elsewhere in the analy is of dreams as sociations of the mo t widely differing values are employed for making thought connections as thou h they were equivalent and I yield to the temptation to regard the procedure by which *amyls* in the dream thoughts are re placed in the dream content by *propyls* as a sort of plastic process

On the one hand here is the group of ideas relating to my friend Otto who does not un derstand me thinks I am in the wron and gives me the liqueur that smells of amyls on the other hand there is the group of ideas—connected with the first by contrast—relating to my Berlin friend who does understand me who would always think that I was right and to whom I am indebted for so much valuable in formation concerning the chemistry of sexual processes

What elements in the *Otto* group are to at tract my particular attention are determined by the recent circumstances which are re pon sible for the dream *amyls* belong to the ele ment so distinguished which are predestined to find their way into the dream content The large group of ideas centering upon *William* is actually stimulated by the contrast between William and Otto and those elements in it are emphasized which are in tune with tho e al ready stirred up in the *Otto* group In the whole of this dream I am continually recoiling from somebody who excites my displea ure towards another person with whom I can at will con front the first trait by trait I appeal to the friend as against the enemy Thus *amyls* in the *Otto* group awakes recollections in the other group also belonging to the region of chemis

Cherche la femme by which these thou hts m be summarized lead me if taken in an other sense t my brother who s still unmarried and whose n me is *Alexander* Now I see that *Alex* as we abbreviat the nam ounds almos like an in ersion of *Lasker* and that this fact must ha e co tributed to send my th ughts n a *détour* by way f Breslau

B t the playin with nam and syllables in which I m here enga ed has yet an ther mean m It represe ts th wish that m brother ma enjoy a happy family life and thus in the f d win manner I the novel of artistic life *L'Œuvre* which, by rt e of its co tent must have been in association with my dream thoughts the a th r well known has cidentall gi e descript o of his own person a d his own domestic happ ness a d ppears und the m of *S nd* In the meta m ph s of his name he p obably we t t ... beginning of the name Al xand r by th third syllabl of the me nam s d and thus r n ed t *S do* My o *todidaske* originated in a simil f hion

great aston hment he began to beg my pardon for ha ng lied to me he had felt so a hamed and now he revealed to me just that p ece of exual aetiology wh ch I had expected and which I found nece sary for assumin the n tence f a neu osis This was a relief to me but at the same time a humiliat on for I had to admit that my consultant who was not dis co certed by the ab ence of anamnesis had d ed th case more correctly I made up my mind to tell him when next I saw him that he had been right a d I had been wrong

This is just what I do in the dream But what ort of a w h is fulfilled if I acknowledge that I am m taken? This is preci ely my w h I wish to be mi taken as regards my fears—that is to say I wi h that my wife whose fe rs I ha e appropriated in my dream thou ht may p o e to be m taken. The subject to which the fact of bei g right or wr ng ... ti e of e ther organic or functional ... ment caused by a woman o actually by th sexual life—e ther tabet c paralysis or a neu ros s—with which latter the nature of Lasalle s u do is indirectl co ected

dream in the f llowing manner Sh rtly bef re the lose of my w k... y I had a pat t m hos case m powers of di no is failed m A er us organi trouble—pos ibly om alt ra e d gen ration f the spinal c rd—was t be assumed but ould t be concl sively demon trated It w uld ha e bee tempt m t diagn th troub as a neurosis and th wo ld ha e put an d t all my difficult es b f t f ct that the exual anamnesis fail me whi h I am unwilling to dmit a rosis was rg t ally denied by th patient. In my mbarras ment I call d to my ta e th ph cian wh m I respect most of all men (as h rs do also) d t wh se thority I rrend m t mpl t ly H li ten d t my d b t d m he thou ht th m j tified, and th sa d K ep bservin the man t is p babl euros m I kn w that h does t ha m m ns on err g th et logy f th euroses I refrained f m co trad cting h m b t I d d ot con al m scept cism. A few days lat I informed th pat en th t I did t kn w what t d with him and ad ised him t g t som e else Thereupo t my

I this w ll-c tructed (and on careful analys quite tra spare t) dre m P ofessor N ppe rs t me ly o account of th anal gy and my wish to be pro ed mistaken or the a ci ted references to Breslau a d t the family of u married frie d who lives there but al o account of the followi g little d a logue which fo owed our consultat n Aft he had cquitted hims lf of his p fe i nal d ties by maki the above-mentio ed suggestion D N p oceeded to di cu s pers nal matte s H w man hildre ha e you now — Six. —A thou htf l and respectful gesture — G rls bo s — Three of ach. Th are my pride and my riches — Well you mu t be careful there is difficulty about the girls but the bo s are difficulty lat r as regards th upbrin in I replied that until now they had be ery tractable obvio sly this prognos s of my boys f ture plea ed me as Little as hi d agn f my pat t wh m h be eved to be suffering onl from a neurosis These two imp ess ons the a e conn cted b the c n t nuit by th be ng succ ively ed and wh I in rporate the t ry f the neu sis t th dream I sub t t t f the con versati on th subje t f upbringing which is even m e closely cted w th the dream

fountain Mr Dry jocosely refers to his habit by saying You know I must drink becau e I am always *dry* (referring to his name) The *eucalyptus* refers also to her neurosis which was at first diagnosed as *malaria* She went to Italy becau e her attacks of anxiety which were accompanied by marked rigors and shivering were thought to be of malarial origin She bought some eucalyptus oil from the monks and she maintains that it has done her much good

The condensation *uclamparia—u et* is therefore the point of junction for the dream as well as for the neurosis

3 In a rather long and confu ed dream of my own the apparent nucleus of which i a ea voyage it occurs to me that the next port is *Hearsing* and next after that *Fliess* The latter is the name of my friend in B to which city I have often journeyed But *Hearsing* is put together from the names of the places in the neighbourhood of Vienna which so frequently end in ing *Hiet ing Liesing Moedling* (the old Medelitz *meae deliciae* my joy that is my own name the German for *joy* being *Freude*)

gende Blatter about a slanderous dwarf Sagter Hatergesagt (Saidhe Hashesaid) By the combination of the final syllable *ing* with the name *Fliess Vlissingen* is obtained which is a real port through which my brother passes when he comes to visit us from En land But the English for *Vlissingen* is *Flushing* which signifies *blushing* and recalls patients suffering from *erythrophobia* (fear of blushing) whom I sometimes treat and also a recent publication of Bechterew s relating to this neurosis the reading of which angered me

Th m lys d synth s s f syllabl s—a ve t bl ch m try f yll bl s—s f m y jest w k g l f Wh t th h ap t m th d of bta g l er? Y go t field whe s l er be g ow g d p k th m th th b s I m at d d th l m f t t [T l to xampl] Th fir t pe s wh r d d c t zed th book m de the obj ct —w th h h oth d w ll p b bly g e—th t th d m oft ppe rs t w tty Th t t l g a it appl es t th d e m t l d m t o ly wh ts ppl t s t d d t th t p t of th d e m I w ki g l ty I ca m k

4 Upon another occa ion I had a dream which consisted of two separate parts The first was the vividly remembered word *Autodidasker* the second was a faithful reproduction in the dream content of a short and harmless fancy which had been developed a few days earlier and which was to the effect that I must tell Professor N when I next saw him The patient about whose condition I last consulted you is really sufferin from a neurosis ju t as you suspected So not only must the newly coined *Autodidasker* satisfy the requirement that it should contain or represent a compressed meaning but this meaning must have a valid connection with my resolve—repea ed from waking life—to give Professor N due credit for his diagnosis

Now *Autodidasker* is easily separated into *author* (German *Autor*) *autodidact* and *Lasker* with whom is associated the nam *Lasalle* The first of these words leads to the occasion of the dream—which this time is significant I had brought home to my wife several volumes by a well known author who is a friend of my brother s and who as I have learned comes from the same neighbourhood as myself (J J David) One evening she told me how profoundly impressed she had been by the pathetic sadness of a story in one of David s novels (a story of wasted talents) and our conversation turned upon the signs of talent which we perceive in our own children Under the influence of what she had just read my wife expressed some concern about our children, and I comforted her with the remark that precisely such dangers as she feared can be averted by training During the night my thou hts proceeded farther took up my wife s concern for the children and interwove with it all sorts of other things Something which the noveli t had said to my brother on the subject of marriage showed my thoughts a by path which might lead to representation in the dream This path led to Breslau a lady who was a very good friend of ours had married and gone to live there I found in Breslau *Lasker* and *Lasalle* two examples to justify the fear lest our boys should be ruined by women examples which enabled me to represent simultaneously two ways of influencing a man to his undoing The

Ne

h had bee rti g

thoughts seems to have found its way into the dream-content and thus is unduly expanded. Again, in the dream of my uncle, the fair beard, which seems to be its central point, appears to have no rational connection with the desire for greatness which we have recognized as the nucleus of the dream-thoughts. Such dreams very naturally give us an impression of a displacement. In complete contrast to these examples the dream of Irma's injection shows that individual elements may claim the same place in dream formation as that which they occupy in the dream thoughts. The recognition of this new and utterly inconstant relation between the dream-thoughts and the dream-content will probably astonish us at first. If we find, in a psychic process of normal life, that one idea has been selected from among a number of others, and has acquired particular emphasis in our consciousness, we are wont to regard this as proof that a peculiar psychic value (a certain degree of interest) attaches to the victorious idea. We now discover that this value of the individual element in the dream-thoughts is not retained in dream formation, or is not taken into account. For there is no doubt which of the elements of the dream-thoughts are of the highest value; our judgment informs [illegible] on the essen

the dream by other elements which were certainly subordinate in the dream-thoughts. It seems at first as though the psychic intensity[1] of individual ideas were of no account in their selection for dream formation, but only their greater or lesser multiplicity of determination. One might be inclined to think that what gets into the dream is not what is important in the dream-thoughts but what is contained in them several times over; but our understanding of dream formation is not much advanced by this assumption; to begin with, we cannot believe that the two motives of multiple determination and intrinsic value can influence the selection of the dream otherwise than in the same direction. Those ideas in the dream-thoughts which are most important are probably also those which recur most frequently, since the individual dream-thoughts radiate from them as centres. And yet the dream may reject these intensely emphasized and extensively reinforced

elements and may take up in its content other elements which are only extensively reinforced.

This difficulty may be solved if we follow up yet another impression received during the investigation of the over-determination of the dream-content. Many readers of this investigation may already have decided, in their own minds, that the discovery of the multiple determination of the dream-elements is of no great importance, because it is inevitable. Since in analysis we proceed from the dream-elements and register all the ideas which associate themselves with these elements, is it any wonder that these elements should recur with peculiar frequency in the thought material obtained in this manner? While I cannot admit the validity of this objection, I am now going to say something that sounds rather like it. Among the thoughts which analysis brings to light are many which are far removed from the nucleus of the dream, and which stand out like artificial interpolations made for a definite purpose. Their purpose may readily be detected; they establish a connection, often a forced and far-fetched connection, between the dream-content and the dream-thoughts, and in many cases if these elements were weeded out of the analysis the components of the dream-content would not only not be over-determined, but they would not be sufficiently determined. We are thus led to the conclusion that multiple determination, decisive as regards the selection made by the dream, is perhaps not always a primary factor in dream formation, but is often a secondary product of a psychic force which is as yet unknown to us. Nevertheless it must be of importance for the entrance of the individual elements into the dream, for we may observe that, in cases where multiple determination does not proceed easily from the dream material, it is brought about with a certain effort.

It now becomes very probable that a psychic force expresses itself in the dream work which, on the one hand, strips the elements of the high psychic value of their intensity and, on the other hand, by means of over-determination, creates new significant values from elements of low value, which new values then make their way into the dream-content. Now if this is the method of procedure there has occurred in the process of dream formation a transference and displacement of the psychic intensities of the individual elements, from which results the textual difference between the

[1] The psychic intensity or value of an idea—the emphasis due to interest—is of course to be distinguished from perceptual or conceptual intensity.

thoughts since it touches so closely upon the anxiety subsequently expressed by my wife Thus even my fear that N may prove to be right in his remarks on the difficulties to be met with in bringing up boys is admitted into the dream content inasmuch as it is concealed behind the representation of my wish that I may be wrong to harbour such apprehensions The same phantasy serves without alteration to represent *both the conflicting alternatives*

Examination dreams present the same difficulties to interpretation that I have already described as characteristic of most typical dreams The associative material which the dreamer supplies only rarely suffices for interpretation A deeper understanding of such dreams has to be accumulated from a considerable number of examples Not long ago I arrived at a conviction that reassurances like But you already are a doctor and so on not only convey a consolation but imply a reproach as well This would have run You are already so old so far advanced in life and yet you still commit such follies are guilty of such childish behaviour This mixture of self criticism and consolation would correspond with the examination-dreams After this it is no longer surprising that the reproaches in the last analysed examples concerning *follies* and *childish behaviour* should relate to repetitions of reprehensible sexual acts

The verbal transformations in dreams are very similar to those which are known to occur in paranoia and which are observed also in hysteria and obsessions The linguistic tricks of children who at a certain age actually treat *words as objects and even invent new languages* and artificial syntaxes are a common source of such occurrences both in dreams and in the psychoneuroses

The analysis of nonsensical word formations in dreams is particularly well suited to demonstrate the degree of condensation effected in the dream work From the small number of the selected examples here considered it must not be concluded that such material is seldom observed or is at all exceptional It is on the contrary very *frequent* but owing to the dependence of dream interpretation on psychoanalytic treatment very few examples are noted down and reported and most of the analyses which are reported are comprehensible only to the specialist in neuropathology

When a spoken utterance expressly distinguished as such from a thought occurs in a dream it is an invariable rule that the dream speech has originated from a remembered speech in the dream material The wording of the speech has either been preserved in its entirety or has been slightly altered in expression frequently the dream speech is pieced together from different recollections of spoken remarks the wording has remained the same but the sense has perhaps become ambiguous or differs from the wording *Not infrequently* the dream speech serves merely as an allusion to an incident in connection with which the remembered speech was made

B *The Work of Displacement*

Another and probably no less significant relation must have already forced itself upon our attention while we were collecting examples of dream condensation We may have noticed that these elements which obtrude themselves in the dream content as its essential components do not by any means play this same part in the dream thoughts As a corollary to this the converse of this statement is also true That which is obviously the essential content of the *dream thoughts need not* be represented at all in the dream The dream is as it were *centred elsewhere* its content is arranged about elements which do not constitute the central point of the dream thoughts Thus for example in the dream of the botanical monograph the central point of the dream content is evidently the element *botanical* in the dream thoughts we are concerned with the complications and conflicts resulting from services rendered between colleagues which place them under mutual obligations later on with the reproach that I am in the habit of sacrificing too much time to my hobbies and the element *botanical* finds no place in this nucleus of the dream thoughts unless it is loosely connected with it by antithesis for botany was never among my favourite subjects In the Sappho dream of my patient ascending and descending being upstairs and down is made the central point the dream, however is concerned with the danger of sexual relations with persons of *low* degree so that only one of the elements of the dream

[illegible]

relation to our subject. This will be done elsewhere

From my attempts to con.truct d eams syn th tically f om the r dream tho hts I know that the material which is y elded by interpre tation varies in valu Part of t cons ts of the essential dre m thou hts which would com plet ly replace the dream and would in them sel e be a sufficie t substitute for it were there no dream-ce sorship To th other part ne is wont to ascribe light importance nor does one set any al e on the a sertion that all these thou hts have participated in th f r nat on f the d eam on the contrary they n y incl d no o s which are a ociated with experienc s that hav occurred subsequently to the dream between the dr am and the inter pret t on. Thi part compr.es n t onl all the onnectin paths wh ch ha e led f om the man fest t the latent dream-content, but al o the intermediate and approximating as ciat ns by means of which o ha rri ed at a knowled.e f these c nnecting-paths during the w rk of interpret tion

At this po t we e interes.ed exclusively in the es ential dream th ughts These com m nly reveal themsel es as a compl x f th hts a d mem ries of the mo t intricate poss ble construction with all th charact ris tics f the thought-processes known to us in wakin, lif N t infrequently they re trains of th g t hich p oceed from more than one entre but which re n t without poin s of o tact a d almo t in ariably we find, along w th a train f thou.ht its co tradict ry oun t rpart, onnected with t by the a.soci tio of ontrast.

The individ l parts of this complicated truct re naturally ta d in the most manif ld logical relations t on an ther They onst tut f reground and ba kground, digress ons illus rat s o diti lines of argument nd object When the wh l m of th se dream thought is subjected t the pressu of the d eam wo k, durin which th fragments re t rned about b ken up a d compacted somewhat lik drifting i th q estion ri.es What bec me f th logical ties which had hithert prov ded the framewo k of the struc ture? What represe tati do *f bec us as though although either—or* and all the other co junctions witho t which we cannot under stand a phra.e or a sentence rece ve in our dreams?

T begin with we must answer that the dream has at i s disposal no means of repre senting the.e l gical relations between the d eam thoughts In most cases it di regards all thes conjunctions and undertakes the elaboration only of the material co tent of the dream thou hts It is left to the interpretation of the dream to restore the coherence which the dream wo k has destroyed

If dreams lack th abil ty to express these r lations the psychic material of which they are wrought mu.t be respon ible for th s defect As a m tter of fact the represe tative arts— ... res ricted

arrived t an u derstanding of the laws of ex p ess n by which t is bound it attempted to mak up for this defic ency In old paintings little labels hung out of the mouths of the per sons rep esented giving in writing the speech which th artist despaired of expressing in the pict re.

H re pe haps an obje tion will be raised challenging th sertion that our dreams dispen e with the representat on of l gical relati ns There are dream in which the most compl cated intellectual operations take place arguments fo and against e adduced jokes and compariso s are made ju t as in our waki g tho ghts B t here agai appearanc s are deceptive f th interp etati n of such dreams i co tinued t will be found that *al these things are d eam-m terial not the epre sentat on of tel ctual ct i ty i the d eam* The *ont t* of the dream thou hts is reproduced by the apparent thinking in ur d eams b t ot *the latio s of th dream thoughts to one an th* in the d termin t on f wh ch re lati ns thinking co sists I h ll gi e some ex amples of this But th f ct which is most ea ly establi hed that all speeches wh ch occur in d eams d which are expres ly desig n ted as such are unchang d or only lightly modified repl cas of pee hes which o cu likewi e among the memories in the d am m t rial Oft th pe h s o ly an allus on to ev t c tained in the d eam th ght the meani g of the dream is quite differe t.

dream content and the thought content The process which we here assume to be operative is actually the most essential part of the dream work it may fitly be called *dream displacement Dream displacement and dream condensation* are the two craftsmen to whom we may chiefly ascribe the structure of the dream

I think it will be easy to recognize the psychic force which expresses itself in dream displacement The result of this displacement is that the dream content no lon er has any likeness to the nucleus of the dream thoughts and the dream reproduces only a distorted form of the dream wish in the unconscious But we are already acquainted with dream distortion we have traced it back to the censorship which one psychic instance in the psychic life exercises over another Dream displacement is one of the chief means of achieving this distortion *Is fecit cui profuit* We must assume that dream displacement is brou ht about by the influence of this censorship the endopsychic defence

The manner in which the factors of displacement condensation and over determination interact with one another in dream formation—which is the ruling factor and which the subordinate one—all this will be reserved as a subject for later investigation In the meantime, we may state as a second condition which the elements that find their way into the dream must satisfy that *they must be withdrawn from the resistance of the censorship* But henceforth in the interpretation of dreams we shall reckon with dream-displacement as an unquestionable fact

Th doer g d
S I g d th tt b t f d e m-d st t on

he mark bl

s f yo
w w k b ed up y r t p y
g d y j t d y lo f t th t
the mo al cl ty of y t wh ch m k e y
th g b t y t ll g bl t m
B t f I ally g th ht to the m tt w
th ply I lm t b l th t all m a m d
I m a d th t r d m se I A

t cts t at ll f m th l t t f th d m
b ca b th w th t y fica wh t r fo
ts t al t t W oft do th s m th g
w k g l fe th k f f y t l f m y b ld d
p g t t o f f ta y f wh ch ly f l h
pe s w ld y Th t s l Fo t t po
s ble
If ly t w alw ys po bl t t rp t d m
o ectly y h just d e w th m l sa d the
f d
'Th t ce ta ly ot y ta k b t w th
l ttle ttent t m st lw ys b p bl t th
d e m Y k why t g lly mp bl ? I
yo ca th e m t be om th g l d y
dream s m th g ch t p l d lt d
f h t e y y t wh h t
d ffi lt t f th m d that why y d ms s
ft m to b w th t m g
cal B t th p f d t th by o mea
the ca d d t t be f m lw y
th s me pe s wh the h w kes d eam

C *The Means of Representation in Dreams*

Besides the two factors of *condensation* and *displacement* in dreams which we have found to be at work in the transformation of the latent dream material into the manifest dream-content we shall in the course of this investigation come upon two further conditions which exercise an unquestionable influence over the selection of the material that eventually appears in the dream But first even at the risk of seeming to interrupt our pro ress I shall take a preliminary glance at the processes by which the interpretation of dreams is accomplished I do not deny that the best way of explaining them and of convincin the critic of their reliability would be to take a single dream as an example to detail its interpretation as I did (in Chapter II) in the case of the dream of Irma s injection but then to assemble the dream thou hts which I had discovered and from them to reconstruct the formation of the dream—that is to say to supplement dream analysis by dream synthesis I have done this with several pecimens for my own instruction but I cannot undertake to do it here as I am prevented by a number of considerations (relating to the psychic material necessary for such a demonstration) such as any right thinking person would approve In the analysis of dreams these considerations pre ent less difficulty for an analysis may be incomplete and still retain its value even if it lead only a little way into the structure of the dream I do not see how a synthesis to be convincing could be anything short of complete I could give a complete synthesis only of the dreams of such persons as are unknown to the reading public Since however neurotic patients are the only persons who furnish me with the means of making such a synthesis this part of the description of dreams must be postponed until I can carry the psychological explanation of the neuroses far enough to demonstrate their

relation to one another. This will be done elsewhere.[1]

From my attempts to construct dreams synthetically from their dream-thoughts, I know that the material which is yielded by interpretation varies in value. Part of it consists of the essential dream-thoughts, which would completely replace the dream and would in themselves be a sufficient substitute for it, were there no dream-censorship. To the other part, one is wont to ascribe slight importance. Nor does one set any value on the assertion that all these thoughts have participated in the formation of the dream; on the contrary, there may be among them notions which are associated with experiences that have occurred subsequently to the dream, between the dream and the interpretation. This part comprises not only all the connecting-paths which have led from the manifest to the latent dream-content, but also the intermediate and approximating associations by means of which one has arrived at a knowledge of these connecting-paths during the work of interpretation.

At this point we are interested exclusively in the essential dream-thoughts. These commonly reveal themselves as a complex of thoughts and memories of the most intricate possible construction, with all the characteristics of the thought-processes known to us in waking life. Not infrequently they are trains of thought which proceed from more than one centre, but which are not without points of contact; and almost invariably we find, along with a train of thought, its contradictory counterpart, connected with it by the association of contrast.

The individual parts of this complicated structure naturally stand in the most manifold logical relations to one another. They constitute foreground and background, digressions, illustrations, conditions, lines of argument and objections. When the whole mass of these dream-thoughts is subjected to the pressure of the dream-work, during which the fragments are turned about, broken up and compacted, somewhat like drifting ice, the question arises: What becomes of the logical ties which had hitherto provided the framework of the structure? What representation do [illegible] though, either-or and all the other conjunctions without which we cannot understand a phrase or a sentence in our dreams?

To begin with, we must answer that the dream has at its disposal no means of representing these logical relations between the dream-thoughts. In most cases it disregards all these conjunctions, and undertakes the elaboration only of the material content of the dream-thoughts. It is left to the interpretation of the dream to restore the coherence which the dream-work has destroyed.

If dreams lack the ability to express these relations, the psychical material of which they are wrought must be responsible for the fact. As a matter of fact, the representative arts— [illegible] of which the two plastic arts endeavour to express something. Before the art of painting arrived at an understanding of the laws of expression by which it is bound, it attempted to make up for this deficiency. In old paintings little labels hung out of the mouths of the persons represented, giving in writing the speech which the artist despaired of expressing in the picture.

Here, perhaps, an objection will be raised, challenging the assertion that our dreams dispense with the representation of logical relations. There are dreams in which the most complicated intellectual operations take place; arguments for and against are adduced, jokes and comparisons are made, just as in our waking thoughts. But here again appearances are deceptive; if the interpretation of such dreams is continued, it will be found that *all these things are dream-material, not the representation of intellectual activity in the dream*. The content of the dream-thoughts is reproduced by the apparent thinking in our dreams, but not the *relations of the dream-thoughts to one another*, in the determination of which relations thinking consists. I shall give some examples of this. But the fact which is most easily established is that all speeches which occur in dreams, and which are expressly designated as such, are unchanged or only slightly modified replicas of speeches which occur likewise among the memories in the dream-material. Often the speech is only an allusion to an event contained in the dream-thoughts; the meaning of the dream is quite different.

[1] I have since given the complete analysis and synthesis of two dreams in the *Bruchstück einer Hysterieanalyse* (1905) (*Ges. Schriften*, Vol. VIII). "Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria," trans. by Strachey, *Collected Papers*, Vol. III (Hogarth Press, London). O. Rank's analysis, *Ein Traum, der sich selbst deutet*, deserves mention as the most complete interpretation of a comparatively long dream.

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The d g d
S e I eg d th tt but n of d m-d t t

d t e rep d ed
Co g a man who po sesses the rema k ble fac lty f r d e m
ko r m ll f lty f d e m s f y u we e a k b d p y t p n y u go d s y j st d y l f t th t s th mo al cl ty f y t wh ch m ke e y th g abo t yo t ll g ble t m
But if I eally g th ht t the m tt r w the eply I lm t b l e th t all m a e m d as I am a d th t n d ms se l A

If ly t w alw ys p bl to t rp et d m co ctly s y h j t d w th m l sa d the f d
'Th t ce t ly ot sy task b t w th l ttle tt t t m t lw ys be po bl t th d me Y k why t g lly mp bl ? I yo c e th em t be s m th g l d yo dream s m th g ch st spec l a d e lt d f h a t e y y t wh h t d ffi lt t f th m d th t why y d ms ft em t be w th t m g se s l B t the p f d t s th s i by mea th ase d ed t t b f m l ys the same perso wh th r be w kes o d m

The piles of clumsy pots and pans are taken from an unpretentious hardware shop located in t sam hou. Th second part of this dream co tains an allu o to the *dreamer's* fath r w o was always pes ering the ma us and w o d... a flood—for the house stood close t th bank of the ri er—contracted a fatal ...ess The thought which is o cealed beh d th prelim nary dream is s meth... like this B cause I was born in t.. house in such sordid and unpleasa t surro nd...s The main dream takes up the same thoug t a d presents t in a form that has been altered by wi h fulfilm t I am of exal ed origin. Properly then Beca se I am of such humble origin, the o rse f m lif has been so and so

As fa I can see th di i on of a dream int two unequal portions does not alwa s sig nify causal relation between the though s of the two portions It often seems as though in the two dreams the same material were present ed from differe t points of iew th s is cer tainl th case when a eries of dreams, dreamed t..e sam ... end in seminal emi.. on the somat need e forc..g more and more dea... expression. Or the two dreams ha e proceeded from two separat cen tres n the dream-ma erial, and they overlap another in t.. content so t..at the subject whi h in on dream constitut the centre co operates in th ther a an allus a d ce versa. But in ertain umber f dream the divis int s..ort prelim...ary dreams and lo g subsequent dreams ctually signifies causal relat on between t.. two portions The other method f representin.. the usal relation is employed wi..h les compre..en..e material, and n..st in t.. transformat on f a image in the dream i..to ano he image whether t be f perso o a thin.. Only wh re this trans f rmati is ctual see occurr... t the dream ...uld we seriously insi..t on th causal elati t wh re w imply no e t..at ne thi.. ha taken th place f other I said that both m thods f representing the ca al la io re really red cibl t the same m thod both cases on is repres ed b n, sometimes by the suc es f dreams som times by the immediate tran f mat on f imag int an ..h I the great maj rity f cases f course the cau..al rela on is t represented t all but is ff ced amidst the es on f element that is un dab even th dream proces

Dreams ar quit i..capabl of expressing the alterna ve ei her—o i the r cus om to take both members of t s a.. erna e t t same context as though they had a equal r... to be there A cla c exam... of th..s is con t ined in the dream of Irma s i jec o I s latent thou h is obv ous! mean I am no re spon ibl fo the persi tence of Irma s pai s the respo bi ress *either* w h her res ance to accep g the so n or w th the f c that ...e is li i... und r unf vorabl s xual co..d.t ons w ch I m unable to cha..ge or her pa ns are not h s erical at a l bu orga c The dream h wever carries out all these pos s..bilities which are almost mutua l exclu ive a d is qu e read t add a fourth solution

But when in narra ..g a drea... the su r is inclined t emplo the al erna i e *either—o* It was e ther a garden or l ing room etc there is n t really an al ernati e in the dream thoug s but ..n or —a simple ad i on When we use *either—or* we are as a rule describ a quality of vagueness in some e emen of the dre m but a ..mbiguities which may still be cleared up The rule to be applied in th..s case is as follows The ind dual members of the al ernative are to be trea ed as equal a..d con nected by an *and* F r in ta ce It wa g lo..g and vai..ly for the d ress f a friend who is tra elli..g in Italy I dream that I rece e a t egram which gives me the ad ress On the telegraph form I see prin ed in b ue le ters the first w rd is blurred—perhaps ...

or *villa* the second is distinct! *Secerno* even (*Casa*)

The second word, which reminds me of Italia names and of our discus on on etym logy also expresses m annoyance in respect of the fact that my friend has kept his addres a secret from me bu each f the pos ible first three w rd may be recognized on analys as ..n i..dependent d equally ju t..able tart ing point in the concat nat on of d..s

D r th nig bef re th funeral of m f ther I dreamed of a pri ted placard a card po er rather like the n ices n the wa rooms f railwa st ti wh.ch a unce that sm king is prohib ed The s ..n read e ther

Yo e q d to sh the eyes

You q t d t h t o eye

an l erna ive wh. h I m th habt f rep resen g in the f ll wing f rm

However I shall not dispute the fact that even critical thought activity which does not simply repeat material from the dream thought plays a part in dream formation I shall have to explain the influence of this factor at the close of this discussion It will then become clear that this thought activity is evoked not by the dream thoughts but by the dream itself after it is in a certain sense already completed

Provisionally then it is agreed that the logical relations between the dream thoughts do not obtain any particular representation in the dream For instance where there is a contradiction in the dream this is either a contradiction directed against the dream itself or a contradiction contained in one of the dream thoughts a contradiction in the dream corresponds with a contradiction *between* the dream thoughts only in the most indirect and intermediate fashion

But just as the art of painting finally succeeded in depicting in the persons represented at least the intentions behind their words—tenderness menace admonition and the like—by other means than by floating labels so also the dream has found it possible to render an account of certain of the logical relations between its dream thoughts by an appropriate modification of the peculiar method of dream representation It will be found by experience that different dreams go to different lengths in this respect while one dream will entirely disregard the logical structure of its material another attempts to indicate it as completely as possible In so doing the dream departs more or less widely from the text which it has to elaborate and its attitude is equally variable in respect to the temporal articulation of the dream thoughts if such has been established in the unconscious (as for example in the dream of Irma s injection)

But what are the means by which the dream work is enabled to indicate those relations in the dream material which are difficult to represent? I hall attempt to enumerate these one by one

In the first place the dream renders an account of the connection which is undeniably present between all the portions of the dream thoughts by combining this material into a unity as a situation or a proceeding It reproduces *logical connections* in the form of *simultaneity* in this case it behaves rather like the painter who groups together all the philosophers or poets in a picture of the School of Athens or Parnassus They never were assembled in any hall or on any mountain top although to the reflective mind they do constitute a community

The dream carries out in detail this mode of representation Whenever it shows two elements close together it vouches for a particularly intimate connection between their corresponding representatives in the dream thoughts. It is as in our method of writing *to* signifies that the two letters are to be pronounced as one syllable while *t* with *o* following a blank space indicates that *t* is the last letter of one word and *o* the first letter of another Consequently dream combinations are not made up of arbitrary completely incongruous elements of the dream material but of elements that are pretty intimately related in the dream thoughts also

For representing *causal relations* our dreams employ two methods which are essentially reducible to one The method of representation more frequently employed—in cases for example where the dream thoughts are to the effect Because this was thus and thus this and that must happen —consists in making the subordinate clause a prefatory dream and joining the principal clause on to it in the form of the main dream If my interpretation is correct, the sequence may likewise be reversed The principal clause always corresponds to that part of the dream which is elaborated in the greatest detail

An excellent example of such a representation of causality was once provided by a female patient whose dream I shall subsequently give in full The dream consisted of a short prologue and of a very circumstantial and very definitely centred dream composition I might entitle it Flowery language The preliminary dream is as follows *She goes to the two maids in the kitchen and scolds them for taking so long to prepare a little bite of food She also sees a very large number of heavy kitchen utensils in the kitchen turned upside down in order to drain even heaped up in stacks The two maids go to fetch water and have as it were to climb into a river which reaches up to the house or into the courtyard*

Then follows the main dream which begins as follows *She is cl mbing down from a height over a curiously shaped trellis and she is glad that her dress doesn t get caught anywhere etc* Now the preliminary dream refers to the house of the lady s parents The word which are spoken in the kitchen are words which she has probably often heard spoken by her mother

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Then follows the main dream which begins as follows *She is cl mbing down from a height ove a curiously shaped trellis and she is glad that l er d ess doesn t get caught anywhe e etc* Now the preliminary dream refers to the house of the lady s parents The words which are spoken in the kitchen are words which she has probably often heard spoken by her mother

compoait on where things const tute the ma terial to be unified but *compos tions are also* m de of perso s Local ties are of en treated as persons.

Id t fication cons ts in gi g representa tio in the dream-content to only one of two or m re per ons who are related by me common feature while the seco d per r other pe s ns ppear to be uppres ed a far as the dre m is concerned In th dre m th s o e s reening person enter into all the relations and s tuat o s which d ri e from th persons whom he screens In c es of *compo t on* h w e e when persons are comb ed, there are already present in th dre m ma e fe tures which a e characterist c f but not common t th pers ns n quest on tat a ew n ty a composit person appears a the re t f th um f these feat res. The comb natio it self may be ff cted in various ways Either th dream person bears the name o on of the persons t wh m he refers—and n thus cas we mply kn w in a manner that s qui e anal g us t kn wledge waki g life that this o that perso is inte ded—while the n ual features bel t a ther person or the dream image tself is compounded of n u l features whi h in re lity are d ri ed f m the tw Al in pla e of the visual f at res the part pla ed by the se o d perso m y be ep resented by th att tudes a d g res which re ually a cribed to him by th w rd he speaks r *by the situations in whi h he is* pla ed *In this* latte method f haract rizat n th sharp dist tio between the dent fication and the c mbination of perso begins to dis ppea B t t may lso happen that the f r m t f uch compo te person i un uccess ful The s tuati s ct ons of the dream are the ttrib ted t e perso nd th o her— as rule th m re mporta t— int od ed as an in tr e spe tator P hap the d m will y M m the wa th too (Stek l) S ch an lement of th d eam-con tent then c mp rabl t d terminati in hieroglyphi script wh h is t meant t be exp es d, but is intended ly t explain an ther gn

Th omm feat re whi h justifies the uni f tw pers ns—that is to say which enab es t t be mad —m y ther be repr sented in th d eam t ma be bse t As rule dentificati compos ti f pe sons tually serves t d the ty f repre senting thi mmon feature Instead f epeat ing *A is ill-dispos d tow* ds me and o is B I make in my dream a compo ite person of A and B or I concei e A a d g some th which is al n to h s character f a wh h is characteri ic of B The dream person ob tai ed n this way appe rs in the dream in some new con ection and the fact that he s nifies both A nd B j s es my i serti that which is c mmon to both persons—the r hos tility t wards me—at the proper pl ce in the dream interpretati n In th s ma r I often ach eve a qui e extraordi ary d gree of con densation of the dre m-c tent I am abl t d spen e with the d rect representat on of the very compl cated relatio s be n to person if I can find a second person wh has an equal cla m to some of these rea io s It will be readily understood how far t is repr sen at on by means of identificat on may ci cumvent t e censoring res st n e w h sets up such harsh condit ons f r th dre m w rk The thing that offends the e sorsh n m y re side in those very d as wh ch a e c nected in the d e m material with th one person I now find a seco d person who likewi e stands in some relat n to th object nal ma erial but o ly to a part of Contact at that one po t wh ch o erds the cen orsh p n w ja ti *fies my f rmation of a compos per o* who i characterized by the ind ff rent f t res of each This person the res lt of comb atio or identificat on be g free of the cen orsh n n w s table for nc rporat n n t e dream *co tent. Thus by the ppl cat n of dream* condensat on I have at sf ed the demands of the dream-ce sors m

When a common feature of two perso s s represented n a dream th s is usually a h nt *to look for another co c aled common fea ure* the rep esentation f wh ch is made impo s l e by th ensorsh p He e a d spl cement of the c mm f ature has occurred which in some degree facil tates representat on From the c r cum ance that the compos t person i shown t m in the dream w th an i d ff rent common feature I must infer that anoth r c mmon fea t which is by no m ans i d fferent ex ts in the d eam th hts

Ac d gly the ide tification or combi ation of persons rves an us purpo es in our d am the f rst place that of represent g featu e common to tw persons seco dly that f rep es ti a d *pl c d c mm* fea ture and thi dly that f expres iv c m m ty f f t es which m ly *ws h d fo* As th wi h f a commun ty of f t in tw pers lten coinc des w th the er

You are requested to shut the / one eye(s)

Each of the two versions has its special meaning and leads along particular path in the dream interpretation I had made the simplest possible funeral arrangements for I knew what the deceased thought about such matters Other members of the family however did not approve of such puritanical simplicity they thought we should feel ashamed in the presence *of the other mourners Hence one of the word*ings of the dream asks for the *shutting of one eye* that is to say it asks that people should show consideration The significance of the vagueness which is here represented by an *either—or* is plainly to be seen The dream work has not succeeded in concocting a coherent and yet ambiguous wording for the dream thoughts Thus the two principal trains of thought are separated from each other even in the dream content

In some few cases the division of a dream into two equal parts expresses the alternative *which the dream finds it so difficult to present*

The attitude of dreams to the category of *antithesis* and *contradiction* is very striking This category is simply ignored the word *No* does not seem to exist for a dream Dreams are particularly fond of reducing antitheses to uniformity or representing them as one and the same thing Dreams likewise take the lib*erty of representing any element* whatever by its desired opposite so that it is at first impossible to tell in respect of any element which is capable of having an opposite whether it is contained in the dream thoughts in the nega*tive or the positive sense* In one of the recently cited dreams whose introductory portion we have already interpreted (because my origin *is so and so*) *the dreamer climbs down over* a trellis and holds a blossoming bough in her hands Since this picture suggests to her the angel in paintings of the Annunciation (her own name is Mary) bearing a lily stem in his hand and the white robed girl walking in procession on Corpus Christi Day when the streets are decorated with green boughs the *blossoming bough in the dream is quite clearly* an allusion to sexual innocence But the bough is thickly studded with red blossoms each of which resembles a camellia At the end of her walk (so the dream continues) the blossoms are already beginning to fall then follow unmistakable allusions to menstruation But the very bough which is carried like a lily stem and as though by an innocent girl *is also an* allusion to Camille who as we know usually wore a white camellia but a red one during menstruation The same blossoming bough (the flower of maidenhood in Goethe s songs of the miller s daughter) *represents* at once sexual innocence and its opposite Moreover the same dream which expresses the dreamer s joy at having succeeded in passing *through life* unsullied hints in several places (as in the falling of the blossom) at the opposite train of thought namely that she had been guilty of various sins against sexual purity (that is in her childhood) *In the analysis of* the dream we may clearly distinguish the two trains of thought of which the comforting one seems to be superficial and the reproachful one more profound The two are diametrically opposed to each other and their similar yet contrasting elements have been represented by identical dream elements

The *mechanism of dream formation* is favourable in the highest degree to only one of the logical relations This relation is that of similarity agreement contiguity *just as* a relation which may be represented in our *dreams as no other can be* by the most varied expedients The *screening* which occurs in the dream material or the cases of *just as* are the *chief points of support for dream formation* and a not inconsiderable part of the dream work consists in creating new *screenings* of this kind in cases where those that already exist are prevented by the resistance of the censorship from making their way into the dream The effort towards condensation evinced by *the dream work* facilitates the representation *of a relation of similarity*

Similarity agreement community are quite generally expressed in dreams by contraction *into a unity which is either already found in* the dream material or is newly created The first case may be referred to as *identification* the second as *composition* Identification is used where the dream is concerned with persons

[illegible footnote]

fied abstraction of disparate perceptual images.

Dreams naturally abound in such composite formations. I have given several examples of these in the dreams already analysed, and will now cite more such examples. In the dream on p. 3.. which describes the career of my patient in flowery language, the dream-ego carries a spray of blossoms in her hand which, as we have seen, signifies at once sexual innocence and sexual transgression. Moreover, from the manner in which the blossoms are set on they recall cherry blossoms; the blossoms themselves, considered singly, are *camellias*, and finally the whole spray gives the dreamer the impression of an *exotic plant*. The common feature in the elements of this composite formation is revealed by the dream-thoughts. The blossoming spray is made up of allusions to presents by which she was induced or was to have been induced to behave in a manner agreeable to the giver. So it was with cherries in her childhood, and with a camellia-tree in her later years; the exotic character is an allusion to a much-travelled naturalist who sought to win her favour by means of a drawing of a flower. Another female patient contrives a composite mean of *bathing-machines* at seaside resorts, country *privies*, and the *attics* of our city dwelling-houses. A reference to human nakedness and exposure is common to the first two elements; and we may infer from their connection with the third element that (in her childhood) the garret was likewise the scene of bodily exposure. A dreamer of the male sex makes a composite locality out of two places in which "treatment" is given—my office and the assembly rooms in which he first became acquainted with his wife. Another female patient, after her elder brother has promised to regale her with caviar, dreams that his legs are *covered all over with black beads of caviar*. The two elements, taint in a moral sense and the recollection of a cutaneous eruption in childhood which made her legs look as though studded over with red instead of black spots, have here combined with the beads of caviar to form a new idea—the idea of *"what she gets from her brother."* In this dream parts of the human body are treated as objects, as is usually the case in dreams. In one of the dreams recorded by Ferenczi there occurs a composite formation made up of the person of a *physician* and a *horse*, and this composite being wears a *nightshirt*. The common feature in these three components was revealed in the analysis, after the nightshirt had been recognized as an allusion to the father of the dreamer in a scene of childhood. In each of the three cases there was some object of her sexual curiosity. As a child she had often been taken by her nurse to the army stud, where she had the amplest opportunity to satisfy her curiosity, at that time still unsatisfied.

I have already stated that the dream has no means of expressing the relation of contradiction, contrast, negation. I shall now contradict this assertion for the first time. A certain number of cases of what may be summed up under the word "contrast" obtain representation, as we have seen, simply by means of identification—that is, when an exchange, a substitution, can be bound up with the contrast. Of this we have cited repeated examples. Certain other of the contrasts in the dream-thoughts, which perhaps come under the category of *"inverted, turned into the opposite,"* are represented in dreams in the following remarkable manner, which may almost be described as witty. The *"inversion"* does not itself make its way into the dream-content, but manifests its presence in the material by the fact that a part of the already formed dream-content which is, for other reasons, closely connected in context is—as it were subsequently—*inverted*. It is easier to illustrate this process than to describe it. In the beautiful Up and Down dream (pp. 255-6) the dream representation of ascending is an inversion of its prototype in the dream-thoughts; that is, of the introductory scene of Daudet's *Sapho*; in the dream climbing is difficult at first and easy later on, whereas in the novel it is easy at first, and later becomes more and more difficult. Again, *above* and *below* with reference to the dreamer's brother are reversed in the dream. This points to a relation of inversion or contrast between two parts of the material in the dream-thoughts, which indeed we found in them, for in the childish phantasy of the dreamer he is carried by his nurse, while in the novel, on the contrary, the hero carries his beloved. My dream of *Goethe's attack* on Herr M (to be cited later) likewise contains an inversion of this sort, which must be set right before the dream can be interpreted. In this dream Goethe attacks a young man, Herr M; the reality as contained in the dream-thoughts is that an eminent man, a friend of mine, has been attacked by an unknown young author. In the dream I reckon time from the date of Goethe's death; in reality the reckoning was made from the year in which the paralytic was born. The

changing of these persons this relation also is expressed in dreams by identification In the *dream of Irma s injection I wish to* exchange one patient for another—that is to say I wish this other person to be my patient as the former person has been the dream deals with this wish by showing me a person who is called Irma but who is examined in a position such as I have had occasion to see only the other person occupy In the dream about my uncle this substitution is made the centre of the dream I identify myself with the minister by judging and treating my colleagues as shabbily as he does

It has been my experience—and to this I have found no exception—that every dream treats of oneself Dreams are absolutely egoistic In cases where not *my ego* but only a stran e person occurs in the dream content I may safely assume that by means of identification my ego is concealed behind that person *I am permitted to supplement my ego* On other occasions when my ego appears in the dream the situation in which it is placed tells me that another person is concealing himself *by means of identification* behind the ego In this case I must be prepared to find that in the interpretation I should transfer something which is connected with this person—the hidden common feature—to myself There are also dreams in which my ego appears together with other persons who when the identification is resolved once more show themselves to be my ego Through these identifications I shall then have to connect with my ego certain ideas to which the censorship has objected I may also give my e o multiple representation in my dream either directly or by means of identification with other people By means of several such identifications an extraordinary amount of thought material may be condensed That one s ego should appear in the same dream several times or in different forms is fundamentally no more surprisin than that it should appear in conscious thinking many times and in different places or in different relations as for example in the sentence When *I* think what a healthy child *I* was

Still easier than in the case of persons is the re olution of identifications in the case of localities designated by their own names as here the disturbing influence of the all powerful ego is lacking In one of my dreams of Rome (p 218) the name of the place in which I find myself is *Rome* I am surpri ed however by a large number of German placards at a street corner This last is a wish fulfilment, which immediately suggests *Prague* the wish itself probably originated at a period of my youth when I was imbued with a German nationalistic spirit which today is quite subdued At the time of my dream I was looking forward to meeting a friend in *Prague* the identification of Rome with Prague is therefore explained by a desired common feature I would rather meet my friend in Rome than in Prague for the purpose of this meeting I should like to exchange Prague for Rome

The *possibility of creatin* composite formations is one of the chief causes of the fantastic character so common in dreams in that it introduces into the dream content elements which *could never have* been objects of perception The psychic process which occurs in the creation of composite formations is obviously the same as that which we employ in conceiving or figuring a dragon or a centaur *in our* waking senses The only difference is that in the fantastic creations of waking life the impression intended is itself the decisive factor while the composite formation *in the dream is* determined by a factor—the common feature in the dream thoughts—which is independent of its form Composite formations in dreams may be achieved in a great many different ways *In the* most artless of these methods only the properties of the one thing are represented and this representation is accompanied by a knowledge that they refer to another object also *A more* careful technique combines features of the o e object with those of the other in a new image while it makes skilful use of any really existing resemblances between the two objects *The new* creation may prove to be wholly absurd or even successful as a phantasy according as the material and the wit employed in constructing it may permit If the objects to be condensed into a unity are too incongruous the dream work is content with creating a composite formation with a comparatively distinct nucleus to which are attached more indefinite modifications *The unification* into one image has here been to some extent unsuccessful the two repre entations overlap one another and give rise to something like a contest between the visual images Similar representations m ght be obtained in a drawing if one were to attempt to give form to a uni

pe
se
asleep s t o tua s my

dream material these d fferences in the di t nct nes of the i d a l port ons of the dream con e t r brought about.

Be ore proceedi f rth r it is necessary to deal w h c rta n expect ti s wh ch seem to be alm t i ev table S c ctual sensat o s experien ed dur e leep ma con t ute part of th dream m terial t will p obabl be as sumed that these se t ons or the ream eleme ts result fr m th m re em h ed by a special i ten ty or con erse! that any th which is part ul ly vi d in th dre m ca probabl be traced to uch real er a ons during leep M e peri nce ho ever has eve confirmed th It i r t true that those lement of a dr m whi h are d ri at es of re l mpres s perce ed in sleep (nerve tim li) are d tingui hed by th r spec l idness from others whi h are based n mem es The facto of reality is i perat e i d rmium the ten ty of dream m es

F rther t m ght be expected that the sen s ry int n ty (dnes) of in le dream m ges in proport on t the psych c inten ity of th el ments orrespo d g to them n the dream th ught I the l tter tens ty s den cal with psychic alue the most tense em ts re in f t the most gn fica t and thes nst tut th central po t of th dream th gh We know howeve that t is pre cisely these el ment wh h re su ll n t dmitted to th d eam-content owi to the gila f th c sorship St ll t m ht be pos ble f r the r most mm diat derivati es whi h epresent them the dream to rea h a higher degree f int ns ty witho t however f that reason on titutin th central po t of th dream represent ti This sumpt on als anishes as soon w compa e the d eam and th dream mat rial Th intens ty of th element n th has thing to do w th the inten ty f the elements in the othe matt f f ct a mplete *t ansval on of all psy h alues* takes place between the dream. m t n l and th d eam The ery *lement of* the dream which is tra ent nd hazy and creened by m ous mages s often di overed t be th on and onl d ct d n tri f the topi that comple ly dominates th d eam-th ughts.

Th int nsity f th dream-el m ts proves t be d t rmi ed in diff rent ma that b tw f ct rs whi h a mutually indepe d ent It will readily be und rs ood that th se l m t by means f whi h th wi h fu nl m t xpres es tself e th se whi h re i t n el represented B t anal sis tel s u that from the most vi d lemen s of th dre m the greatest number of tra ns of thought proceed a d that tho e which are mos v l are at the same time th e which are best e termined *No change of mea m is i o ed* f we express thi latter emp rical propo on in the foll wing formula The greatest in e ty is sh wn by those e ements of the dream f whose format on t mo t exten ive *co lens t on w k* was req red W may therefore e pect that it wi l be po ib to express this con di o as we l as the o her con on f the w h fulfilment i a s gl formula.

I must t r a warn g that the pro em which I ha e j t been cons en —th ca ses of the grea er o lesse i ten ty or d t ctness of in l el me s in dre ms—is not to be co f unded w th th other p oblem—tha of aria t on i the d t ctness of wh e dreams or sect *ons of dreams* In the f m r case th op- pos e of d t ct es is haziness in the la er c fusi It i of course undeniable that in both scales the tw kinds of i tens ies rise and fall n unison A port on of the dream which seems clear to us usually co ains vi d ele ments an ob cure dream on the con rary is composed f less vivid elements But the prob- lem ffered by the sc le of de which ranges f om the apparently clea to the d tinct or confused is f m re compl cated than th problem f fl ctuat ons in id. of t e d m-eleme ts For rea ons wh h will be gi en later t e f m r cannot at th t e be f rther d cus ed I i lat d ca es o e bserves n t with t s rpri e th t the mp s on of d s t ct ess indi tinctness produced by a dream h s thing to d w th th d eam stru tu bu proceeds fr m th dream mat rial a one of its i gred e ts Thus, for exampl I remember a dream whi h on waki g seemed o part cu rly well-con tructed flawles a d clear that I made up my mind whi e I was still a som o e t stat to dmit a new cat gory of dreams— th se whi h h d t been s bj ct to the mech nism f condensat on and d t rt on and wh ch might thus be described s *phantasies dur g s p* A clo er exami t however pro ed that this unus al dream uffered from th same tructural flaws and breaches a exi t in all th r dream so I b d ed the de of a c tegory of dream pha a es Th c tent of th d eam reduced to its lowest term was that I w s expoundi to a friend a difficult

I d kno today whethe I was justified in d ing so

thought which influences the dream material reveals itself as my opposition to the treatment of Goethe as though he were a lunatic It is the other way about says the dream if you don t understand th book it is you who are feeble minded not the author All these dreams of inversion moreover seem to me to imply an allusion to the contemptuous phrase to turn one s back upon a person (German *einem die Kehrseite eigen* lit to show a person one s backside) cf the inversion in respect of the dreamer s brother in the Sappho dream It is further worth noting how frequently inversion is employed in precisely those dreams which are inspired by repres ed homo sexual impulses

Moreover inversion or transformation into the opposite is one of the most favoured and most versatile methods of representation which the dream work has at its disposal It serves in the first place to enable the wish fulfilment to prevail against a definite element of the dream thou hts If only it were the other way about! is often the best expres ion for the reaction of the ego against a disagreeable recollection But inversion becomes extraordinarily u eful in the service of the censorship for it effects in the material to be represented a degree of distortion which at first simply paralyses our understandin of the dream It is therefore always permissible if a dream stubbornly refu es to surrender its meanin to venture on the experimental inversion of definite portion of its manifest content Then not infrequ ntly everything becomes clear

Besides the inversion of content the temporal inversion must not be overlooked A frequent device of dream distortion consists in presenting the final issue of the event or the conclusion of the train of thought at the beginnin of the dream and appending at the end of the dream the premises of the conclusion or the causes of the event Anyone who forgets this technical device of dream distortion stands helpless before the problem of dream interpretation

In many cases indeed we di cover the meaning of the dream only when we have subjected the dream content to a multiple inversion in accordance with the different relatio s For example in the dream of a youn patient who is sufferin from obsessional neurosi the memory of the childish death wish directed a a dreaded father concealed it elf behind the followin words *His father scolds him bec use he co nes home so late* but the context of the psycho analytic treatment and th impres ons of the dreamer how that the entence must be read as follows *He is angry with his father* and further that his father always *came home too early* (i e too soon) He would have preferred that h s father should not come ho e at all which is identical with the wish (cf p 245) that his father would die As a little boy durin the prolon ed absence of his father the dreamer was guilty of a exual a gression against another child and was puni hed by the threat Just you wait until your father comes home!

If we should seek to trace th relations between the dream content and the dream thoughts a little farther we shall do thi best by making the dream itself our point of departure and asking ourselves What do certain formal characteristics of the dream presentation signify in relation to the dream thou hts? Fir t and foremost amon the formal characteristics which are bound to impress us in dreams are the differences in the sensory intensity of the sin le dream images and in the distinctness of various parts of the dream or of whole dreams as compared with one a other The difference in the intensity of individual dream ima es cover the whole gamut from a sharpness of definition which one is inclined—although without warrant—to rate more highly than that of reality to a provoking indi tinctness which we declare to be characteristic of dreams because it really is not wholly comparable to any of the degrees of indistinctness which we occasionally perceive in real objects Moreover we usually describe the impression which we receive of an indistinct object in a dream as *fleeting* while we think of the more distinct dream ima es as having been perceptible also for a longer period of time We must now ask ourselves by what conditions in the

Th hyst al tt k of t empl y th de ce f t mp l rs d t t t m g f m th bse Th tta k f hy t cal g l f xampl e ist t l tle m wh ch he has imag ed th nt t m A m n att ted ne t w th f t dd b wh l h by the b ty f h h goes w th h m d p d wh po su H tt k b g w th th s at lo sc by w th g m m t f p tat of th d by m m ts f th l p d the body (ccomp d mb es) f ld g f th m t s gn fy k se d m t d n h p b bu e to th t o d r t sh w h foot o a cha hits her sk t

ts as th gh h w e bo t t d book a pe k t m (w m) Cf th observati s A m d f i rp t g d m st s r nd th m th f rst t m f m the beg g t th d d th sec d tim f m th d to the beg g

consisting of several main sections or of dreams belong g to the same nig.., we must n t over look the pos b lity that these different and succes ive dreams mea the same thing ex pressing th same impu ses in dit rent material That on f these h molo ous dreams which comes first in time is usually the mos distorted and most ba ful while the next dream is bo d er and m re di tinct

Eve Phara h s dream of the ears and the kin which Joseph interpreted was of this kind. It given by Josephus in grea er detail than in the Bible After relating the first dream the King said After I had seen this sion I awaked out of my leep and, being in disord r and considering with m self what this appear ance h uld be I f ll asleep gain and saw an ther dream m ch more wonderful than the foregoing which till did m re a right and disturb me Aft r li tening to the relation of th dream Joseph sa d "This dream O King al hough seen und r two f rms gnifies one and the same event of things."[1]

Jun m hi *Bei ag ur Psy h logie des Gerüchte* rela es how veiled erotic dream of a schoolgirl was und rstood by her frie ds with out int rpretati and ontinued by them with variat on and h rema ks with ref rence to f these narrated dreams that the con cl ding idea f a l n serie f dream images had precisel the same ontent as the first im ge f the series had endea oured to represe t. Th cens rship thrust the omp ex out of the way long as pos bl b a onsta t renewal of symbolic creenings displacements trans f rmations int something harmless, etc Scher ner was w ll a quainted with this peculiarity

[...]

gans stimulation B t finally in [...] dream f rm tions emanatin f om definite erve imuli the phantasy observes the gen eral law that t the beginning of the dream it depicts the stimulating bject only by th re m t st and freest allus ons but towards th end, when th graphi mpulse be omes ex hausted, th timulus i self is nakedly repre sented by ts ppropriat rgan o ts function whereupo the dream, tself describing ts or gan m tive achieves ts end.

A pretty nfirmation f this law f Scher ner has been furnished by Ott Rank in his essay *Ein T a m der sich lbst d t t* This dream related to him by a girl, con ed of two dream of the same n h separa d by an interval f time the second of which ended with an rgasm It was pos ble to in erpre th orgast c dream in de ail in sp e of the few ideas con ributed by the dre mer and the wealth of relat ons between the two dream contents made i pos ble to recognize that the first dream expressed in modest la gua e the same th g as the second so that the la er— the orga c dream—f cilitated a full xpla a tion of the f rmer From this ex mple Ra k very justifiably argues the s gn ficance f r very justifiably argues the theory of dreams i gen eral.

B t, in my experience t is only in rare cases that on is in a po tion to tran la e the l cid ity or confus on f dre m respect vely i o a certainty or dou t in the dream-ma eri l. Later on I shall ha e t d close a h herto u ment oned fact in dream format on upon whose operat on this qualita ive scal in dreams is essentially dependent

In many dream i which a certain si uat on and en ronme t are preserved for some time there occur interrupt o s wh h m y be de scribed in the foll wi g words But then it seemed a tho gh t were t the same t me a other plac d there ch a d such a thing happened. I these cases what i rrupts the main action of the dream which after a while ma be c t ued aga reveals itself in the dream material as a ubordinate cla se an in terpolated thought *Cond t on lity* i the dream thoug ts is represen ed by im aneity in the dream-content (*wenn o wo wif* or *when wh e*)

We may now a k What is the meaning of the sensation of inhibited movement which so fte occurs in dreams and is so closel all ed to anxiety? One wants to move and is unable to tir from the pot or wa ts t accomp h something and en o ers obsta le after b- stacl The train is abo t t tart and one can t reach it one ha d is raised t a enge an insult and its trength f ils etc We have al re dy met with this sensat o exhib tion dreams but ha e yet mad no serious attempt to terpret it It s c venient but in adequate to answ that there is mo or paral ys n sleep which manifests tself by means f the sensati all ded t We may a k Why is t then, that we do n t dream ontinually f ch inhib ted m vements And w may per mis bly suspect that this sensation which may at any time occur d rin leep serves some

[1] Josephus *A iqu ie f the Jew* book II, chap trans. by Wm. Whisto (David M Kay Phil delphia)

and lon sought theory of bisexuality and the wish fulfilling power of the dream was respon sible for the fact that this theory (which by *the way was not communicated in the dream*) appeared to be so lucid and flawless Thus what I believed to be a judgment as re ards the fin *ished dream* was a part and indeed *the most* essential part of the dream content Here the dream work reached out as it were into my first waking *thoughts and presented to me in* the form of a *judgment* of the dream that part of the dream material which it had failed to represent with precision in the dream I was once confronted with the exact counterpart of this case by a female patient who at first ab solutely declined to relate a dream which was necessary for the analysis because it was so hazy and confused and who finally declared after repeatedly protesting the inaccuracy of her description that it seemed to her that sev eral persons—herself her husband and her father—had occurred in the dream and that she had not known whether her hu band was *her father or who really was her father or* something of that sort Comparison of this dream with the ideas which occurred to the dreamer in the course of the sitting showed beyond a doubt that it dealt with the rather commonplace story of a maidservant who has to confess that she is expecting a child and hears doubts expressed as to who the father *really is* The obscurity manifested by this dream therefore was once more a portion of the dream exciting material A fragment of this *material was represented in the form* of the dream *The form of the dream or of dreaming is employed with astonishing frequency to rep resent the concealed content*

Glosses on the dream and seemingly harmless comments on it often serve in the most subtle manner to conceal—althou h of course they really betray—a part of what is dreamed As *for example* when the dreamer says *Here the dream was wiped out* and the analysis gives an infantile reminiscence of listening to someone cleaning himself after defecation Or another example which deserves to be recorded in de tail A young man has a very distinct dream reminding him of phantasies of his boyhood which have remained conscious He found him self in a hotel at a *seasonal resort* it was night he mistook the number of his room and entered a room in which an elderly lady and her two daughters were undre sing to go to bed He con tinues *Then there are some gaps in the dream* something is missing and at the end there was a man in the room who wanted to throw me out and with whom I had to s n gle He tries in vain to recall the content and *intention of the boyish phantasy to which the* dream obviously alluded But we finally beco e aware that the required content had already been given in his *remarks concerning* the in distinct part of the dream *The gaps* are the genital apertures of the women who are going *to bed Here something is missing* describes the principal characteristic of the female genitals In his young days he burned with curiosity to see the female genitals and was still inclined to adhere to the infantile sexual theory which at tributes a male organ to women

A very similar form was assumed in an anal ogous reminiscence of another dreamer He dreamed *I o* [illegible] *rant* place *the salon of a brothel where I see two or three women one in a chemise and drawers*

Analysis Fraulein K is the daughter of his *former employer* as he himself admits she was a sister substitute He rarely had the opportu nity of talking to her but they once had a con versation in which one recognized one s sex uality so to speak as though one were to say *I am a man and you are a woman* He had been only once to the above mentioned restaurant when he was accompanied by the sister of his *brother in law* a girl to whom he was quite in different On another occa ion he accompanied three ladies to the door of the restaurant *The ladies were his sister* his sister in law and the girl already mentioned He was perfectly indif *ferent to all three of them* but they all be longed to the *sister category* He had visited a brothel but rarely perhaps two or three times in his life

The interpretation is based on the *dark place* the *interruption* in the dream and informs us that on occasion but in fact only rarely ob sessed by his boyish curiosity he had inspected *the genitals of his sister a few years his junior* A few days later the misdemeanor indicated in the dream recurred to his conscious memory

All dreams of the same night belong in re spect of their content to the same whole their *division into several parts their grouping* and number are all full of meaning and may be re garded as pieces of information about the *latent* dream thoughts In the interpretation of dreams

Accomp [illegible] y g hyst [illegible] ympt m [illegible] m [illegible] hoe d p ofu d d p ess [illegible] we e the h f t bl [illegible] f th patie t

f the obliterated reality It may therefore be assumed that the part dreamed contains the representation of the reality the real memory while on the other hand the continued dream contains the representation of what the dreamer merely wishes. The inclusion of a certain content in a *dream within a dream* is, therefore equivalent to the wish that what has been characterized as a dream had never occurred. In other words when a particular incident is represented by the dream work in a dream, it signifies the strongest confirmation of the reality of the incident, the most emphatic *affirmation of it* The dream work utilizes the dream itself as a form of repudiation and thereby confirms the theory that a dream is a wish fulfilment.

D Regard for Representability

We have hitherto been concerned with investigating the manner in which our dreams represent the relations between the dream thoughts but we have often extended our inquiry to the further question as to what alterations the dream material itself undergoes for the purposes of dream formation. We now know that the dream material, after being stripped of a great many of its relations, is subjected to compression, while at the same time displacements of the intensity of its elements enforce a psychic transvaluation of this material The displacements which we have considered were shown to be substitutions of one particular idea for another in some way related to the original by its associations and the displacements were made to facilitate the condensation, inasmuch as in this manner instead of two elements a common mean between them found its way into the dream. So far no mention has been made of any other kind of displacement. But we learn from the analyses that displacement of another kind does occur and that it manifests itself in an *exchange of the verbal expression* for the thought in question In both cases we are dealing with displacement along a chain of associations but the same process takes place in different psychic spheres and the result of this displacement in the one case is that one element is replaced by another while in the other case an element exchanges its verbal shape for another

This second kind of displacement occurring in dream formation is not only of great theoretical interest but also peculiarly well fitted to explain the appearance of phantastic absurdity in which dreams disguise themselves Displacement usually occurs in such a way that a colourless and abstract expression of the dream thought is exchanged for one that is pictorial and concrete The advantage and along with it the purpose of this substitution is obvious Whatever is pictorial is *capable of representation* in dreams and can be fitted into a situation in which abstract expression would confront the dream representation with difficulties not unlike those which would arise if a political leading article had to be represented in an illustrated journal Not only the possibility of representation but also the interests of condensation and of the censorship may be furthered by this exchange Once the abstractly expressed and unserviceable dream-thought is translated into pictorial language those contacts and identities between this new expression and the rest of the dream material which are required by the dream work, and which it contrives whenever they are not available are more readily provided since every language *concrete terms owing to their* evolution are richer in associations than are abstract terms It may be imagined that a good part of the intermediate work in dream formation which seeks to reduce the separate dream thoughts to the tersest and most unified expression in the dream is effected in this manner by fitting paraphrases of the various thoughts The one thought whose mode of expression has perhaps been determined by other factors will therewith exert a distributive and selective influence on the expressions available for the others and it may even do this from the very start just as it would in the creative activity of a poet When a poem is to be written in rhymed couplets, the second rhyming line is bound by two conditions it must express the meaning allotted to it and its expression must permit of a rhyme with the first line The best poems are of course those in which one does not detect the effort to find a rhyme and in which both thoughts have as a matter of course by mutual induction selected the verbal expression which with a little subsequent adjustment will permit of the rhyme

In some cases the change of expression serves the purposes of dream-condensation more directly in that it provides an arrangement of words which being ambiguous permits of the expression of more than one of the dream thoughts The whole range of verbal wit is thus made to serve the purpose of the dream work. The part played by words in dream formation ought not to surprise us A word, as the point

sort of purpose for representation and is evoked only when the need of this representation is present in the dream material

Inability to do a thing does not always appear in the dream as a sensation it may appear simply as part of the dream content I think one case of this kind is especially fitted to enlighten us as to the meaning of this peculiarity I shall give an abridged version of a dream in which I seem to be accused of dishonesty *The scene is a mixture made up of a private sanatorium and several other places A manservant appears to summon me to an inquiry I know in the dream that something has been missed and that the inquiry is taking place because I am suspected of having appropriated the lost article Analysis shows that inquiry is to be taken in two senses it includes the meaning of medical examination Being conscious of my innocence and my position as consultant in this sanatorium I calmly follow the manservant We are received at the door by another manservant who says pointing at me Have you brought him? Why he is a respectable man Thereupon and unattended I enter a great hall where there are many machines which reminds me of an inferno with its hellish instruments of punishment I see a colleague strapped to an appliance he has every reason to be interested in my appearance but he takes no notice of me I understand that I may now go Then I cannot find my hat and cannot go after all*

The wish that the dream fulfils is obviously the wish that my honesty shall be acknowledged and that I may be permitted to go there must therefore be all sorts of material in the dream thoughts which comprise a contradiction of this wish The fact that I may go is the *sign of my absolution* if then the dream provides at its close an event which prevents me from going we may readily conclude that the suppressed material of the contradiction is asserting itself in this feature The fact that I cannot find my hat therefore means You are not after all an honest man The inability to do something in the dream is *the expression of a contradiction a No* so that our earlier assertion to the effect that the dream is not capable of expressing a negation must be revised accordingly

In other dreams in which the inability to do something occurs not merely as a situation but also as a sensation the *same contradiction* is more emphatically expressed by the [illegible] of inhibited movement or a will to which a counter will is opposed Thus the sensation of inhibited movement represents a *conflict of will* We shall see later on that this very motor paralysis during sleep is one of the fundamental *conditions of the psychic process* which functions during dreaming Now an impulse which is conveyed to the motor system is no other than the will and the fact that we are certain that the impulse will be inhibited in sleep makes the whole process extraordinarily well adapted to the representation of a [illegible] *towards something and of a No which opposes* itself thereto From my explanation of anxiety it is easy to understand why the sensation of the inhibited will is so closely allied to anxiety and why it is so often connected with it in dreams Anxiety is a libidinal impulse which emanates from the unconscious and is inhibited *by the preconscious* Therefore when a sensation of inhibition in the dream is accompanied by anxiety the dream must be concerned with a volition which was at one time capable of arousing libido there must be a sexual impulse

As for the judgment which is often expressed during a dream Of course it is only a dream and the psychic force to which it may be ascribed I shall discuss these questions later on *For the present I will merely say that they are* intended to depreciate the importance of what is being dreamed The interesting problem allied to this as to what is meant if a certain content in the dream is characterized in the dream itself as having been dreamed—the riddle of a *dream within a dream*—has been solved in a similar sense by W Stekel by the analysis of some convincing examples Here *again the part of the dream dreamed is to be* depreciated in value and robbed of its reality that which the dreamer continues *to dream* after waking from the *dream within a dream* is what the dream wish desires to put in *place*

A [illegible] of childhood [illegible]
In the [illegible]

[illegible] to the [illegible] with [illegible] little M[illegible] [illegible] I cannot find my hat [illegible] Goethe [illegible]

This theory is [illegible] with [illegible] view

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This second kind of displacement occurring in dream-formation is not only of great theoretical interest, but is also peculiarly well-fitted to explain the appearance of fantastic absurdity in which dreams disguise themselves. Displacement usually occurs in such a way that a colourless and abstract expression of the dream-thought is exchanged for one that is pictorial and concrete. The advantage, and along with it the purpose, of this substitution is obvious. Whatever is pictorial is capable of representation in dreams [illegible] which would arise if a political leading article had to be represented in an illustrated journal. Not only the possibility of representation, but also the interests of condensation and of the censorship, may be furthered by this exchange. Once the abstractly expressed and unwieldy dream-thought is translated into pictorial language, those contacts and identities between this new expression and the rest of the dream-material which are required by the dream-work, and which it contrives whenever they are not available, are more readily provided, since in every language concrete terms, owing to their evolution, are richer in associations than are abstract terms. It may be imagined that a good part of the intermediate work in dream-formation, which seeks to reduce the separate dream-thoughts to the tersest and most uniform expression in the dream, is effected in this manner, by fitting paraphrases of the various thoughts. The one thought whose mode of expression has perhaps been determined by other factors will therewith exert a distributive and selective influence on the expressions available for the others, and it may even do this from the very start, just as it would in the creative activity of a poet. When a poem is to be written in rhymed couplets, the second rhyming line is bound by two conditions: it must express the meaning allotted to it, and its expression must permit of a rhyme with the first line. The best poems are, of course, those in which we do not detect the effort to find a rhyme, and in which both thoughts have, by mutual induction, selected the verbal expression which, with a little subsequent adjustment, will permit of the rhyme.

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A [illegible] to [illegible] of childhood [illegible] in th [illegible] lys [illegible] th [illegible]

[illegible] the w ld w th [illegible] that my [illegible] d th t I was [illegible] The [illegible] t that I ca t fi d my hat [illegible] of the [illegible] d y wh h ha b [illegible] serv t [illegible] h dd [illegible] d th [illegible] I h [illegible] my d ty [illegible] I ca [illegible] y t [illegible] D th [illegible] d d th t g th —a [illegible] th d [illegible] G th [illegible] d the p [illegible] lyti [illegible] wh h was [illegible] d t

Th [illegible] th ry i [illegible] d [illegible] ce w th m [illegible] view

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of junction of a number of ideas pos esses as it were a predestined ambiguity and the neu roses (obsessions phobias) take advantage of the opportunities for condensation and disguise afforded by words quite as eagerly as do dreams That dream distortion also profits by this displacement of expression may be readily demonstrated It is indeed confusing if one am biguous word is substituted for two with single meanings and the replacement of sober every day language by a plastic mode of expression baffles our understandin especially since a dream never tells us whether the elements presented by it are to be interpreted literally or metaphorically whether they refer to the dream material directly or only by means of interpolated expressions Generally speaking in the interpretation of any element of a dream it is doubtful whether it

(*a*) is to be accepted in the negative or the positive sense (contrast relation)
(*b*) is to be interpreted historically (as a memory)
(*c*) is symbolic or whether
(*d*) its valuation is to be based upon its wording

In spite of this versatility we may say that the representation effected by the dream work *which was never even intended to be under stood* does not impose upon the translator any greater difficulties than those that the ancient writers of hieroglyphics imposed upon their readers

I have already given several examples of dream representations which are held together only by ambiguity of expression (*her mouth opens without difficulty* in the dream of Irma s injection *I cannot go yet after all* in the last dream related etc) I shall now cite a dream in the analysis of which plastic representation of the abstract thoughts plays a greater part The difference between such dream interpreta tion and the interpretation by means of symbols may nevertheless be clearly defined in the symbolic interpretation of dreams the key to the symbolism is selected arbitrarily by the interpreter while in our own cases of verbal dis guise these keys are universally known and are taken from established modes of speech Pro vided one hits on the ri ht idea on the right occasion one may solve dreams of this kind either completely or in part independently of any statements made by the dreamer

A lady a friend of mine dreams *She is at the opera It is a Wagnerian performance which has lasted until 7 45 in the morning In the stalls and pit there are tables at hich people are eating and drinking Her cousin and his young wife who have just returned from their honeymoon are sitting at one of these tables beside them is a member of the aristoc racy The young wife is said to have brought him back with her from the honeymoon quite openly just as she might have brought back a hat In the middle of the stalls there is a high tower on the top of which there is a platform surrounded by an iron railing There high over head stands the conductor with the features of Hans Richter continually running round behind the railing perspiring terribly and from this position he is conducting the orchestra wh ch is arranged round the base of the tower She herself is sitting in a box with a friend of her own sex* (known to me) *Her youn er sister tries to hand her up from the stalls a large lump of coal alleging that she had not known that it would be so long and that she must by this time be miserably cold (As though the boxes ought to have been heated during the long performance)*

Although in other respects the dream gives a good picture of the situation it is of course nonsensical enough the tower in the middle of the stalls from which the conductor leads the orchestra and above all the coal which her sister hands up to her I purposely asked for no analysis of this dream With some knowl edge of the personal relations of the dreamer I was able to interpret parts of it independent ly of her I knew that she had felt intense sym pathy for a musician whose career had been prematurely brou ht to an end by insanity I therefore decided to take the tower in the stalls *verbally* It then emerged that the man whom she wished to ee in the place of Hans Richter *towe ed* above all the other members of the orchestra This tower must be described as a *composite format on by means of apposition* by its substructure it represents the greatness of the man but by the railing at the top be hind which he runs round like a prisoner or an animal in a cage (an allusion to the name of the unfortunate man) it represents his later fate *Luna ic tower* is perhaps the expression in which the two thou hts might have met

Now that we have discovered the dream s method of representation we may try with

C mp re H t a d ts R l t to tl U c sc s

H g W lf

t... same key to unlock the meani g of the second apparently absurd that of the coal which her sister hands up to the dreamer Coal would mean secret love

No fire no c... I so h... I glows
As th secr t love of wh ch no one k ows

She and her fri d remain se ed while her younger si who still has a pro pect of mar rying, h...ds her up the coal because d d n know th... s would be so l... g Wha w uld be so lon is n t told in the dream. If it were an anecd e we ould sa *the perform ce* b... in t... dream we ma c n... de th sen ence it declare it t be amb guous a... d add *before he married*. Th i terpretat on *secr t love* is t...en con...rmed by the men on of the cousin who is itting with h wif in the stalls, a...d b the *open love-af ...r* a tribu ed to the latter The co tra ts between secret and open love between th dreamer s fire a d the c d...ess of the young wife d m... te the dream. Moreover here once again there s person *in a high position* as a mi...dle t rm between the a... ocrat and the m... cian who justified in raising h h hopes.

In the above anal is w ha e t last brou ht to li... a third f cto wh e part in the transformation of the dream th ughts to the dream-con t is by o means tri ial nam ly con...der on of the *suit b ...ty of the d e m though for repre e...tation the particu...ar psy h... material of wh ch the d e m makes use*—that i... f r th mos part in ...ual images. Am... the various ...bo dinate deas associ...ed with the esse tial dream thoughts those will be pref rred which perm of visual representa n, and the dream wo k does not hesi ta to reca the in ra tab e th ...g ts o an other verbal f rm even th h thi more unusual f rm prov ded t makes rep esenta ...ion pos ...bl and thus puts an d t th psy ch logical distres caused by ...rammu...ed t...nking. This pouring of the thought-con ent into another m ...ud ma t th sam t m serve th... wo k of cond ...sat on and ma est blish rela ns with anoth thou t which o herwise w ...d ot ha bee establi hed. It is even possible that this se nd thought may ...self h... e previously ha ed ts n...ual expression for th purpose f meetin the first half way

Herbert Silbere has described a good method of d rectly observing the tra sformation of tho ...ghts i o images wh ch occurs in dream forma ion, and has th s made it pos ...bl to study in isolat on t...is one factor f the dream wo k. If whi e i a sta e f fat ...e a...d somnolence he imposed upon h mself a mental effort, i frequently happened that the thought es caped h m and in i s place there appea ed a pict re in which he could recognize the substit... for the thought Not q e appropria e...ly Silberer described th... subs i ution as *au o symbol c* I shall ci here a few examples from Silberer s work, a d o account of certa n pe culiarities of the p en mena observed I shall refer to the subject later on

Ex mp e 1 I remember that I have to cor rect a hal g pa sage in an essa

Symbol I see m...self pla...ing a p ece of wood

Ex mple 5 I endea our to call to mind the aim of certain met phys cal studies which I am propo ...g to un ertake

"*This a m I reflect con ...s in wo ki...g on s* way through whil seeking for the ba...s of ex istence t ever h... her forms of consciousness or levels of bei...

Symbol I run a lon knife under a cake as thou h to t ke a I ce out of it.

"*I terpret t n* My movement w th the knife s ...n fies *work g o e s way thr ugh* The xplan t on of th ha s of the ...mbol ...is as follows At table it devol es upon me now and a...n t cut and di ribu e a cake a busi ess which I pe form w th a lo...g flexible knife nd which neces ta es a certa n amour of care. I particular the neat extract on of th cut sl ces of cake presen s a certa amount of difficulty th kn fe mu t be carefu...ly pushed *under* the sl ces ques...ion (the *slow work g or s way th o gh* in order to get to th... bottom) But there is yet more symbol sm in the p cture. The cake of the symbol wa really a *d bos-cake*—that i cake in wh... h the kn f has to cut throu h several *layers* (t e levels of c ou e...s a d thou ht)

Example 9 I lo t t...e t read in a tra n of thou ...t I make n effort to find t aga n but I ha e to recogn...e that the point of departure has ompl t l ese ped me

Symbol P rt f a form of t pe the last lin s of which ha e fal en out

I ew f the part played by w tti m puns quot tions songs a d pro erbs in the i tel l ct al life of ed cated pers t would be enti ly in accordanc w th our xpectat ns t

The German ...en g b ben is f en ...plied women ...o ha no ucceeded in ge ting married.—T

Ernest Freud J hrb ... k i (909)

find disguises of this sort used with extreme frequency in the representation of the dream thoughts Only in the case of a few types of material has a generally valid dream symbolism established itself on the basis of generally known allusions and verbal equivalents A good part of this symbolism however is common to the psychoneuro es legends and popular usages as well as to dreams

In fact if we look more closely into the matter we must recognize that in employing this kind of substitution the dream work is doing nothing at all original For the achievement of its purpose which in this ca e is representation without interference from the censorship it simply follows the paths which it finds already marked out in unconscious thinking and gives the preference to those transformations of the repressed material which are permitted to become conscious also in the form of witticisms and allusions and with which all the phantasies of neurotics are replete Here we suddenly begin to understand the dream interpretations of Scherner whose essential correctness I have vindicated elsewhere The preoccupation of the imagination with one s own body is by no means peculiar to or characteristic of the dream alone My analyses have shown me that it is constantly found in the unconscious thinkin of neurotics and may be traced back to sexual curiosity whose object in the adoles cent youth or maiden is the genitals of the opposite sex or even of the same sex But as Scherner and Volkelt very truly insist the house does not constitute the only group of ideas which is employed for the symbolization of the body either in dreams or in the unconscious phantasies of neurosis To be sure I know patients who have steadily adhered to an architectural symbolism for the body and the genitals (sexual interest of course extends far beyond the re ion of the external genital organs)—patients for whom posts and pillars signify legs (as in the *Song of Songs*) to whom every door suggests a bodily aperture (hole) and every water pipe the urinary system and so on But the groups of ideas appertaining to plant life or to the kitchen are just as often cho en to conceal sexual images in respect of the former everyday language the sediment of ima inative comparisons dating from the remotest times has abundantly paved the way (the *vineyard* of the Lord the *seed* of Abraham the *garden* of the maiden in the *Song of Songs*) The ugliest as well as the most intimate details of exual life may be thought or dreamed of in apparently innocent allusions to culinary operations and the symptoms of hysteria will become absolutely unintelligible if we forget that exual symbolism may conceal itself behind the most commonplace and inconspicuous matters as its safest hiding place That some neurotic children cannot look at blood and raw meat that they vomit at the si ht of eggs and macaroni and that the dread of snakes which is natural to mankind is monstrously exaggerated in neurotics—all this has a definite sexual meaning Wherever th

v u u y veiled existence our idiomatic expressions proverbs uperstitions and customs testify to this day

I here insert the promised *flower dream* of a female patient in which I shall print in Roman type everything which is to be sexually in er preted This beautiful dream lost all its charm for the dreamer once it had been interpreted

(*a*) Preliminary dream *She goes to the two maids in the kitchen and scolds them for taking so long to prepare a little bite of food She also sees a very large number of heavy kitchen utensils in the kitchen heaped into piles and turned upside down in order to drain* Later addition *The two maids go to fetch water and have as it were to climb into a ri r which reac es up to the house or into the courtyard*

(*b*) Main dream *She is descending from a height over curiously constructed ra lings or a fence which is composed of large square trellis work hurdles with small square apertures It is really not adapted for climbing she is constantly afraid that she cannot find a place for her foot and she is glad that her dress doesn t get caught anywhere and that she is able to climb it so resp ctably As she climbs*

A m s f o b at e mat l m y be f d th th s ppl m tary l mes of Edw d F b s *Ill st te S it g sch cht* p iv tely p i t d by A La g M ch

Fo the i terpret t f th p l mi ry d sm wh h s t be eg d d s l p 66

H ca

E lt d g th w h-c t st t the p l mi ry d m

A mp t f rm t wh ch t tw local t es th -c ll d g t (G m f d = floo g t) f h f th r' h se wh h h sed t pl y w th h r b th th bject f h l t ph t es d th f m f mal c cl h sed t t se h

W h-co tra t t t l m m ry f h cl f rm t th ffect th t h ed t expose h self wh l h w l p

she is carry g a b branch i her hand ecally like a t ee wh ch is th ckly st dd d with red fl w rs a spread g bra ch w th ma y twigs — blos ...lly ...ow ... e ... on i e s A she s d c a g s e pt then denly two a d th n aga n only o e When she has e ch d the ground the lower flowers have l ady b gun to fall Now th t she has e ched the bottom she se s odd ... man who is comb g—as she w ld l ke to put it—just s ch a t ee th t s with a pi ce of w d h is scrat g thick bunches of ha r f om ... wh ch hang f om t l ke m ss Other me ... have ch pped off s ch b a ches a garden a d have flung them into th o d wher th y a e lying bou s th t a umber of people take som of them B t sh a ks whether this is right wh ther she may tak one too In the ga den there stands a yo g m n (h s a foreigner and known to her) toward whom sh goes in order t ask h m how t is possible to t ans plant s h branches in her own garden He em bra ker whereup h struggl s and asks him wh t h is th k g of wh ther it s per mis ble t emb ce her s ch a manner He says there is othing wrong in t th t s per mitt d H then d clare h mself willing to go w h her int the ther ga den order t how her how to put them in ... h s ys something t her wh ch she do not qui s tand B sid s this I e d t e metres (... er she say quare met es) or th e f h ms of ground It s ms a th gh he were ask g her for omething in eturn for h s will g ss as though he h... th in ert on f demr f ... g (reimbursin) him If in he garden as th gh h w t d to evade om law or other t de ... om ... ge from t wi hou causing her an injury She d t k ow whether or t h really how her anything

The above dream, which has been given prominenc on ccount of ts symbo c el m ts ma be described as a *biographical* dream Such dreams occur frequently in psycho-analys but perhaps onl rar ly outs de it

I ha e of course an a undance of su h ma terial but to reprou ce it h re would lead us too far i to the con i eration of neurotic con d t ons E erything po nts to the same conclu io namel that we need not a ume that a ... special symbolizing act ty of the psyche is operative in dream format on that on the con trary th dream make use of such ... symbo ... tions as are t be found read made in uncon sc ou th k g ... ce these by reason of the r ea e of representat o and for the most part by rea on of their being exempt from the cen orsh p sat fy m re e ctively the requ re ments of dream format on

E. Represe... in D eams by Symbols Some Further Typ cl D e ms

The anal s s of the last b ... ical dream shows that I recognized the symbo sm n dreams from the ery outset But it was only little by little that I arri ed at a full apprecia t on of its extent and ... ficance as the result of mere g experience and under the i flu ence of the wo ks of W Stekel concernin which I mu here fittin... say someth ng

Th au hor who ha perhaps ... jured psycho-anal sis as much a he ha benefited it pro-d ed large number of novel symbol c trans-lat ons to wh ch no credence was gi en at first b t most f wh ch were later confirmed a d had t be accepted. Stek l s services re in no wa belittled by the remark that the sceptical reserve with which these symbols were rece ed was not unjust fied Fo the examples upon which he based h interpretat ons were often u con incin and moreover he employed a method wh ch mu t be rejected as scientifically unre liable Stekel found his symbol c mea ... ngs by way f i tu t on b rtue of his ind ... i faculty of immediately understa di the s ... bol But such an art cannot be generally sumed ts efficiency ... from crit ... and ts results ha therefore no cla m to cred bility It is as tho h one we e to ba e one s d... of inf ct ous dise es on the olf ctory impres ons rec ... ed bes de the k bed al t... ... of course there ha e been clinicians to w ... the sense of mell—at ophied most peop e—has been f gre te serv ce than t others a d wh reall ha e been able t dia ose a cas f abdominal typ... by their sense f smell.

Just as the ... bears ... in the Annunci-tion.

For the explanation f this composite forma on, ... innocence men...ation, *La Dem* ...

Referring to the plurality of the persons who serve her ...

Whether ... is permissible to masturbate [*S...* ... means "to pull off" and colloquially ... —TR.

The branch (A) has long been used to represent ... organ, and moreover ... very distinct ... to the fam... ... of the dreamer

Re ers ... ... as does ... immediate ...

An analogous biographical dream is recorded p 37 among the examples f dream symbolism.

The progressive experience of psycho analysis has enabled us to discove n

uucu from dementia praecox so that for a time there was an inclination to suspect that all dreamers with such an understanding of symbols were suffering from that disorder But this did not prove to be the case it is simply a question of a personal gift or idiosyncrasy without perceptible pathological significance

When one has familiarized oneself w th h extens ve m

ua c not a permanently established meaning like the signs in shorthand and one even thinks of attempting to compile a new dream book on the lines of the cipher method In this connection it should be noted that symbolism does not appertain especially to dreams but rather to the unconscious imagination and particularly to that of the people and it is to be found in a more developed condition in folklore myths legends idiomatic phrases proverbs and the current witticisms of a people than in dreams We should have therefore to go far beyond the province of dream interpretation in order fully to investigate the meaning of symbolism and to discuss the numerous problems—for the most part still unsolved—which are associated with the concept of the symbol We shall here confine ourselves to saying that representation by a symbol comes under the heading of the indirect representations but that we are warned by all sorts of signs against indiscriminately classing symbolic representation with the other modes of indirect representation before we have clearly conceived its distinguishing characteristics In a number of cases the common quality shared by the symbol and the thing which it represents is obvious in others it is concealed in these latter cases the choice of the symbol appears to be enigmatic And the e are the very cases that must be able to elucidate the ultimate meaning of the symbolic relation they point to the fact that it is of a genetic nature What is today symbolically connected was probably united, in primitive times by conceptual and linguistic identity The symbolic relationship seems to be a residue and reminder of a former identity It may also be noted that in many ca es the symbolic identity extends beyond the linguistic identity as had already been asserted by Schubert (1814)

Dreams employ this symbolism to give a disguised representation to their latent thoughts Among the symbols thus employed there are of course many which constantly or all but constantly mean the same thin But we mu t bear in mind the curious plasticity of psychic material Often enou h a symbol in the dream content may have to be interpreted not symbolically but in accordance with its proper meaning at other times the dreamer having to deal with special memory material may take the law into his own hands and employ anything whatever as a sexual symbol though it is not generally so employed Wherever he has the choice of several symbols for the representation of a dream content he will decide in favour of that symbol which is in addition objectively related to his other thought material that is to say he will employ an individual motivation besides the typically valid one

Although since Scherner s time the more recent investigations of dream problems have definitely established the existence of dream symbolism—e n U our dream must yet uue existence of symbols in dreams has not only facilitated dream interpretation but has also made it more d fficult The technique of interpretation in accordance with the dreamer s free associations more often than otherwise leaves us in the lurch as far as the symbolic elements of the dream content are concerned A return to the arbitrariness of dream interpretation as it was

Cf th w k f Bl l a d h Z h d sc pl M d Abrah m d th d of th med cal a th s (Kl p ul a d oth rs) t wh m th y f But th m t pe t t th g th t h bee d th bject w ll be f d th w k f O R k d H S h *D B d t g der P y k ly f d G t sw h ft* (9 3) h p l E J es *D Th der Symb l k f t Z t k f P y ch lys* (19 9)

Th s cept w ld m t fi d tra d a y firm t theory d ced by H pe b (*Ub d E f ller m m t f E l t k g und E t kl g der Sp k t Im go l* [9 1]) Spe be bel ve th t p m t w d d t d l th g l ly d bseq tly lost th se l g fi ce d w ppl ed t th t th g d a t t es wh ch w comp red w th th se l

F e mpl h p sa l g th se may ppe r l th ry d m f H g d m rs desp te the f t th t th t m f t h p f t f g to this l g g (F re cz) l th d ms f th F h d th th m ce peoples m s s as a ymbol prese t t f w m l th gh th pe pl h th g sl g t th G m F mm M y ymbol ld l gu g ts lf wh l th t ally bel g co d (g th e pl th Zeppel)

practised in antiquity and is seemingly revived by Stekel's wild interpretations, is contrary to scientific method. Consequently those elements in the dream-content which are to be symbolically regarded compel us to employ a combined technique, which on the one hand is based on the dreamer's associations, while on the other hand the missing portions have to be supplied by the interpreter's understanding of the symbols. Critical circumspection in the solution of the symbols must coincide with careful study of the symbols in especially transparent examples of dreams in order to silence the reproach of arbitrariness in dream interpretation. The uncertainties which still adhere to our function as dream interpreters are due partly to our imperfect knowledge (which, however can be progressively increased) and partly to certain peculiarities of the dream-symbols themselves. These often possess many and varied meanings, so that, as in Chinese script, only the context can furnish the correct meaning. This multiple significance of the symbol is allied to the dream's faculty of admitting over-interpretations, of representing in the same content, various wish-impulses and thought-formations, often of a widely divergent character.

After these limitations and reservations I will proceed. The Emperor and the Empress (King and Queen) in most cases really represent the dreamer's parents; the dreamer himself or herself is the prince or princess. But the high authority conceded to the Emperor is also conceded to great men, so that in some dreams, for example, Goethe appears as a father symbol (Hitschmann).—All elongated objects, sticks, tree-trunks, umbrellas (on account of the opening, which might be likened to an erection) all sharp and elongated weapons, knives, daggers, and pikes, represent the male member. A frequent, but not very intelligible symbol for the same is a nail-file (a reference to rubbing and scraping?).—Small boxes, chests, cupboards, and ovens correspond to the female organ; also cavities, ships, and all kinds of vessels.—A room in a dream generally represents a woman; the description of its various entrances and exits is scarcely calculated to make us doubt this interpretation. The interest as to whether the room is open or locked will be readily understood in this connection. (Cf. Dora's dream in *Fragment of an Analysis of Hysteria*.) There is no need to be explicit as to the sort of key that will unlock the room; the symbolism of lock and key has been gracefully if broadly employed by Uhland in his song of the *Graf Eberstein*.—The dream of walking through a suite of rooms signifies a brothel or a harem. But, as H. Sachs has shown by an admirable example, it is also employed to represent marriage (contrast). An interesting relation to the sexual investigations of childhood emerges when the dreamer dreams of two rooms which were previously one, or finds that a familiar room in a house of which he dreams has been divided into two, or the reverse. In childhood the female genitals and anus (the behind) are conceived of as a single opening according to the infantile cloaca theory, and only later is it discovered that this region of the body contains two separate cavities and openings. Steep inclines, ladders and stairs, and going up or down them, are symbolic representations of the sexual act. Smooth walls over which one climbs, façades of houses, across which one lets oneself down—often with a sense of great anxiety—correspond to erect human bodies, and probably repeat in our dreams childish memories of climbing up parents or nurses. *Smooth* walls are men; in anxiety dreams one often holds firmly to *projections* on houses. Tables, whether bare or covered, and boards, are women, perhaps by virtue of contrast, since they have no protruding contours. Wood, generally speaking, seems, in accordance with its linguistic relations, to represent feminine matter (*Materie*). The name of the island Madeira means wood in Portuguese. Since bed and board (*mensa et thorus*) constitute marriage, in dreams the latter is often substituted for the former, and as far as practicable the sexual representation-complex is transposed to the eating-complex.—Of ar-

In the U.S.A. the father is represented in dreams as the President, and even more often as the Governor—a title which is frequently applied to the parent in everyday life.—Tr.

A patient living in a boarding-house dreams that he meets one of the servants, and asks her what her number is; to his surprise she answers: 14. He has, in fact, entered into relations with the girl in question, and has often had her in his bedroom. He feared, as may be imagined, that the landlady suspected her, and had proposed, on the day before the dream, that they should meet in one of the unoccupied rooms. In reality this room had the number 14, while in the dream the woman bore this number. A clearer proof of the identification of woman and room could hardly be imagined. (Ernest Jones, *Intern. Zeitschr. f. Psychoanal.* ii, [...]) (Cf. Artemidorus, *The Symbolism* [...] (German version by F. S. Krauss, Vienna, [...] p. [...]) "Thus, for example, the bedroom signifies the wife, supposing one to be in the house.")

Cf. "the cloacal theory" in *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*. See p. [...] above.

ticles of dress a woman s hat may very often be interpreted with certainty as the male genitals In the dreams of men one often finds the neck tie as a symbol for the penis this is not only because neckties han down in front of the body and are characteristic of men but al o because one can select them at pleasure a freedom which nature prohibits as regards the original of the symbol Persons who make use of this symbol in dreams are very extravagant in the matter of ties and possess whole collec tions of them All complicated machines and appliances are very probably the genitals—as a rule the male genitals—in the description of which the symbolism of dreams is as indefati gable as human wit It is quite unmistakable that all weapons and tools are used as symbols for the male organ e g ploughshare hammer gun revolver dagger sword etc Again many of the landscapes seen in dreams especially those that contain bridges or wooded mountains may be readily recognized as descriptions of the genitals Marcinowski collected a series of examples in which the dreamer explained his dream by means of drawings in order to repre- sent the landscapes and places appearing in it These drawings clearly showed the distinction between the manifest and the latent meaning of the dream Whereas naively regarded they seemed to represent plans maps and so forth closer investigation showed that they were rep resentations of the human body of the geni tals etc and only after conceiving them thus could the dream be understood Finally where one finds incomprehensible neologisms one may suspect combinations of components having a sexual significance —Children too often *signify the genitals since men and women are* in the habit of fondly referring to their genital organs as *little man little woman little thing* The *l ttle b other* was correctly recognized by Stekel as the penis To play with or to beat a little child is often the dream s representation of masturbation The dream work represents castration by baldness hair cutting the loss of teeth and beheading As an insurance against castration the dream uses one of the common symbols of the penis in double o multiple form and the appearance in dream of a li ard—an animal whose tail if pulled off is regenerated by a new growth—has the same meaning Most of tho e animals which are utilized as genital symbols in mytholo y and folklore play this part al o in dreams the fish the snail the cat the mouse (on account of the hairiness of the genitals) but above all the snake which is the most important symbol of the male member Small animals and vermin are substitutes for little children e g unde ired sisters or brothers To be infected with vermin is often the equivalent for pre nancy —As a very recent symbol of the male organ I may mention the airship whose employment is ju ti fied by its relation to flying and also occasion ally by its form —Stekel has given a number of other symbols not yet sufficiently verified which he has illustrated by examples The works of this author and especially his book *Die Sprache des Traumes* contain the richest collection of interpretations of symbols some of which were ingeniously guessed and were proved to be correct upon investigation as for example in the section on the symbolism of death The author s lack of critical reflection and his tendency to generalize at all co ts make his interpretations doubtful or inappli cable so that in making use of his works caution is urgently advised I shall there fore restrict myself to mentioning a few ex amples

Right and *left* according to Stekel are to be understood in dreams in an ethical sen e The ri ht hand path always signifies the way to ri hteousness the left hand path the pa h *to crime Thus the left may signify* homo ex uality incest and perversion while the right si nifies marriage relations with a prostitute etc The meaning is always determined by the individual moral standpoint of the dreamer (loc cit p 466) *Relatives* in dreams general ly stand for the genitals (p 473) Here I can confirm this meaning only for the son the daughter and the younger sister—that is wherever *little thing* could be employed On the other hand verified examples allow us to rec o nize *sisters* as symbols of the breasts and *brothers* as symbols of the larger hemispheres To be unable to overtake a carriage is interpret ed by Stekel as regret at being unable to catch up with a difference in age (p 479) The *luggage* of a traveller is the burden of s n by which one is oppressed (*ibid*) But a traveller s lug gage often proves to be an unmistakable symbol

n a t m p g y m
b rassed b t t o ed h th t w th th
f t f h s sh t a d d Pl se m I h
no eckt e

Cf Pfister' w k o rypt g phy a d p t puzzles

f one's own genitals. To numbers, which frequently occur in dreams, Stekel has assigned a fixed symbolic meaning, but these interpretations seem neither sufficiently verified nor of universal validity, although in individual cases they can usually be recognized as plausible. We have, at all events, abundant confirmation that the figure three is a symbol of the male genitals. One of Stekel's generalizations refers to the double meaning of the genital symbols. "Where is there a symbol," he asks, "which (if in any way permitted by the imagination) may not be used simultaneously in the masculine and the feminine sense?" To be sure the clause in parenthesis retracts much of the absolute character of this assertion, for this double meaning is not always permitted by the imagination. But I think it is not superfluous to state that in my experience this general statement of Stekel's requires elaboration. Besides those symbols which are just as frequently employed for the male as for the female genitals, there are others which preponderantly, or almost exclusively, designate one of the sexes, and there are yet others which, so far as we know, have only the male or only the female signification. To use long, stiff objects and weapons as symbols of the female genitals, or hollow objects (chests, boxes, etc.) as symbols of the male genitals, is certainly not permitted by the imagination.

It is true that the tendency of dreams and of the unconscious phantasy to employ the sexual symbols bisexually reveals an archaic trait, for in childhood the difference in the genitals is unknown, and the same genitals are attributed to both sexes. One may also be misled as regards the significance of a bisexual symbol if one forgets the fact that in some dreams a general reversal of sexes takes place, so that the male organ is represented by the female, and vice versa. Such dreams express, for example, the wish of a woman to be a man.

The genitals may even be represented in dreams by other parts of the body: the male member by the hand or the foot, the female genital orifice by the mouth, the ear, or even the eye. The secretions of the human body—mucus, tears, urine, semen, etc.—may be used in dreams interchangeably. This statement of Stekel's, correct in the main, has suffered a justifiable critical restriction as the result of certain comments of R. Reitler's (*Internat. Zeitschr. für Psych.*, 1913). The gist of the matter is the replacement of an important secretion such as the semen, by an indifferent one.

These very incomplete indications may suffice to stimulate others to make a more painstaking collection. I have attempted a much more detailed account of dream-symbolism in my *General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*.

I shall now append a few instances of the use of such symbols, which will show how impossible it is to arrive at the interpretation of a dream if one excludes dream-symbolism, but also how in many cases it is imperatively forced upon one. At the same time I must expressly warn the investigator against overestimating the importance of symbols in the interpretation of dreams, restricting the work of dream-translation to the translation of symbols, and neglecting the technique of utilizing the associations of the dreamer. The two techniques of dream-interpretation must supplement one another; practically, however, as well as theoretically, precedence is retained by the latter process, which assigns the final significance to the utterances of the dreamer, while the symbol-translation which we undertake plays an auxiliary part.

1. The hat as the symbol of a man (of the male genitals). (A fragment from the dream of a young woman who suffered from agoraphobia as the result of her fear of temptation.)

I am walking in the street in summer. I am wearing a s[...] hat of peculiar shape, the m[...] of which [...] upwards [...] the side p[...]es hang downwards (here the d[...] k [...]) and in such a [...] that one hangs lower than the other. I am cheerful and [...] con[...] mood and as I pass a number of young officers I think to myself: You can't do anything to me.

As she could produce no associations to the hat, I said to her: "The hat is really a male genital organ, with its raised middle piece and the two downward hanging side pieces." It is perhaps peculiar that her hat should be supposed to be a man, but after all one says: *Unter die Haube kommen* (to get under the cap) when we mean: *to get married*. I intentionally refrained from interpreting the details concerning the unequal dependence of the two side pieces, although the determination of just such details must point the way to the inter

In spite of all the differences between Scherner's conception of dream-symbolism and the one developed here, I must still insist that Scherner should be recog

pretation I went on to say that if therefore she had a husband with such splendid genitals she would not have to fear the officers that is she would have nothing to wish from them for it was essentially her temptation phantasies which prevented her from goin*g* about unprotected and unaccompanied This last explanation of her anxiety I had already been able to give her repeatedly on the basis of other material

It is quite remarkable how the dreamer behaved after this interpretation She withdrew her description of the hat and would not admit that she had said that the two side pieces were hanging down I was however too sure of what I had heard to allow myself to be misled and so I insisted that she did say it She was quiet for a while and then found the courage to ask why it was that one of her husband s testicles was lower than the other and whether it was the same with all men With this the peculiar detail of the hat was explained and the whole interpretation was accepted by her

The hat symbol was familiar to me long before the patient related this dream From other but less transparent cases I believed that I might assume the hat could also stand for the female genitals

2 The *little one* as the genital organ Being run over as a symbol of sexual intercourse

(Another dream of the same agoraphobic patient)

Her mother sends away her little daughter so that she has to go alone She then drives with her mother to the railway station and sees her little one walking right along the track so that she is bound to be run over Sl e hea s the bones crack (At this she experiences a feeling of discomfo t but no real horror) She then looks out through tl e car iage window to see whether the parts cannot be seen behind Then she reproaches her mother for allowing the little one to go out alone

Analysis—It is not an easy matter to give here a complete interpretation of the dream It forms part of a cycle of dreams and can be fully understood only in connection with the rest For it is not easy to obtain the material necessary to demonstrate the symbolism in a sufficiently isolated condition The patient at first finds that the railway journey is to be interpreted historically as an allusion to a departure from a anatorium for nervous diseases with whose director she was of course in love Her mother fetched her away and before her departure the physician came to the railway station and gave her a bunch of flowers she felt uncomfortable because her mother witnessed this attention Here the mother therefore appears as the disturber of her tender feelings a role actually played by this strict woman during her dau hter s girlhood—The *next association referred to the sentence She then looks to see whether the parts cannot be seen behind* In the dream façade one would naturally be compelled to think of the pieces of the little daughter who had been run over and crushed The association however turns in quite a different direction She recalls that she once saw her father in the bath room naked from behind she then begins to talk about sex differences and remarks that in the man the genitals can be seen from behind but in the woman they cannot In this connection she now herself offers the interpretation that *the little one* is the genital organ and her little one (she has a four year old daughter) her own organ She reproaches her mother for wantin her to live as thou h she had no genitals and recognizes this reproach in the introductory sentence of the dream the mother sends her little one away so that she has to go alone In her phantasy goin alone throu h the streets means having no man no sexual relations (*coire*=to go together) and this she does not like According to all her statements she really suffered as a girl through her mother s jealousy because her father showed a preference for her

The deeper interpretation of this dream depends upon another dream of the same night in which the dreamer identifies herself with her brother She was a tomboy and was always being told that he should have been born a boy This identification with the brother shows with especial clearness that *the little one* i nifies the genital organ The mother threatened him (her) with castration which could only be understood as a punishment for playing with the genital parts and the identification therefore shows that she herself had masturbated as a child though she had retained only a memory of her brother s havin*g* done so An early knowledge of the male genitals which she lost later must according to the assertions of this second dream have b en acquired at this time Moreover the second dream points to the infantile sexual theory that girls origi

Cf I cbg b fo m l mpl (*Z t l bl tt f P y cl ly* [9] p 95) St k l po ted a d m wh ch th h t th bl q ly sta d g f th th m ddle ymbol d th (*mpo- te t*) m

me from boys as a result of castration. After I had told her of this childish belief she at once confirmed it by an anecdote in which the boy asks the girl "Was it cut off?" to which the girl replies "No, it's always been like that."

Consequently the sending away of *the little* [illegible] of the genital organ in the first dream refers also to the threatened castration. Finally she blames her mother for not having borne her as a boy.

That *being run over* symbolizes sexual intercourse would not be evident from this dream if we had not learned it from many other sources.

3. Representation of the genitals by buildings, stairs and shafts.

(Dream of a young man inhibited by a father complex.)

He is taking a walk with his father in a place which is certainly the Prater for one can see the Rotunda, in front of which there is a small [illegible] to which there is attached a captive balloon; the balloon however seems rather limp. His father asks him what this is all for; he is surprised at it but he explains it to his father. They come into a courtyard in which lies a large sheet of tin. His father wants to pull off a big piece of this but first looks round to see if anyone is watching. He tells his father that all he needs to do is to speak to the overseer and then he can take as much as he wants without any more ado. From this courtyard a flight of stairs leads down into a shaft the walls of which are softly upholstered rather like an arm-chair. At the end of this shaft there is a long platform and then a new shaft begins.

Analysis. This dreamer belonged to a type of patient which is not at all promising from a therapeutic point of view up to a certain point in the analysis such patients offer no resistance whatever but from that point onwards they prove to be almost inaccessible. This dream he analysed almost independently. "The Rotunda," he said, "is my genitals, the captive balloon in front is my penis about whose flaccidity I have been worried." We must however interpret it in greater detail: the Rotunda is the buttocks constantly associated by the child with the genitals, the small structure in front the scrotum. In the dream his father asks him what this is all for—that is, he asks him about the purpose and arrangement of the genitals. It is quite evident that this state of affairs should be reversed and that he ought to be the questioner. As such questioning on the part of the father never occurred in reality we must conceive the dream thought as a wish, or perhaps take it conditionally as follows: "If I had asked my father for sexual enlightenment." The continuation of this thought we shall presently find in another place.

The courtyard in which the sheet of tin is spread out is not to be conceived symbolically in the first instance but originates from his father's place of business. For reasons of discretion I have inserted the tin for another material in which the father deals without however changing anything in the verbal expression of the dream. The dreamer had entered his father's business and had taken a terrible dislike to the somewhat questionable practices upon which its profit mainly depended. Hence the continuation of the above dream thought ("if I had asked him") would be: "He would have deceived me just as he does his customers." For the *pulling off* which serves to represent commercial dishonesty the dreamer himself gives a second explanation, namely masturbation. This is not only quite familiar to us (see above p. 281) but agrees very well with the fact that the secrecy of masturbation is expressed by its opposite (one can do it quite openly). Thus it agrees entirely with our expectations that the autoerotic activity should be attributed to the father just as was the questioning in the first scene of the dream. The shaft he at once interprets as the vagina by referring to the soft upholstering of the walls. That the action of coition in the vagina is described as a going down instead of in the usual way as a going up agrees with what I have found in other instances.

The details—that at *the end of* the first shaft there is a long platform and then a new shaft—he himself explains biographically. He had for some time had sexual intercourse with women but had given it up on account of inhibitions and now hopes to be able to begin it again with the aid of treatment. The dream however becomes indistinct toward the end, and to the experienced interpreter it becomes evident that in the second scene of the dream the influence of another subject has already begun to assert itself which is indicated by his father's business his dishonest practices and the vagina represented by the first shaft so that one may assume a reference to his mother.

Cf. comment in the Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse, [illegible] and see above p. [illegible] note 4.

4 The male organ symbolized by persons and the female by a landscape

(Dream of a woman of the lower class whose husband is a policeman reported by B Dattner)

Then someone broke into the house and she anxiously called for a policeman But he went peacefully with two tramps into a church to which a great many steps led up behind the church there was a mountain on top of which there was a dense forest The policeman was provided with a helmet a gorget and a cloak The two vagrants who went along with the policeman quite peaceably had sack like aprons tied round their loins A road led from the church to the mountain This road was over grown on each side with grass and brushwood which became thicker and thicker as it reached the top of the mountain where it spread out into quite a forest

[1] 5 Castration dreams of children

(a) A boy aged three years and five months for whom his father s return from mil itary service is clearly inconvenient wakes one morning in a disturbed and excited state and constantly repeats the question Why did Dad dy carry his head on a plate? Last night Daddy carried his head on a plate

(b) A student who is now suffering from a severe obsessional neurosis remembers that in his sixth year he repeatedly had the follow ing dream He goes to the barber to have his hair cut Then a large woman with severe fea tures comes up to him and cuts off his head He recogni es the woman as his mother

6 A modified staircase dream

To one of my patients a sexual abstainer who was very ill whose phantasy was fixated upon his mother and who repeatedly dreamed of climbin tairs while accompanied by his mother I once remarked that moderate mas turbation would probably have been less harm ful to him than his enforced abstinence The influence of this remark provoked the follow ing dream

His piano teacher reproaches him for neg lecting his piano playing and for not practic ing the Etudes *of Moscheles and Clementi s* Gradus ad Parnassum With reference to this he remarked that the *Gradus* too is a stair way and that the piano itself is a stairway as it has a scale

It may be said that there is no class of ideas which cannot be enlisted in the repre entation of sexual facts and wishes

7 The sensation of reality and the repre sentation of repetition

A man now thirty five relates a clearly re membered dream which he claims to have had when he was four years of age *The notary with whom his father s will was deposited*—he had lost his father at the age of three—*brought two large Emperor pears of which h was given one to eat The other lay on the window sill of the living room* He woke with the conviction of the reality of what he had dreamt and obstinately asked his mother to give him the second pear it was he said still lyin on the window sill His mother laughed at this

Analysis The notary was a jovial old gen tleman who as he seems to remember really sometimes brought pears with him The win dow sill was as he saw it in the dream Nothin else occurs to him in this connection except perhaps that his mother has recently told him a dream She has two birds sitting on her head she wonders when they will fly away but they do not fly away and one of them flies to her mouth and sucks at it

The dreamer s inability to furnish associa tions justifies the attempt to interpret it by the substitution of symbols The two pears—*pommes ou poires*—are the breasts of the moth er who nursed him the window sill is the pro jection of the bosom analogous to the balco nies in the dream of houses His sensation of reality after wakin is justified for his mother had actually suckled him for much longer than the customary term and her breast was still available The dream is to be translated Mother give (show) me the breast again at which I once used to drink The *once* is rep resented by the eating of the one pear the *again* by the desire for the other *The temporal repetition* of an act is habitually represented in dreams by *the numerical multiplication of an object*

It i naturally a very striking phenomenon that symbolism should already play a part in the dream of a child of four but this is the rule rather than the exception One may say that the dreamer has command of symbolism from the very first

The early age at which people make use of symbolic representation even apart from the

O Chap l= g a
Symbol f c t
M V
C i p b
D m l k d h d d g to th
expl t f spec l t f ph ll h te
Th two h l f th sc t m

dream-l... may be own by the f owi... uninfluenced memory of a lad who s now twenty-seven. *She is in her fourth year. The nursemaid is driving her with her brother ... eleven months younger and a cousin who is ... between the two in age to the lavatory, so that ... before the two go to the lavatory, so that they can do their l e bus ess there before going for their walk. As the eldest she sits ... the seat, ... the other two on chambers. She asks her (female) cousin: Have you a purse, ... Walter has a little sausage; I have a purse. The cousin answers: Yes, I have a purse too. The nursemaid listens, laughing, and relates the conversation to the mother, who reacts with a sharp reprimand.*

Here a dream may be inserted whose ex... ... symbolism permitted ... interpretation with ... assistance from the dreamer.

8. The question of symbolism in the dreams of normal persons.

An objection frequently raised by the opponents of psycho-analysis—and recently also by Havelock Ellis—is that, although dream-symbolism may perhaps be a product of the neurotic psyche, it has no validity whatever in the case of normal persons. But while psycho-analysis recognizes no essential distinctions but only quantitative differences between the psychic life of the normal person and that of the neurotic, the analysis of those dreams in which, in sound and sick persons alike, the repressed complexes display the same ... reveals the absolute identity of the mechanisms as well as of the symbolism. Indeed, the natural dreams of healthy persons often contain a much simpler, more transparent, and more characteristic symbolism than those of neurotics, which, owing to the greater strictness of the censorship and the more extensive dream-distortion resulting therefrom, are frequently troubled and obscured, and are therefore more difficult to translate. The following dream serves to illustrate this fact. This dream comes from a non-neurotic girl of a rather prudish and reserved type. In the course of conversation I learn that ... was engaged to be married, but that there were hindrances in the way of the marriage, which threatened to postpone it. She related spontaneously the following dream:

I arrange the centre of a table with flowers for a birthday. On being questioned she states that in the dream she seemed to be at home (she has no home at the time) and experienced a feeling of happiness.

The popular symbolism enables me to translate the dream for myself. It is the expression of her wish to be married: the table with the flowers in the centre is symbolic of herself and her genitals. She represents her future wishes as fulfilled inasmuch as she is already occupied with the thoughts of the birth of a child; so the wedding has taken place long ago.

I call her attention to the fact that *the centre of a table* is an unusual expression, which she admits; but here, of course, I cannot question her more directly. I carefully refrain from suggesting to her the meaning of the symbols, and ask her merely for the thoughts which occur to her mind in connection with the individual parts of the dream. In the course of the analysis her reserve gave way to a distinct interest in the interpretation, and a frankness which was made possible by the serious tone of the conversation. To my question as to what kind of flowers they had been, her first answer is: *expensive flowers; one has to pay for them*; then she adds that they were *lilies of the valley, violets, and pinks or carnations*. I took the word *lily* in this dream in its popular sense, as a symbol of chastity; she confirmed this assumption, as purity occurred to her in association with *lily*. *Valley* is a common feminine dream-symbol. The chance juxtaposition of the two symbols in the name of the flower is made into a piece of dream-symbolism, and serves to emphasize the preciousness of her virginity—*expensive flowers, one has to pay for them*—and expresses the expectation that her husband will know how to appreciate its value. The comment, *expensive flowers*, etc., has, as will be shown, a different meaning in every one of the three different flower-symbols.

I thought of what seemed to me a very risky explanation of the hidden meaning of the apparently quite asexual word *violets* by an unconscious relation to the French *viol*. But to my surprise the dreamer's association was the English word *violate*. The accidental phonetic similarity of the two words *violet* and *violate* is utilized by the dream to express in *the language of flowers* the idea of the violence of defloration (another word which makes use of flower-symbolism) and perhaps also to give expression to a masochistic tendency on the part of the girl. An excellent example of the word bridges across which run the paths to the

Alfred Robitsek in the *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, ( ), p. 3
The World of Dreams, London ( ), p. 3

unconscious *One has to pay for them* here means *life* with which she has to pay for becoming a wife and a mother

In association with *pinks* which she then calls *ca nations* I think of *carnal* But her association is *colour* to which she adds that *carnations* are the flowers which her fiancé gives her frequently and in lar e quantities At the end of the conversation she suddenly admits spontaneou ly that she has not told me the truth the word that occurred to her was not *colour* but *incarnation* the very word I expected Moreover even the word *colour* is not a remote association it was determined by the meaning of *carnation* (i e *flesh colour*)—that is by the complex This lack of honesty shows that the resistance here is at its greatest because the symbolism is here most transparent and the struggle between libido and repression is most intense in connection with this phallic theme The remark that these flowers were often given her by her fiance is together with the double meaning of *carnation* a still further indication of their phallic significance in the dream The occasion of the present of flowers during the day is employed to express the thought of a sexual present and a return present She gives her virginity and expects in return for it a rich love life But the words *expensive flowers one has to pay for them* may have a real financial meaning The flower symbolism in the dream thus comprises the virginal female the male symbol and the reference to violent defloration It is to be noted that sexual flower symbolism which of course is very widespread symbolizes the human sexual organs by flowers the sexual organs of plants indeed presents of flowers between lovers may have this unconscious si nif cance

The birthday for which she is making preparations in the dream probably signifies the birth of a child She identifies herself with the bridegroom and represents him preparing her for a birth (having coitus with her) It is as thou h the latent thou ht were to say If I were he I would not wait but I would deflower the bride without asking her I would use violence Indeed the word *violate* points to this Thus even the sadistic libidinal components find expression

In a deeper stratum of the dream the sentence *I arrange* etc probably has an autoerotic that is an infantile significance

She also has a knowled e—possibly only in the dream—of her physical need she sees herself flat like a table so that she emphasizes all the more her virginity the costliness of the *centre* (another time she calls it a *centre piece of flowers)* Even the horizontal element of the table may contribute something to the symbol The concentration of the dream is worthy of remark nothing is superfluou every word is a symbol

Later on she brings me a supplement to this dream *I decorate the flowers with g een crinkled paper* She adds that it was *fancy p per* of the ort which is u ed to disguise ordinary flower pots She says also To hide untidy things whatever was to be seen which was not pretty to the eye there is a gap a little space in the flowers The paper looks like velvet or moss With *decorate* she associates *decorum* as I expected The green colour is very prominent and with this she associates *hope* yet another reference to pregnancy In this part of the dream the identification with the man is not the dominant feature but thou hts of shame and frankness express them elves She makes herself beautiful for him she admits physical defects of which she is ashamed and which she wishes to correct The associations *velvet* and *moss* distinctly point to *crines pubis*

The dream is an expression of thou hts hardly known to the waking state of the girl thoughts which deal with the love of the sen es and its organs she is *prepared for a bi th day* i e she has coitus the fear of defloration and perhaps the pleasurably toned pain find expression she admits her physical defects and overcompensates them by means of an over-e ti mation of the value of her virginity Her shame excu es the emerging ensuality by the fact that the aim of it all is the child Even material considerations which are foreign to the lover find expression here The affect of the simple dream—the feeling of bliss—shows that here strong emotional complexes have found sati faction

I close with the

9 Dream of a chemist

(A young man who has been trying to give up his habit of masturbation by substituting intercourse with a woman)

P elii ii iary statement On the day before the dream he had been instructing a student as to *G igna d s* reaction in which magne i um is dissolved in absolutely pure ether under the catalytic influence of iod ne Two days earlier there had been an explosion in the course of the ame reaction in which someone had burned his hand

Dream I. *He is going to make phenylmagne sium rem...e he sees the a paratus w h par ticular dis inctness but he h..s subst ted h...e f for the magnesi m He is now in a cu rious wavering att ..de He keeps on s..e t g to kms lf This is the right th g it is work ing my f et are beginn g to dissolve and my k..e are getting soft Then h e ches down and f ..s for his feet and meanwh e (he does n.t know how) he t..kes his legs out of the crucible and then agai he says to h mself That can't be } es has been done cor rectly Then he partially wakes and he is th d e m t k ms lf because he wants t tell it t me H is positive ly afraid of the analysis of the dre m He is m ch excit d during this state f sem e p and epeats con ually Phenyl phenyl.*

II *He is in wi..h h..s whole f mil He is supposed to b at the Schottentor at half past eleven in order t keep a appo tment with the Lady in q tion but he does not wake w.. half past leven He says to h mself It is too l..e ow when you g t there it will be h..f past twelve The ext moment he sees the who e f m..ly gathered b t the table— his mo her and the parlourmaid with th soup tur en w h peculiar distinctne The he says to him elf W ll f w ar tting down to eat we c..y I certainly c..n t g t away*

A ..lysis He feels ure that even the first dream contains a ref ren to the lad whom he is to meet at the place of re dezvous (the dream was dreamed during the night befo e the expected meeting) The t dent whom he w.. instructin s a par cula ly unpleasant fellow the chemist had sa d to him That isn't right, because th magnesium was still unaffected, and the student had answered, as though he were quit unconcerned "Nor it is H himself must be this student he is as in different to hi *analysis* as th student is to his synth sis the *he* in th dream h wever wh perf rm th operation, is myself How unpleasant he must seem to me with his in di..rence to the result!

Again h is th ma erial with which the an ...lysis (synthesis) ...mad For the question the su ces f the treatment. The legs in the dream recall an impres..on f the prev ous evenin.. He met a lady at da can lass of wh m he wished t mak a quest h pressed her t him so closel that ..he on cried out. As he eased t pres he legs h f lt her firm, respondin.. pressure ..ainst hi lowe thighs as far as just bove th knees the pot men tioned in the dream. In this situation then the woman is the magnes um in the *retort* which is at last wo ki..g He is femi e towards me as he is ..rile towards the woman If he su ceeds with the woma the treatmen w'll also succeed Feeling himself and becom aware of his knees refers to ma turbation and corre sponds to his fa gue of the previous day The rendezvous had actually been made for half pa t eleven H s wi h to oversleep h m self and to keep to his sexual object at home (that is masturbation) corresponds to his res st ance

He says in respect to the repet t on of the n me phen l that all these rad cals end g in yl ha e always been pleas to him they are very con en e t to use benzyl acetyl etc. That, however expla ed no hi g But when I proposed the root *Schlem hl* he laughed heart ily and told me that duri g the summer he had read a book by P évost which c nta ned a chapt r *Les e cl s de l'amour* and in this there was ome men on of *Schlemiels* and in read ng of thes ou cas s he ..a d to h m self "That is my case He would ha e played the *Schlem hl* if he had mi sed the appo t ment.

It seems that the sexual symbol m of dreams has alre dy been d rectly confirmed by experi ment. In 1912 Dr K. Sch tter at the instance of H Sw boda, produced dreams in deeply h p notized persons by s ggest ons wh ch deter mi ed a large part of the dream-content If the uggest on p oposed that the ubject should dream f n rmal or abn rmal sexual relations the dream carried out these ord rs by replac ing sexual material by the symbols w th which psycho-anal t c dream interpretation has made us familiar Thus following the suggest on that the dreamer hould dream of homosexual re lations with a L.dy fri nd this friend appea ed in the dream carrying a shabby tra eling bag upon which there was a label with the printed w rds Fo ladies only The dreame was believ d e to ha e he d of dream symbolization f dream-interp et t on. U f rtunately the alue f this important in estigation was d mini hed by th f ct that D Schr tt shortly afterw ds comm tted suicide Of his dream-experiments he ga e us only a preliminary report in the *Ze tralblatt fur Psychoanaly e*

Similar result were reported in 19 3 by G R ffenstein E pecially interesti g were the ex periments performed by Betlh im and Hart mann, because they eliminated hypnos s. These

authors told stories of a crude sexual content to confused patients suffering from Korsakoff s psychosis and observed the distortions which appeared when the material related was repro duced It was shown that the reproduced ma terial contained symbols made familiar by the interpretation of dreams (climbing stairs stab bing and shooting as symbols of coitus knives and ci arettes as symbols of the penis) Special value was attached to the appearance of the symbol of climbing stairs for as the authors justly observed a symbolization of this sort could not be effected by a conscious wish to distort

Only when we have formed a due estimate of the importance of symbolism in dreams can we continue the study of the *typical dreams* which was interrupted in an earlier chapter (p 248) I feel justified in dividing these dreams roughly into two classes first those which al ways really have the same meaning and sec ond those which despite the same or a similar content must nevertheless be given the most varied interpretations Of the typical dreams belonging to the first class I have already dealt fairly fully with the examination dream

On account of their similar affective charac ter the dreams of missing a train deserve to be ranked with the examination dreams more over their interpretation justifies this approxi mation They are consolation dreams directed against another anxiety perceived in dreams— the fear of death *To depart* is one of the most frequent and one of the most readily estab lished of the death symbols The dream there fore says consolingly Reassure yourself you are not going to die (to depart) ju t as the examination dream calms us by saying Don t be afraid this time too nothing will happen to you The difficulty is understanding both kinds of dreams is due to the fact that the anxiety is attached precisely to the expression of consolation

The meaning of the *d eams due to dental stimulus* which I have often enough had to analyse in my patients escaped me for a long time because much to my astonishment they habitually offered too great a resistance to in terpretation But finally an overwhelming mass of evidence convinced me that in the case of men nothing other than the masturbatory de sires of puberty furnish the motive power of these dreams I shall analyse two such dreams one of which is also a *flyin d eam* The two dreams were dreamed by the same person—a young man of pronounced homosexuality which, however has been inhibited in life

He is witnessing a performance of Fidelio *from the stalls of the operahouse he is sitting next to L whose personality is congenial to him and whose friendship he would like to have Suddenly he flies diagonally right across the stalls he then puts his hand in his mouth and draws out two of his teeth*

He himself describes the fl ght by sayin that it was as though he were thrown into the air As the opera performed was *Fidelio* he recalls the words

He who a charming wife acquires

But the acquisition of even the most charming wife is not among the wishes of the dreamer Two other lines would be more appropriate

He who succeeds in the lucky (big) throw
The friend of a friend to be

The dream thus contains the *luc*k*y (big) throw* which is not however a wish fulfilment only For it conceals also the painful reflection that in his striving after friendship he has often had the misfortune to be *thrown out* and the fear lest this fate may be repeated in the case of the young man by whose side he has en joyed the performance of *Fidelio* This is now followed by a confession shameful to a man of his refinement to the effect that once after such a rejection on the part of a friend his profound sexual longing caused him to mastur bate twice in succession

The other dream is as follows *Two uni versity professors of his acquai tance are treat ing him in my place One of them does some thing to his penis he is afraid of an operation The other thrusts an iron bar against his mo th so that he loses one or two teeth He is bound with four silk handkerchiefs*

The sexual significance of this dream can hardly be doubted The silk handkerchiefs al lude to an identification with a homosexual of his acquaintance The dreamer who has never achieved coition (nor has he ever actually sought sexual intercourse) with men conceives the sexual act on the lines of masturbation with which he was familiar during puberty

I believe that the frequent modifications of the typical dream due to dental stimulus—that, for example in which another person draws the tooth from the dreamer s mouth—will be made

Uber Fehl kt b d K k ff h P y ch se Arch f P ych t ie V 1 LXXII (9 4)

explicable by the same explanation. It may, however, be difficult to understand how dental stimuli can have come to have this significance. But here I may draw attention to the frequently occurring *displacement from below to above*, which is at the service of sexual repression, and by means of which all kinds of sensations and intentions occurring in hysteria, which ought to be localized in the genitals, may at all events be realized in other, unobjectionable parts of the body. We have a case of such displacement when the genitals are replaced by the face in the symbolism of unconscious thought. This is corroborated by the fact that verbal usage relates the buttocks to the cheeks, and the labia to the lips which enclose the aperture of the mouth. The nose is compared to the penis in numerous allusions, and in each case the presence of hair completes the resemblance. Only one feature—the teeth—is beyond all possibility of being compared in this way; but it is just this coincidence of agreement and disagreement which makes the teeth suitable for purposes of representation under the pressure of sexual repression.

I will not assert that the interpretation of dreams due to dental stimulus as dreams of masturbation (the correctness of which I can not doubt) has been freed of all obscurity. I carry the explanation as far as I am able, and must leave the rest unsolved. But I must refer to yet another relation indicated by a colloquial expression. In Austria there is in use an indelicate designation for the act of masturbation, namely: "To pull one out," or "to pull one off." I am unable to say whence these colloquialisms come, or on what symbolisms they are based; but the teeth would very well fit in with the first of the two.

Dreams of pulling teeth, and of teeth falling out, are interpreted in popular belief to mean the death of a connection. Psycho-analysis can admit of such a meaning only at the most as a joking allusion in the sense already indicated.

To the second group of typical dreams belong** those in which one is flying or hovering, falling, swimming, etc. What do these dreams signify? Here we cannot generalize. They mean, as we shall learn, something different in each case; only the sensory material which they contain always comes from the same source.

We must conclude from the information obtained in psycho-analysis that these dreams also repeat impressions of our childhood—that is, that they refer to the games involving movement which have such an extraordinary attraction for children. Where is the uncle who has never made a child fly by running with it across the room, with outstretched arms, or has never played at falling with it by rocking it on his knee and then suddenly stretching out his leg, or by lifting it above his head and suddenly pretending to withdraw his supporting hand? At such moments children shout with joy and insatiably demand a repetition of the performance, especially if a little fright and dizziness are involved in it. In after years they repeat their sensations in dreams, but in dreams they omit the hands that held them, so that now they are free to float or fall. We know that all small children have a fondness for such games as rocking and see-sawing; and when they see gymnastic performances at the circus their recollection of such games is refreshed. In some boys the hysterical attack consists simply in the reproduction of such performances, which they accomplish with great dexterity. Not infrequently sexual sensations are excited by these games of movement, innocent though they are in themselves. To express the matter in a few words: it is these romping games of childhood which are being repeated in dreams of flying, falling, vertigo and the like, but the pleasurable sensations are now transformed into anxiety. But, as every mother knows, the romping of children often enough ends in quarreling and tears.

I have therefore good reason for rejecting the explanation that it is the condition of our cutaneous sensations during sleep, the sensation of the movements of the lungs, etc., that evoke dreams of flying and falling. As I see it, these sensations have themselves been reproduced from the memory to which the dream refers—that they are therefore dream-contents, and not dream-sources.

This material, consisting of sensations of motion, similar in character and originating from the same sources, is now used for the

** This passage dealing with dreams of motion, is repeated on account of the context. Cf. p. 50.

representation of the most manifold dream thoughts Dreams of flying or hovering for the most part pleasurably toned will call for the most widely differing interpretations—interpretations of a quite special nature in the case of some dreamers and interpretations of a typical nature in that of others One of my patients was in the habit of dreaming very frequently that she was hovering a little way above the street without touching the ground She was very short of stature and she shunned every sort of contamination involved by intercourse with human beings Her dream of suspension —which raised her feet above the ground and allowed her head to tower into the air—fulfilled both of her wishes In the case of other dreamers of the same sex the dream of flying had the significance of the longing If only I were a little bird! Similarly others become angels at night because no one has ever called them angels by day The intimate connection between flying and the idea of a bird makes it comprehensible that the dream of flying in the case of male dreamers should usually have a coarsely sensual significance and we should not be surprised to hear that this or that dreamer is always very proud of his ability to fly

Dr Paul Federn (Vienna) has propounded the fascinating theory that a great many flying dreams are erection dreams since the remarkable phenomenon of erection which constantly occupies the human phantasy cannot fail to be impressive as an apparent suspension of the laws of gravity (cf the winged phalli of the ancients)

It is a noteworthy fact that a prudent experimenter like Mourly Vold who is really averse to any kind of interpretation nevertheless defends the erotic interpretation of the dreams of flying and hovering He describes the erotic element as the most important motive factor of the hovering dream and refers to the strong sense of bodily vibration which accompanies this type of dream and the frequent connection of such dreams with erections and emissions

Dreams of *falling* are more frequently characterized by anxiety Their interpretation when they occur in women offers no difficulty because they nearly always accept the symbolic meaning of falling which is a circumlocution for giving way to an erotic temptation We have not yet exhausted the infantile sources of the dream of falling nearly all children have fallen occasionally and then been picked up and fondled if they fell out of bed at night they were picked up by the nurse and taken into her bed

People who dream often and with great enjoyment of *swimming* cleaving the wave etc., have usually been bed wetters and they now repeat in the dream a pleasure which they have long since learned to forego We shall soon learn from one example or another to what representations dreams of swimming easily lend themselves

Th —

that they may not wet the bed at night These dreams also are based on reminiscences of the *enuresis nocturna* of childhood In my Fragment of an Analysis of Hysteria I have given the complete analysis and synthesis of such a dream of fire in connection with the infantile history of the dreamer and have shown for the representation of what maturer impulses this infantile material has been utilized

It would be possible to cite quite a number of other *typical* dreams if by such one understands dreams in which there is a frequent recurrence in the dreams of different persons of the same manifest dream content For example dreams of passing through narrow alleys or a whole suite of rooms dreams of burglars in respect of whom nervous people take measures of precaution before going to bed dreams of being chased by wild animals (bulls horses) or of being threatened with knives daggers and lances The last two themes are characteristic of the manifest dream content of persons suffering from anxiety etc A special investigation of this class of material would be well worth while In lieu of this I shall offer two observations which do not however apply exclusively to typical dreams

The more one is occupied with the solution of dreams the readier one becomes to acknowledge that the majority of the dreams of adults deal with sexual material and give expression to erotic wishes Only those who really analyse dreams that is those who penetrate from their manifest content to the latent dream thoughts can form an opinion on this subject but never those who are satisfied with registering merely the manifest content (as for example Näcke

A r fe ce t th Ge m l g w d v g l (t
p l t) f om k g l (a b d) —TR
Uber d T m G S h ft V 1 III

C ll ct d P per III

in his writings on sexual dreams) Let us recognize at once that there is nothing astonishing in this fact, which is entirely consistent with the principles of dream interpretation. No other instinct has had to undergo so much suppression, from the time of childhood onwards, as the sexual instinct in all its numerous components from no other instincts are so many and such intense unconscious wishes left over which now in the sleeping state generate dreams. In dream-interpretation this importance of the sexual complexes must never be forgotten, though one must not of course exaggerate it to the exclusion of all other factors

Of many dreams it may be ascertained, by careful interpretation, that they may even be understood bisexually inasmuch as they yield an indisputable over interpretation in which they realize homosexual impulses—that is impulses which are contrary to the normal sexual activity of the dreamer But that all dreams are to be interpreted bisexually as Stekel maintains, and Adler seems to me to be a generalization as insusceptible of proof as it is improbable and one which, therefore I should be loth to defend for I should, above all be at a loss to know how to dispose of the obvious fact that there are many dreams which satisfy other than erotic needs (taking the word in the widest sense) as for example dreams of hunger thirst, comfort, etc. And other similar assertions to the effect that behind every dream one finds a reference to death (Stekel) or that every dream shows an advance from the feminine to the masculine line (Adler) seem to me to go far beyond the admissible in the interpretation of dreams The assertion that *all dreams call for a sexual interpretation* against which there is such an untiring polemic in the literature of the subject, is quite foreign to my *Interpretation of Dreams* It will not be found in any of the eight editions of this book, and is in palpable contradiction to the rest of its contents

We have stated elsewhere that dreams which are conspicuously *innocent* commonly embody crude erotic wishes and this we might confirm by numerous further examples But many dreams which appear indifferent, in which we should never suspect a tendency in any particular direction may be traced, according to the analysis to unmistakably sexual wish impulses often of an unexpected nature For example who before it had been interpreted would have suspected a sexual wish in the following dream? The dreamer relates *Between two stately palaces there stands a little way back a small house whose doors are closed My wife leads me along the little bit of road leading to the house and pushes the door open and then I slip quickly and easily into the interior of a courtyard that slopes steeply upwards*

Anyone who has had experience in the translating of dreams will of course at once be reminded that penetration into narrow spaces and the opening of locked doors are among the commonest of sexual symbols and will readily see in this dream a representation of attempted coitus from behind (between the two stately buttocks of the female body) The narrow steep passage is of course the vagina the assistance attributed to the wife of the dreamer requires the interpretation that in reality it is only consideration for the wife which is responsible for abstention from such an attempt Moreover inquiry shows that on the previous day a young girl had entered the household of the dreamer she had pleased him, and had given him the impression that she would not be wholly averse to an approach of this sort. The little house between the two palaces is taken from a reminiscence of the Hradschin in Prague and once more points to the girl, who is a native of that city

If in conversation with my patients I emphasize the frequency of the Oedipus dream—the dream of having sexual intercourse with one's mother—I elicit the answer I cannot remember such a dream Immediately afterwards however there arises the recollection of another an unrecognizable indifferent dream which the patient has dreamed repeatedly and which on analysis proves to be a dream with this very content—that is yet another Oedipus dream. I can assure the reader that disguised dreams of sexual intercourse with the dreamer's mother are far more frequent than undisguised dreams to the same effect.

Cf *The C... to k Theory of Sex* W... kel *D Sprache d T... m* (...) Al Adler *Der Psychische Hermaphroditismus im Leben und in der Neurose* *Fortschritte der Med* ... und later papers in the *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse* ...

I have published typical examples of such disguised Oedipus dreams ... the *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse* (see below) another with detailed analysis was published in ... of the same journal by Otto Rank. For ... the disguised Oedipus dream ... which the eye ... see R... *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse* ... Papers on ... eye dream and eye symbol ... by Ed... Ferenczi and R... will be found in the same issue The b... the Oedipus

There are dreams of landscapes and locali ties in which emphasis is always laid upon the as urance I have been here before But this *Déjà v i* has a special significance in dreams In this case the locality is always the genitals of the mother of no other place can it be as serted with such certainty that one *has been here before* I was once puzzled by the account of a dream given by a patient afflicted with obsessional neurosis He dreamed that he called at a house where he had been *twice* before But this very patient had long ago told me of an episode of his sixth year At that time he shared his mother s bed and had abu ed the occa ion by inserting his finger into his mother s genitals while she was asleep

A lar e number of dreams which are fre quently full of anxiety and often have for content the traversing of narrow spaces or staying long in the water are based upon phan tasies concerning the intra uterine life the sojourn in the mother s womb and the act of birth I here insert the dream of a y ung man who in his phantasy has even profited by the intra uterine opportunity of spying upon an act of coition between his parents

He is in a deep shaft in which there is a window as in the Semmering tunn l Through this he sees at first an empty la dscape and then he composes a picture in it which is there all at once and fills up the empty space The picture represents a field which is being deep y tilled by an implement and the wholesome air the associated idea of hard work and th bluish black clods of earth make a pleasant im pression on hi He then goes on and sees a work on education lying open ard is su prised that so much attention is devoted in it to the sexual feelings (of children) w ich makes him think of me

Here is a pretty water-dream of a female patient which was turned to special account in the course of treatment

At her usual holiday resort on the Lake she flings herself into the dark water at a place where the pale moon is reflected in the water

Dreams of this sort are parturition dreams their interpretation is effected by reversing the fact recorded in the manifest dream conten thus instead of *flinging oneself into the wa er* read *coming out of the water*—that is *being born* The place from which one i born may be recognized if one thinks of the humorous sen e of the French *la lune* The pale moon thus becomes the white *bottom* which the child soon gue ses to be the place from which it came Now what can be the meanin of th patient s wishing to be born at a holiday re sort? I asked the dreamer this and he replied without hesitation Hasn t the treatment made me as thou h I were *born aga n?* Thus the dream becomes an invitation to continue the treatment at this summer resort—that is to visit her there perhaps it also contains a very bashful allu ion to the wish to become a mother her elf

leg d a d els whe e s a subst tut fo c st t The c ts by th w y w ot u f m l w th th ymbol t rp tat of the u d used O d p s dre m (O Ra k *J h b* p 534 Th a d m of J l s C f l l t ons w th h s m th ha bee h nd d d w to u wh h th te p t d a a f abl m gn fy g h s tak p ts g p of th th (M th Ea th) Eq lly w ll k the cl d l d t the T q to th f ct th t th t f th m wo ld become th ruler f R me h sh ld be th f rst t k s h m th (*l m t l l t*) wh ch Brut o ce d s r f g t M th E th (*t m c l c t g t c l t q d a c mm m ter m m m tal m s t* L vy I l) Cf he e the d am of H p pia n H dot s v 7 Th myth a d t rp tat p t t ect psychol cal ht I ha e fo d that th pe s wl o c d them l es p fe d f d by th m th rs m f t l fe th t o fid th m l a d th t h kabl p t m m wh ch fte s m h o a d t f q tly c mpel ct l u c s

Typ l ample f d l d O d p s d m A m d m *H h cr t ff r th w wh tl m w k t m rry H c er ed l t th th l ld d th l t d b do the m g h th j b h y ff t t ly t th m k tl up t h m d k h m* Th f t f th d m r' I f t h th d m-c t t ly t p t H h c t ff w th a m d w m d eq l xp f h h b d w th wh m h f dly t m ed h m th p th t h m h h

m ry g th y g w d w fte h h b d dec se It th gh th bject t t that th d m fi d h m lf t f ed

w ch d ed re po ds w th h w secret t tio a d th host l wish d ected g t th m ar o l d d d m trat f ffect wh ch a m es of h h ldi h l t t h f th

n F th myth l g cal m

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wh h p ese t ly th p t t the f t f th my t l l bef b h *Th t j b th m th fi t k ll d d by sety nd th th ur nd m d l f th a ct of nx ty*

A[illegible]er dream of parturition with its interpretation, I take from a paper by E. Jones. *She stood at the seashore watching a small boy, who seemed to be hers, wading into the water. This he did till the water covered him and she could only see his head bobbing up and down near the surface. The scene then changed to the crowded hall of an hotel. Her husband left her, and she entered into conversation with a stranger.*

The second half of the dream was discovered in the analysis to represent flight from her husband, and the entering into intimate relations with a third person, behind whom was plainly indicated Mr. X's brother mentioned in a former dream. The first part of the dream was a fairly evident birth-phantasy. In dreams as in mythology, the delivery of a child from the uterine waters is commonly represented by way of distortion as the entry of the child into water; among many other instances, the births of Adonis, Osiris, Moses, and Bacchus are well-known illustrations of this. The bobbing up and down of the head in the water at once recalled to the patient the sensation of quickening which she had experienced in her only pregnancy. Thinking of the boy going into the water induced a reverie in which she saw herself taking him out of the water, carrying him into the nursery, washing and dressing him, and installing him in her household.

"The second half of the dream, therefore, [illegible]

tent content, the birth phantasy. Besides this inversion in the order, further inversions took place in each half of the dream. In the first half the child entered the water, and then his head bobbed; in the underlying dream thoughts the quickening occurred first, and then the child left the water (a double inversion). In the second half her husband left her; in the dream-thoughts she left her husband.

Another parturition dream is related by Abraham—the dream of a young woman expecting her first confinement: *From one point of the floor of the room a subterranean canal leads directly to the water (path of parturition—amniotic fluid). She lifts up a trap in the floor, and there immediately appears a creature dressed in brownish fur, which almost resembles a seal. This creature changes into the dreamer's younger brother, to whom her relation has always been maternal in character.*

Rank has shown from a number of dreams that parturition-dreams employ the same symbols as micturition-dreams. The erotic stimulus expresses itself in these dreams as an urethral stimulus. The stratification of meaning in these dreams corresponds with a change in the significance of the symbol since childhood.

We may here turn back to the interrupted theme (see p. 190) of the part played by organic, sleep-disturbing stimuli in dream formation. Dreams which have come into existence under these influences not only reveal quite frankly the wish-fulfilling tendency and the character of convenience-dreams, but they very often display a quite transparent symbolism as well, since waking not infrequently follows a stimulus whose satisfaction in symbolic disguise has already been vainly attempted in the dream. This is true of emission dreams as well as those evoked by the need to urinate or defecate. The peculiar character of emission dreams permits us *directly* to unmask certain sexual symbols already recognized as typical, but nevertheless violently disputed, and it also convinces us that many an apparently innocent dream situation is merely the symbolic prelude to a crudely sexual scene. This, however, finds *direct* representation, as a rule, only in the comparatively infrequent emission dreams, while it often enough turns into an anxiety dream, which likewise leads to waking.

The symbolism of *dreams due to urethral stimulus* is especially obvious, and has always been divined. Hippocrates had already advanced the theory that a disturbance of the bladder was indicated if one dreamt of fountains and springs (Havelock Ellis). Scherner, who has studied the manifold symbolism of the urethral timulus, agrees that "the powerful urethral stimulus always turns into the stimulation of the sexual sphere and its symbolic imagery. . . . The dream due to urethral stimulus is often at the same time the representative of the sexual dream."

O. Rank, whose conclusions (in his paper on *Die Symbolschichtung im Wecktraum*) I have here followed, argues very plausibly that a large number of dreams due to urethral stimulus are really caused by sexual stimuli, which at first seek to gratify themselves by way of regression to the infantile form of urethral erotism. Those cases are especially instructive in which the urethral stimulus thus produced leads to waking and the emptying of the bladder, whereupon, in spite of this relief, the dream is continued, and expresses its need in

undisguisedly erotic images

In a quite analogous manner dreams due to *intestinal stimulus* disclose the pertinent sym bolism and thus confirm the relation which is also amply verified by ethno psychology of *gold* and *feces* Thus for example a woman at a time when she is under the care of a phy sician on account of an *intestinal disorder* dreams of a digger for hidden treasure who is burying a treasure in the vicinity of a little wooden shed which looks like a rural *privy* A second part of the dream has as its content how she *wipes* the *posterior* of her child a little girl who has *soiled herself*

Dreams of *rescue* are connected with partu rition dreams To rescue especially to rescue from the water is when dreamed by a woman equivalent to giving birth this sense i how ever modified when the dreamer is a man

Robbers burglars and ghosts of which we are afraid before going to bed and which some times even disturb our sleep ori inate in one and the same childish reminiscence They are the nightly visitors who have waked the child in order to set it on the chamber so that it may not wet the bed or have lifted the cover let in order to see clearly how the child is hold ing its hands while sleeping I hav h

ys the father the ghosts more probably correspond to fe male per ons in white ni ht gowns

F Examples—Arithmetic and Speech in Dreams

Before I proceed to assign to its proper place the fourth of the factors which control the formation of dreams I shall cite a few examples from my collection of dreams partly for the purpose of illustrating the co operation of the three factors with which we are already ac quainted and partly for the purpose of adduc ing evidence for certain unsupported assertions which have been made or of bringing out what necessarily follows from them It has of course been difficult in the foregoin account of the dream work to demonstrate my conclu sions by means of examples Examples in support of isolated tatements are convincing only when considered in the context of an in terpretation of a dream as a whole when they are wrested from their context they lose their value on the other hand a dream interpreta tion even when it is by no means profound soon becomes so extensive that it obscures the thread of the discussion which it is intended to illustrate This technical consideration must be my excuse if I now proceed to mix together all sorts of things which have nothing in com mon except their reference to the text of the foregoing chapter

We shall first consider a few examples of very peculiar or unusual methods of represen tation in dreams A lady dreamed as follows *A servant girl is standing on a ladder as though to clean the windows and has with her a chim pan ee and a gorilla cat* (later corrected *an gora cat*) *She th ows the animals on to the d eamer the chimpan ee nestles up to her and this is very disgusting* This dream has ac complished its purpose by a very simple means namely by taking a mere figure of speech lit erally and representin it in accordance with the literal meaning of its words *Monkey* like the names of animals in general is an opprobri ous epithet and the situation of the dream means merely *to hu l invectives* This same collection will soon furnish us with further ex amples of the employment of this simple arti fice in the dream work

Another dream proceeds in a very similar manner *A woman with a cl ild which has a conspicuously deformed cranium the d eamer l as hea d that tl e child acqu red th s defo mi ty owing to its position in its mother s womb Tl e doctor says tl at the cranium might be g ven a better sl ape by means of compression but that this would inju e the brain She thinks that because it is a boy it won t suffer so much from deformity* This dream contains a plastic representation of the abstract concept *Ch ld ish impressions* with which the dreamer has become familiar in the course of the treatment

Th s m symb l
i f t l s
ppe th
w t =u
sh p (t
t =p g
pl c f the
zat n t a
of bed=ha
n y) u t
F d (
Pap i R
I t Z t *J l ych* (9 3) R k *I t*
Z t h (915)
Fo s ch a d am ee Pß r

In the following examp the dream work follows rather a different course The dream contains a recollect o of a curs on to the Hilm eich, near Graz *There is a terrib e s orm Outside a miserab e hot l—the wa er is dripping from the walls and the beds are damp* (The lat er part of the conte t was less d rectly expressed than I give it.) The dream s gnifies su er ous The abstract idea occurrin in the dream-thoughts is first made equivocal b a certain abuse f language t has pe haps been replaced by *overflowing* or by *fluid* and *super fluid* (*fluous*) and has then been brou ht to representation by a ccumulat on of like im pressions W ter within, water without water in the beds in the form of dampness—every thing fluid and *super* fluid. That f r the pur poses of dream-represent t on the spell is much less considered than the sound of words ought t to urprise when we remember that rhyme exercises a simila pri ilege

The f ct that language has t its disposal a great number of word whi h were riginally used in a pictorial and concrete sense but are at present used in a colourles and bstract fashi n, has in certain other cases mad it very easy fo the dream to represent ts thoughts. The dream has nl t rest re to these words their ful gnificance r to follow the change h k F example a

r

dreame climbs mountain from whi h he b- tains an extra rdinarily exten e new H identifies himself with hi brother wh is edit m, review dealing with th Fa East

In dream in *Der Gru Heinrich* spirited h rse is plunging bout in field f th finest oa s every grain f which really sweet almond rai in and new penny" wrapped in red silk and tied w th a b t f p g bristle Th poet (the dream) immedi t ly fur nishes th meaning f this dream f th h rse f lt himself plea antly tickled, so that h ex laimed "Th oat are prickin m (I feel m oats")

In the old Norse sagas (ording t Henzen) prolifi se is made in dreams of colloquialisms d witty express ons e scarcely finds a dream with ut doubl meaning play upon w rds

English example —Tr.

It would be a pecial undertaki g to col ect s ch methods of rep esentat o a d to arra ge them in accorda ce wi h the principles upon wh ch they are based. Some of the represen a tions are almost witty They gi e on the im press o that one would ha e never gues ed the r meanin if the dreamer h mself had no succeeded in expla ni g it.

1 A man dreams *that he is asked f r a nam wh ch however he can t ec l* He him elf explains th this means I s ldn't dream of t.

A female pat ent relates a dream in w ch *all the persons concerned were singularly large* That means h adds that it must deal with an episode of my early ch ldhood for at that time all grown-up people naturally seemed t me immensely large She herself d d not ppear i the dream.

The tra slat n i t childhood is expressed differently in other dreams—by the tran lat on of tim into space One sees perso s and cenes as tho h at a great di ta ce at the end of a lon road, r as though one were looking at them through the wrong end of a pa r of opera glasses

3 A man who in waking life hows an in clinat on to employ abstract a d od fin te e press o s but wh therwise has his w ts bout him dre ms certain connect on *th t he re hes railway st ion just as a t a n is com g B t then the platform moves towards the t ain which st nds stil* an absurd n ers on f the real stat of affairs Thi d tail aga n, s nothing more than an ind cation to the e ect that something else in the dream mu t be in erted The anal sis of th same dream le ds to rec llections f picture books in whi h men were represented standing o their head and walking on their hands.

4 Th sam dreamer n no her occa on relates a hort dream which almost recalls the techn qu of a rebus *His u le giv s h m a kiss in an a tom b e* He immed t ly adds the in terpretation which would never ha e occurred t m t means *a to-er t sm* In the waking state this might ha e been sa d in jest

5 At New Yea s E e dinn r the host the patria ch f the f mily u hered the New Yea with spee h. On of hi sons-i -law a lawye was t inclined to t k the ld m n sen sly especially when in the rse f his peech he expressed himself as f llows When I open the led r f the O d Yea and gla ce at its pages I see everything on the asset d and th n thank the Lord on the s d of lia

bility all you children have been a great *asset* none of you a *liability* On hearing this the young lawyer thought of X his wife s brother who was a cheat and a liar and whom he had recently extricated from the entanglements of the law That night in a dream he saw the New Year s celebration once more and heard the speech or rather saw it Instead of speaking the old man actually opened the ledger and on the side marked *assets* he saw his name amon st others but on the other side marked *liability* there was the name of his brother in law X However the word *liability* was chan ed into *Lie Ability* which he regarded as X s main characteristic

6 A dreamer *treats another person for a broken bone* The analysis shows that the frac ture represents a *broken marriage vow etc*

7 In the dream content the time of day often represents a certain period of the dream er s childhood Thus for example 5 15 a m means to one dreamer the age of five years and three months when he was that age a younger brother was born

8 Another representation of *age* in a dream *A woman is walking with two little girls there is a difference of fifteen months in their ages* The dreamer cannot think of any family of her acquaintance in which this is the case She herself interprets it to mean that the two children represent her own person and that the dream reminds her that the two traumatic events of her childhood were separated by this period of time (3/ and 4¾ years)

9 It is not astonishing that persons who are undergoing psycho analytic treatment frequent ly dream of it and are compelled to give expression in their dreams to all the thoughts and expectations aroused by it The image cho en for the treatment is as a rule that of a journey usually in a motor car this being a modern and complicated vehicle in the refer ence to the speed of the car the patient s iron ical humour is given free play If the *uncon scious* as an element of wakin thought *is* to be represented in the dream it is replaced ap propriately enough by *subterranean* localities which t other times when there is no refer ence to analytic treatment have represented the female body or the womb *Below* in the dream very often refers to the genitals and its opposite *above* to the face mouth or breast By *wild beasts* the dream work usually sym bolizes pas ionate impulses tho e of the dream er and also those of other persons of whom th dreamer is afraid or thus by means of a very slight displacement the per ons who experi ence these passions From this it i not very fa to the totemi tic representation of the dreaded *father* by means of vicious animals do s wild horses etc One might say that wild be sts serve to represent the *libido* feared by the ego and combated by repression Even the neurosis itself the *sick person* is often separated from the dreamer and exhibited in the dream as an independent person

One may go so far as to say that the dream work makes use of all the means acce ible to it for the visual representation of the dream thou hts whether these appear dmissible or inadmissible to wakin criticism and thus ex poses itself to the doubt as well as the derision of all those who have only hearsay knowled e of dream interpretation but have never them selves practised it Stekel s book *Die Sprache des Traumes* is especially rich in such examples but I avoid citing illustrations from this work as the author s lack of critical judgment and his arbitrary technique would make even the unprejudiced observer feel doubtful

10 From an essay by V Tausk (*"Kleider und Farben im Dienste der Traumdarstellung in Interna Zeitschr fur Ps A ii* [1914])

(a) A dreams that *he sees his former gov erness wearing a dress of black lustre which fits closely over her buttocks* That means he declares this woman to be *lustful*

(b) C in a dream *sees a gi l on the road to X bathed in a white light and wearing a white blouse*

The dreamer be an an affair with a Miss White on this road

11 In an analysis which I carried out in the French language I had to interpret a dream in which I appeared as an elephant I naturally had to ask why I was thus represented *Vous me trompe* answered the dreamer (*Trompe = trunk)*

The dream work often succeeds in represent ing very refractory material such as proper names by means of the forced exploitation of very remote relations In one of my dreams *old Brucke has set me a task I make a prepa ration and pick something out of it which looks like c umpled tinfo l* (I shall return to this dream later) The correspondin association which is not easy to find is *stanniol* and now I know that I have in mind the name of the author *Stan nius* which appeared on the title page of a treatise on the nervous system of

Repo t d by Br'll a h *F d r t I C pt s of Psy h lys*

fishes, which in my youth I regarded with reverence. The first scientific problem which my teacher set me did actually relate to the nervous system of a fish—the *Ammocoetes*. Obviously this name could not be utilized in the picture-puzzle.

Here I must not fail to include a dream with a curious content, which is worth noting also as the dream of a child, and which is readily explained by analysis. A lady tells me: "I can remember that when I was a child I repeatedly dreamed that *God wore a conical paper hat on His head*. They often used to make me wear such a hat at table, so that I shouldn't be able to look at the plates of the other children and see how much they had received of any particular dish. Since I had heard that God was omniscient, the dream signified that I knew everything in spite of the hat which I was made to wear."

What the dream-work consists in, and its unceremonious handling of its material, the dream-thoughts, may be shown in an instructive manner by the numbers and calculations which occur in dreams. Superstition, by the way, regards numbers as having a special significance in dreams. I shall therefore give a few examples of this kind from my collection.

1. From the dream of a lady, shortly before the end of her treatment:

She wants to pay for something or other; her daughter takes 3 florins 65 kreuzer from her purse; but the dreamer says: "What are you doing? It only costs 21 kreuzer." This fragment of the dream was intelligible without further explanation, owing to my knowledge of the dreamer's circumstances. The lady was a foreigner who had placed her daughter at school in Vienna, and was able to continue my treatment as long as her daughter remained in the city. In three weeks the daughter's scholastic year would end, and the treatment would then stop. On the day before the dream the principal of the school had asked her whether she could not decide to leave the child at school for another year. She had then obviously reflected that in this case she would be able to continue the treatment for another year. Now, this is what the dream refers to, for a year is equal to 365 days; the three weeks remaining before the end of the scholastic year and of the treatment, are equivalent to 21 days (though not to so many hours of treatment). The numerals which in the dream-thoughts refer to periods of time are given money values in the dream, and simultaneously a deeper meaning finds expression—for *time is money*. 365 kreuzer, of course, are 3 *florins* 65 *kreuzer*. The smallness of the sums which appear in the dream is a self-evident wish-fulfilment; the wish has reduced both the cost of the treatment and the year's school fees.

2. In another dream the numerals are involved in even more complex relations. A young lady who has been married for some years learns that an acquaintance of hers of about the same age, Elise L, has just become engaged. Thereupon she dreams: *She is sitting in the theatre with her husband, and one side of the stalls is quite empty. Her husband tells her that Elise L and her fiancé had also wanted to come to the theatre, but that they had only obtained poor seats, three for 1 florin 50 kreuzer, and of course they could not take those. She thinks they didn't lose much there.*

What is the origin of the 1 *florin 50 kreuzer*? A really indifferent incident of the previous day. The dreamer's sister-in-law had received 150 florins as a present from her husband, and hastened to get rid of them by buying some jewellery. Let us note that 150 florins is 100 times 1 florin 50 kreuzer. But whence the 3 in connection with the seats in the theatre? There is only one association for this, namely, that the fiancée is three months younger than herself. When we have ascertained the significance of the fact that one side of the stalls is empty we have the solution of the dream. This feature is an undisguised allusion to a little incident which had given her husband a good excuse for teasing her. She had decided to go to the theatre that week; she had been careful to obtain tickets a few days beforehand, and had had to pay the booking-fee. When they got to the theatre they found that one side of the house was almost empty; so that she certainly *need not have been in such a hurry*.

I shall now substitute the dream-thoughts for the dream: "It surely was nonsense to marry so early; there was *no need for* my being in such a hurry. From Elise L's example I see that I should have got a husband just the same—and one a *hundred times* better—if I had only waited (antithesis to the *haste* of her sister-in-law). I could have bought *three* such men for the money (the dowry)!"—Our attention is drawn to the fact that the numerals in this dream have changed their meanings and their relations to a much greater extent than in the one previously considered. The transforming and distorting activity of the dream has in this case been greater—a fact which we interpret

as meaning that these dream thou hts had to overcome an unusual degree of endo psychic resistance before they attained to representa tion And we must not overlook the fact that the dream contains an absurd element name ly that *two* persons are expected to take *three seats* It will throw some light on the question of the interpretation of absurdity in dreams if I remark that this absurd detail of the dream content is intended to represent the most strong ly emphasized of the dream thoughts It was *nonsense* to marry so early The figure 3 which occurs in a quite subordinate relation be tween the two persons compared (three months difference in their ages) has thus been adroit ly utilized to produce the idea of nonsense re quired by the dream The reduction of the actual 150 florins to 1 florin 50 kreuzer cor responds to the dreamer s disparagement of her husband in her suppressed thou_hts

3 Another example displays the arithmet ical powers of dreams which have brought them into such disrepute A man dreams *He is sitting in the B s house* (the B s are a fami ly with which he was formerly acquainted) *and he says It was nonsense that you didn t give me Amy for my wife Thereupon he asks the girl How old are you? Answer I was born in 188 Ah then you are 8 years old*

Since the dream was dreamed in the year 1898 this is obviously bad arithmetic and the inability of the dreamer to calculate may if it cannot be otherwise explained be likened to that of a general paralytic My patient was one of those men who cannot help thinking about every woman they see The patient who for some months came next after him in my con sulting room was a young lady he met this lady after he had constantly asked about her and he was very anxious to make a good im pression on her This was the lady whose age he estimated at 28 So much for explaining the result of his apparent calculation But 188 was the year in which he had married He had been unable to refrain from entering into con ver ation with the two other women whom he met at my house—the two by no means youth ful maid who alternately opened the door to him—and as he did not find them very respon sive he had told himself that they probably regarded him as elderly and *se ious*

Bearing in mind these examples and others of a similar nature (to follow) we may say The dream work does not calculate at all whether correctly or incorrectly it only strings together in the *form* of a sum numerals which occur in the dream thoughts and which may serve as allusions to material which is insus ceptible of representation It thus deals with figures as material for expressing its intentio_s just as it deals with all other concepts a_d with names and speeches which are only verb_l images

For the dream work cannot compose a new speech No matter how many speeches and an swers which may in themselves be sensible or absurd may occur in dreams analysis shows us that the dream has merely taken from the dream thoughts fragments of speeches which have really been delivered or heard and h_s dealt with them in the most arbitrary fashion It has not only torn them from their context and mutilated them accepting one fragment and rejecting another but it has often fitted them to ether in a novel manner so that the speech which seems coherent in a dre m is dis solved by analysis into three or four compo nents In this new application of the words the dream has often ignored the meaning which they had in the dream thoughts and has drawn an entirely new meaning from them Upon closer inspection the more distinct and com pact in redients of the dream speech may be distinguished from others which serve as con nectives and have probably been supplied ju t as we supply omitted letters and syllables in readin^g The dream speech thus has the struc ture of *breccia* in which the larger pieces of various material are held together by a oli dified cohesive medium

Strictly speaking of course this description is correct only for those dream speeches which have something of the sensory character of a speech and are described as *speeches* The others which have not as it were been per ceived as heard or spoken (which have no ac companying acoustic or motor emphasis in the

A ly f th me c l d m h bee g by J M c w k d th S h d fte l ry ompl t d ithm t cal pers t s wh h e th l s s l ed by th d eam w th to h g o f d Cf also Ernest J e *Über u beu t Z hl b l dl g Z t lb l P y k ly* 4 (9] p 24) N beh es the m f h I k w a p t t wl o—l l t ly d ll gly—h rs (h ll c t) f m g bl l f Sh th t by l th l Ot

dream) are imply thoughts ch as ccur in w king life and find their way uncha ged into many of our dreams Ou read n too seems to pro d an ab da t and n t ea ily traceable ource for the ind fferent speech ma terial f dreams. But a ythi g that is at all con sp cuous as a spee h n d eam can be ref rred to actual speeches which ha e bee made or heard by the dreamer

We ha e already found examples of the d i at on of such d am speeches in the analyses f dreams which have been c ted fo other pur poses. Thus n the *innoce t ma ket-d e m* (p. 213) where the speech *That s no long to be h d* serves to ident fy me with the butcher hile a fragment of the other speech *I do t k ow th t I d n't t ke that* precisely fulfils the ta k of rend ring the dream innocent On *th* prev o s day the d eamer reply to s me unrea onable demand o the part of her cook had wa ed h as de with the wo ds *I don't k ow that b have urs lf p op ly* and sh aft rwards took into th d m the first, and f f re t sounding part f th pe h in orde to al ud t the latte part which fitted well in t the phanta y unde lying the d eam but wh h m ght al o ha e betra ed it

Here s ne of ma examples whi h all lead t the sam c l n

A la ge courtya d wh cl d d bodies a e being burned Th d amer s I'm going I t s and the sight of t (Not a distinct spee h.) *Then he meet two b t her boys d ask B ll did it taste go d? A d one of th m answer N t w sn t g od A tho gh t had been h man flesh*

Th innocent cca of this d eam is a f llows After taki g supper with his wif the dreamer pays t t his w rthy b t by n m ans *app t g ghb* The hosp table ld lady s) t tti g down t h own upper and pr s him (am g m mpo te sexually g ifica t w rd used joco ly in the pla f this w d) to t te it H d clines say that he has o appet te She replies *G on with you you m ge t all right som thing f th ki d* The d eame is thus fo ed t tast and pra what ff ed him. B t that s good! Whe he is l e again with his wife h mplai s of hi n ghbour s mportunity and f the quality of the food whi h he ha tasted I can t tand th ght f it a phra that the d eam too does t m rg a actual spee h, is thou ht rel t t the phys cal harms f the l dy wh nv tes him which may be translated by th statement that he has no de ire to look at her

The analys s of another dre m—wh ch I will c te at this stage for the sake of a very d s tinct speech which con titutes its nucleus but wh ch w ll be explained only when we come to evaluate the affects in dreams—is more instruc t e I dream very vividly *I have gone to Br cke s labo atory at night and on hear g a ge le knock g at the doo I open it to (the deceased) P ofessor Fleischl who e te s n the compa y of seve al st a ge s and after say g a fe words s s down at his table* Then follows a econd dream *My frie d Fl has come to V enna u obtrusively in July I me t h m i the st eet n conve satio w th my (deceased) frie d P a d I go with them somewher a d th y s t down facing each other as though at a sm ll table while I sit faci g them at the na ow end of the table Fl speaks of h s s ster a d says I th ee-qua ters of an ho she was d ad and then som thing l ke That is the*

—

s bly k ow e ything of cou se because he) s t l ve B t not ci g the m stake myself I say Non v nt Then I look search gly at P d mde my ga e he becomes pale and blurred a d his eyes turn a s kly bl —a d at last he d s olves I joice greatly at this I now i d ta d th t Ernst Fl ischl too s o ly an ap p rit on a revenant c d I fi d that t is q te p sible th t s ch a p son sho ld exist o ly o lo g as one wishes h m to a d that he can be m de t d sappear by the w sh of a othe per on

Th s very pretty dream un tes o many of the en gmatical charact stics of the dream content—the critici m made in the dre m it lf ina much as I my elf notice my m take in sayin N t t instead of Non v t t the un constrai ed i terc e with decea ed perso s whom the dream tself d cla s *to be dead* th ab rdity of my co clus on a d the inte se at facti which t g es me—that I would gi e my lif to expo d the c mpl te solut on f the probl m But in reality I am i capable of doin what I d i the dream i e of sac c in ch timat f ds to my amb t n And f I att mpted t d gu se the f cts the true meani f the d m w th wh ch I am pe fectly fam l r w uld be po l d I mu t th e fo be t t t l t a f w of th lements of the dr am f r t rp etat s m h and som at lat r sta

The scene in which I annihilate P with a glance forms the centre of the dream His eyes become strange and weirdly blue and then he dissolves This scene is an unmistakable imitation of a scene that was actually experienced I was a demonstrator at the Physiological Institute I was on duty in the morning and Brucke learned that on several occasions I had been unpunctual in my attendance at the students laboratory One morning therefore he arrived at the hour of opening and waited for me What he said to me was brief and to the point but it was not what he said that mattered What overwhelmed me was the terrible g ze of his blue eyes before which I melted away—as P does in the dream for P has exchanged roles with me much to my relief Anyone who remembers the eyes of the great master which were wonderfully beautiful even in his old age and has ever seen him angered will readily imagine the emotions of the young transgressor on that occasion

But for a long while I was unable to account for the *Non vixit* with which I pass sentence in the dream Finally I remembered that the reason why these two words were so distinct in the dream was not because they were heard or spoken but because they were *seen* Then I knew at once where they came from On the pedestal of the statue of the Emperor Joseph in the Vienna Hofburg are inscribed the following beautiful words

Saluti patriae vixit
non diu sed totus

From this inscription I had taken what fitted one inimical train of thought in my dream thou hts and which was intended to mean That fellow has nothin to say in the matter he is not really alive And I now recalled that the dream was dreamed a few days after the unveilin of the memorial to Fleischl in the cloisters of the University upon which occasion I had once more seen the memorial to Brucke and must have thought with regret (in the unconscious) how my gifted friend P with all his devotion to science had by his premature death forfeited his just claim to a memorial in these halls So I set up this memorial to him in the dream Jo ef is my friend P s baptismal name

According to the rules of dream interpretation I should still not be justified in replacing *non vivit* which I need by *non vixit* which is placed at my disposal by the recollection of the Kaiser Josef memorial Some other element of the dream thoughts must have contributed to make this possible Somethi

t

c the other affectionate—the former on the surface the latter covered up—and both are given representation in the same words *non vixit* As my friend P has deserved well of science I erect a memorial to him as he has been guilty of a malicious wish (expres ed at the end of the dream) I annihilate him I have here constructed a sentence with a special cadence and in doing so I must have been influenced by some existing model But where can I find a similar antithesis a similar parallel between two opposite reactions to the same person both of which can claim to be wholly justified and which nevertheless do not attempt to affect one another? Only in one pa sage wh h h

sion upo

tificatior

Caesar I eu me I weep for him as he was fortunate I rejoice at it as he was valiant, I honour him but as he was ambitious I slew him Have we not here the same verbal structure and the same antithesis of thought as in the dream thoughts? So I am playin Brutus in my dream If only I could find in my dream thoughts another collateral connection to confirm this! I think it might be the followin *My friend Fl comes to Vienna in July* This detail is not the case in reality To my knowledge, my friend has never been in Vienna in July But the month of *July* is named after *Jul us Caesar* and might therefore very well furnish the required allusion to the intermediate thought—that I am playing the part of Brutu

Stran ely enough I once did actually play the part of Brutus When I was a boy of fourteen I presented the scene between Brutus and Caesar in Schiller s poem to an audience of children with the assistance of my nephew who was a year older than I and who had come to us from England—and was thus a *revenant*—

The i s pt f t d
S l t publ c t
d d i t
[He l d f th f ty of the publ c long t m but lw ys]
Th m tu e f th m t k *p t* [f th l d] f *publ e* has p ob bly bee ectly d d by W ttels

a A e mpl f f m l t w th t ft -d t m t n My cue f ht th m w k g lat t the by f m K g I had t m k th lo g j rney J sef St se t W ahri ge Strasse. A d l C =K

for in him I recognized the playm te of my earl childhood U til the end of my third year we h d been in eparable we had loved each other nd fo ht each other and as I have al ready hinted this childish rel t on has deter min d all my later feelin s in my intercourse wi h persons of my own age My nephew John has since then had many ncarnat ns wh ch have revivifi d first one and then another aspect f a *character* that is in rad cably fixed i my uncon c ous memory At times he m t ha e treated me very badly and I must have op posed my tyra t courageo ly for in later years I was often told of a short peech in which I defe ded myself when my fath —his grandf ther—called m to account Why d d you hit John? *I h t h m bec use he h t me* It must be thi childish scene which causes *on tirit* to become *non vixit* for n th language of later childhood striking is known as *wichsen* (German *wichs* =*to polish to wax* *i.e.* *to th k*) and th dream work does not disd in t take d antage of su h as oci tio My host lity towards my friend P which has so l t tl foundation in real ty—he was greatly my supe or and m ght theref e have bee a new edition of my old playmate—may cert ly be traced t my compl cat d elat on with John d ring our hildhood I hall as I ha e said return to this d am later o

G *Ab urd D eams—I tellectual Performa ces D ms*

I

Hitherto in our nterp etat on of dreams we ha e com upo th element of *bsu d ty* in the dream-co t t so f equ tly that we must no longer postpone the in est gat n f ts cau e and ts mea ing We m mb r of co rs that the absurdity f d eams has f rn hed th p ponents of dream terp et t n with th r chi f a gum t fo regarding the d am as m rely the meaningless prod ct of a tt nuat d and fragment ry ctn ty of the p yche

I will begin w th a few xample in wh ch the bsurd ty of the dream o te t is apparent nly di ppear g when the d eam is m e tho oughly exam ed These e certain d eams whi h—a cidently on begins by th nki g—are cerned w th th d eame s d d f ther

He is the d eam f a patient wh had lost his f th six years bef e the date f the dream

His f ther had b vol ed n a terrible c cident H was t lling by th n ght p e s wh th t w s d 7 d the s at wer tel scoped a d h s head was crushed f om s de to side The d eamer sees h m ly ng o l bed on w ur l s re t cally

According to the prevailing tandards of dream-critic m this dream-co tent would be expla ed as f llows At first while the dreamer is p cturing his father s acc dent he has f r gotten that his father has already been many years in his grave in the c rse of the dream this *memory* awakens o that he is urpri ed at h s own dream even wh le he is dre m g it Analy s *however tells us that it is quite su pe fluous* o seek for such expl nat ons The d eame had comm s oned a sculptor to make a *bust* of his father and he had in pected the bu t two d ys bef re the dream It is this wh ch eems to h m to ha e come to grief (the Ger man w rd means *go e wro g* or *met with an ccide t*) The sculptor has never een his fath er and has had to work from ph tographs On the very d y before the dream the son had ent an ld family servant to the studio in order *to see whether he too would pass the same* j dgment upo the marble bu t—namely that it was *too narrow b tw en the temples* And n w follows the memory material which has c tributed to the format on of the dream The d eamer s father had a hab t whenever he was haras ed by bus es cares or d mestic difficult es of pressing h s temples between his hands as thou h h s head was growing too large and he was trying to compress t When the d eamer was four years old he was p esent when a p stol was acc dent lly d ha ged and his f thers eye we e bl k ed *(h s eyes a e so cl ar)* When h s father was thou htf l or d p es d he had a deep furrow n h s fore head j t where the dream hows h s wou d The fact that in the dream th wr kle is re plac d by a w und po ts t the se d occa

for th d eam Th dream r had t k n a pl o graph of his little daughte the plate had fall n f m his ha d and when he p ked t up it revealed a crack wh ch ran l ke a verti

he portra t had been cracked

Thus th b d ty of this d eam s mply th re lt f a relessnes of b l expe n wh ch does ot d tingu h between the bu t or

the photograph and the original We are all accustomed to making remarks like Don t you think it s exactly your father? Th - ance f h have to for ugie case might be tempted to say that this semblance of absurdity is admitted or even desired

II

Here is another example of the same kind from my own dreams (I lost my father in the year 1896)

After his death my father has played a part in the political life of the Magyars and has united them into a political whole and here I see indistinctly a little picture *a number of men as though in the Reichstag a man is standing on one or two chairs there are others round about him I remember that on his death bed he looked so like Garibaldi and I am glad that this promise has really come true*

Certainly this is absurd enou h It was dreamed at the time when the Hungarians were in a state of anarchy owing to P

u trivial circumstance that the scenes beheld in dreams consist of such little pictures is not without significance for the elucidation of this element The cu tomary visual dream representations of our thoughts present images that impress us as being life size my dream picture however is the reproduction of a wood cut inserted in the text of an illustrated history of Austria representing Maria Theresa in the Reichstag of Pressburg —the famous scene of *Moriamur pro rege nostro* Like Maria Theresa my father in my dream is surrounded by the multitude but he is standing on one or two chairs *(Stuhlen)* and is thus like a *Stuhlrichter* (presiding judge) (He has *united* them here the intermediary is the phrase We shall need no *judge*) Those of us who stood about my father s death bed did actually notice that he looked very like Garibaldi He had a *post mortem* rise of temperature his cheeks shone redder and redder involuntarily we continue And behind him in unsubstantial (radiance) lay that which subdues us all—the common fate

This uplifting of our thou hts prepares us for the fact that we shall have to deal with this *common fate* The *post mortem* rise in temperature corresponds to the word *after his death* in the dream content The most agonizing of his afflictions had been a complete paraly s of the intestines (*obstruction*) during the last few weeks of his life All sorts of disrespectful thou hts associate themselves with this One of my contemporaries who lo t his father while still at the *Gymnasium*—upon which occasion I was profoundly moved and tendered him my friendship—once told me derisively of the distress of a relative whose father had died in the street and had been brou ht home when it appeared upon undressing the corpse that at the moment of death or *post-mortem* an evacuation of the bowels (*Stuhlentleerung*) had taken place The dau hter was deeply distressed by this circumstance because this u ly detail would inevitably spoil her memory of her father We have now penetrated to the wish that is embodied in this dream To stand after one s death before one s children great and undefiled who would not wish that? What now has become of the absurdity of this dream? The appearance of absurdity was due only to the fact that a perfectly permissible figure of peech in which we are accustomed to ignore any absurdity that may exist as between its components has been faithfully represented in the dream Here again we can hardly deny that the appearance of absurdity is desired and has been purposely produced

The frequency with which dead persons appear in our dreams as living and active and associating with us has evoked undue astoni h ment and some curious explanations which afford conspicuous proof of our misunderstand in of dreams And yet the explanation of these dreams is close at hand How often it happens that we say to ourselves If my father were still alive what would he say to this? The dream can express this *if* in no other way than by his presence in a definite situation Tha for instance a young man whose grandfather has left him a great inheritance dreams that the old man is alive and calls his grand on to account reproaching him for his lavish expenditure What we regard as an objection to the dream on account of ou better knowledge that the man is already dead is in real ty the consoling thought that the dead man does not need to learn the truth or satisfaction over the fact

[W d f k] I h f tt wh t uth I f d f i d m wh h w ru w th lly sm ll fig th f h h p d t be f th g g I J q C ll t wh h th d m r h d m d d th d y Th e gra gs co ta m mbe f v ry sm ll figu es a wh l s f th m d l w th th ho o s of the Th ty Y rs W

that he can no longer have a say in the matter

Another form of absurdity found i dreams f deceased relati es does not express scorn and derision it serves to express the extremest re pudi tion, the repre entat n of a suppressed thou ht which one would like to bel eve the very last thing one would think of Dreams of this kind ppear to be capable of olution only if we remember that a dream makes no distinction between des re and reality For ex ample a man who n rsed his father during his last illness and who felt his death very keenly dreamed some time afterwards the fol lowing senseless d eam *His father was aga n living and conversi g with h m as usual but* (and this was the remarkable thing) *he had* h d d t *know it*

it we dd *that the d e me had e teri ed this w h* While rs g him th son had often wished that his fathe was dead that i he had had th eally compass onate th ught that it would be a good thing f death would at last put an end to his s fferings. Whil b was m urning his fath s d ath even this com pas nate wish became uncon c ous re proach as tho gh t had eally co tributed to shorten th s ck ma s life By the awakeni g of the earliest infantile f lings against his fathe t became po sibl to expre s this re proach as a dream and it was p ecisely be cause of the extreme antithesi between the dream instigat and the day tho ghts that this dream had to ssume s bsurd a form

As g eral thi g th dream of a deceased perso of whom th d eame has been fond conf ont the interpreter with difficult p blem the s luti f which is not alw ys satisfyin Th eas for thi may be sought in the es pecially p ono d amb valence of feeling whi h controls the r lat of th d eame to the dead person. In such dream it is quite usual fo the d eased person to be treated at first as li ing th t dd nly appears that he is d d and in the c ti uat o f th d eam he is once more liv g This has a co fusing ef fect. I t last divin d that this alternat f death and life t ded to epresent the *in d fe en* f th dream (It is ll o e to me h th h al e o dead) Thi indifferen f urse, is not eal b t wished ts purpo is to help the dream r t deny hi ry intense and often contradictory emot onal attitudes and so it becomes the dream representation of his *amb vale ce* F r other dreams in wh ch one meets with deceased persons the following rule will often be a guide If in the dream the dreamer *is not reminded that the dead person* — f n m with the dead eal it he this ident ficat on and rejects the meaning ut the dreamer is de d But I will admit that I feel that dream interpretation is far from having elic ted all the secrets of dreams having this content

III

In the example which I shall now cite I can detect the dream work in the act of purposely manufacturi g an absurdity for which there is no o cas on whatever in the dream material. It is taken from the dream which I had as a re sult of meeti g Count Thun just before go ng — — h l

proached me s tho gh I had worn h m out at the same t me t seems as though I had al eady made with h m a journey that one usually — —

to a remote street i Dornbach. The d iver however did not know the way and s mply kept driving in the mann r of such worthy people unt l I became awa e of the fact and sh wed him the way dulgi g in a few deri s e rem ks From this dr r a train of thought led to the arist cratic personage whom I was to meet later on For the present I will only rem k that o e thing that strikes us mid-dle-class plebeian about the ristocracy is that they lik to put themselves in the dri e s seat. *Does not Count Th gu de the Au tri n car of State?* The next sente c in the d eam h w eve f rs t my b the wh m I thus also *identify w th th* cab-dri r I had refused to go to Italy with him this ye r *(Of cou se I* th d eam unchanged) by ru hing him too quickly from pla e t place d maki g him see too ma y be tiful thi g in a singl day That evening my b oth had accompanied me

Cf F rm lations regardin th Two Principles in Mental Functioning, C lle ted P per IV

to the railway station but shortly before the carriage had reached the Western station of the Metropolitan Railway he had jumped out in order to take the train to Purkersdorf I suggested to him that he might remain with me a little longer as he did not travel to Purkersdorf by the Metropolitan but by the Western Railway This is why in my dream I made in the cab a journey which one usually makes by train In reality however it was the other way about what I told my brother was The distance which you travel on the Metropolitan Railway you could travel in my company on the Western Railway The whole confusion of the dream is therefore due to the fact that in my dream I replace Metropolitan Railway by *cab* which to be sure does good service in brin ing the driver and my brother into conjunction I then elicit from the dream some nonsense which is hardly disentangled by elucidation and which almost constitutes a contradiction of my earlier speech *(Of course I can not drive with you on the railway track itself)* But as I have no excuse whatever for confronting the Metropolitan Railway with the cab I must intentionally have given the whole enigmatical story this peculiar form in my dream

But with what intention? We shall now learn what the absurdity in the dream signifies and the motives which admitted it or created it In this ca e the solution of the mystery is as follows In the dream I need an absurdity and something incomprehensible in connection with *driving* (*Fahren*=riding driving) because in the dream thoughts I have a certain opinion that demands representation One evening at the house of the witty and hospitable lady who appears in another scene of the same dream as the *housekeeper* I heard two riddles which I could not solve As they were known to the other members of the party I presented a somewhat ludicrous figure in my unsucce sful attempts to find the solutions They were two puns turning on the words *Nachkommen* (to obey orders—offspring) and *Vorfahren* (to drive—forefathers ancestry) They ran I believe as follows

> *The coachman does it*
> *At the master's behests*
> *Everyone has it*
> *In the grave it rests*
> *(Vorfah en)*

A confusing detail was that the first halves of the two riddles were identical

> *The coachman does it*
> *At the master's behests*
> *Not everyone has it*
> *In the cradle it rests*
> *(Nachkommen)*

When I saw Count Thun drive up *(vorfahren)* in state and fell into the Figaro like mood in which one finds that the ole merit of s ch aristocratic gentlemen is that they have taken the trouble to be born (to become *Nachkommen)* these two riddles became intermediary thoughts for the dream work As aristocrats may readily be replaced by coachmen and s nce it was once the custom to call a coachman *Herr Schwager* (brother in law) the work of con den ation could involve my brother in the ame representation But the dream thought at work in the background is as follows It is nonsen to be proud of one s ancestors *(Vorfahren)* I would rather be an ancestor *(Vorfahr)* my self On account of this opinion *it is nonsense* we have the nonsense in the dream And now the last riddle in this obscure pas a e of the dream is solved—namely that I have driven before *(vorher gefahren vorgefahren)* with this driver

Thus a dream is made absurd if there occurs in the dream thoughts as one of the elements of the contents the opinion That is nonsense and in general if criticism and derision are the motives of one of the dream er s unconscious trains of thought Hence absurdity is one of the means by which the dream work represents contradiction another means is the inversion of material relation between the dream thoughts and the dream-content another is the employment of the feelin of motor inhibition But the absurdity of a dream is not to be translated by a simple *no* it is intended to reproduce the tendency of the dream thoughts to express laughter or derision simultaneously with the contradiction Only with this intention does the dream work produce anything ridiculous Here again it transforms a part of the latent content into a manifest form

As a matter of fact we have already cited

H th d m wo k p d the th ght wh ch It q l fi s s d cul r d l wh h f B

Her L dw g i t gr er P t
U d gt er t t Ap ll
V hm l d K nd b it t nd fl ht
H lt h werde so t t ll kl

a convincing example of this simulacre of an absurd dream. Th dream (in pre ed wi hout nalysis) of the Wagnerian performan e which lasted until 4 a.m., and in wh ch th orchestra is conducted from a tower etc (ee p 8) is obviously saying It i a crazy world and an insane society He who deserves a thin doesn t get and he who doesn t care for it does get it. In this way the dreamer compares her fate with that of her cousin. The f ct that dreams of a dead f ther were the first to furnish us with examples f bsurdity in dreams is by no means accidental. The condi ions fo the crea ion of absurd dreams are h re grouped together in a typical fashion. The authority proper to the father has an earl evoked the criticism f the child, and the trict demands which he has made ha caused th child, in self-defence t pay particularly close ttent on to every weakness f his f the but the p ety with which th f ther s personality is surrounded in our thoughts especially ft r his death inten sifies the censorship which prevent the expression f this criticism f om becoming conscious

IV

H re is another abs d dream f deceased father

I eive a communic tion f om the town council f my n t e city concerning the cost of accommodation in the h spi al the year 185 This was nec ss ted by seizure f om wh h I was sufferi g I make f of the m t ter for in the first pla e I was ot yet born in 185 and in th se ond plac my f ther to whom th commun on w ght efer is al ready dead I g to h m in the adjoin g oom wher he is lying in b d and t ll h m about T my surpri h members that in the year 185 h was on d k and had to be lock d p or confined It wa when he was working for th firm of T Then you t us d to drink? I ask 1 married soon after? I ckon that I was b rn in 856 wh h eems to me t be imm diat ly afterwards

In the light of th f regoing xposition we shall translate th insistence with whi h thi dream xh b ts ts bsurdities as ure gn f particularly embittered and pa onat polemi in the dream thoughts All the grea er then is ur onishment when we perceive that this dream the polemic is wa ed penly and that my f the is denoted a th person who made h laughing-stock. S ch frankness seems to contradict ur assumption of a censor sh p co tro in the dream work. The explana t on is that here the father is only an i ter posed figure while the quarrel is really with anoth r person who ppears in the dream only in a le allu on Whereas a dream u ually treats of revolt against other persons behind whom the father is concealed here it is the other way abou the father serves as th man of traw to represent another and hence the dream dares to co cern i self openly w h a person who is usually hallowed because th re is present the certa n knowledge that he is n t in reality intended W learn of this condition of affairs by cons dering the occa on of the dream It was dreamed after I had heard that an olde colleague whose judgment was con dered infallible had expressed disapproval and as onishment on hearing tha one of my pa ents had already been undergoing psycho-analyt c treatmen at my ha d for f e years. Th introductory sentences of the dream al ude in transpare tly di guised man er to the fact that this colleague had f a time taken over the duties whi h my f ther could no longer perform (statement of expenses accommoda tion n the hosp tal) and when our friendly re lations began to al er for th worse I was thrown into the same emotional conf t as th t whi h arises in the case of a m nder st ding between fath r and son (by reason of the part pla ed by th father and hi ea lier funct ons) The dream thoughts now b tterly resent the reproach that I am not making better progress which xtends tself from the treatment of this patient t other things. Does my colleague know an one who can get on any faster? Does he not know that cond tions of this sort are usually incurable and last f life? What are four or five years in compari on to a whole lifetime especially when life has been made so much ea er for th patient during the treatment?

The mpression of absurdity in this dream is brought about largely by the f ct that sen t ces f m diff rent di is ons of the dream th ughts ar strung tog ther without any reconcilin trans tion. Thus the sentence *I go to h m in th djoining om* etc., lea s the subject f om which the preceding sentences are taken and faithfully reprod ces the ci cum tances under which I told my father that I was engaged t be married Thus the dream s trying t remind m of the ob dis t rested ness which the old man showed t that tim and to co trast this with the conduct f an

other newly introduced person I now perceive that the dream is allowed to make fun of my father because in the dream thoughts in the full recognition of his merits he is held up as an example to others It is in the nature of every censorship that one is permitted to tell untruths about forbidden things rather than the truth The next sentence to the effect that my father remembers that he was *once drunk* and was *locked up* in consequence contains nothing that really relates to my father any more The person who is screened by him is here a no less important personage than the great Meynert in whose footsteps I followed with such veneration and whose attitude towards me after a short period of favouritism changed into one of undisguised hostility The dream recalls to me his own statement that in his youth he had at one time formed the habit of *intoxicating himself with chloroform* with the result that he had to *e it*

A

... r ference to masculine hysteria the existence of which he denied and when I visited him during his last illness and asked him how he felt he described his condition at some length and concluded with the words You know I have always been one of the prettiest cases of masculine hysteria Thus to my satisfaction and to my astonishment he admitted what he so long and so stubbornly denied But the fact that in this scene of my dream I can use my father to screen Meynert is explained not by any discovered analogy between the two persons but by the fact that it is the brief yet perfectly adequate representation of a conditional sentence in the dream thoughts which if fully expanded would read as follows Of course if I belonged to the second generation if I were the son of a professor or a privy councillor I should have pro ressed more rapidly In my dream I make my father a professor and a privy councillor The most obvious and most annoying absurdity of the dream lies in the treatment of the date 1851 which seems to me to be indistinguishable from 1856 *as thougl a d fference of five years meant notl ing whatever* But it is just this one of the dream thoughts that requires expression Four or five years—that is precisely the length of time during which I enjoyed the support of the colleague mentioned at the outset but it is also the duration of time I kept my fiancee waiting before I married her and by a coincidence that is eagerly exploited by the dream thoughts it is also the time I have kept my oldest patient waitin for a complete cure What are five years? ask the dream thou hts *That is no time at all to me that isn t worth consideration* I have time enough ahead of me and just as what you wouldn't believe came true at last so I shall accomplish this also Moreover the number 51 when considered apart from the number of the century is determined in yet another manner and in an opposite sense for which reason it occurs several times over in the dream It is the age at which man seems particularly expo ed to danger the age at which I have seen colleagues die suddenly amon them one who had been appointed a few days earlier to a profes orship for which he had lon been waiting

V

Another absurd dream which plays with figures

An acquaintance of mine Herr M has been attacked in an essay by no less a person than Goethe and as we all think with unjustifiable vehemence Herr M is of course crushed by this attack He complains of it bitterly at a dinner party but his veneration for Goethe has not suffe ed as a result of this personal experience I try to elucidate the temporal relations a l ttle as they seem improbable to me Goethe died in 183 since his attack upon M must of course have taken place earl r M was at the time quite a young man It seems plausible to me that l e was 18 years old But I do not know exactly what the date of the present year is and so the whole calculation lapses into obscurity The attack by the way is contained in Goethe s well known essay on Nature

We shall soon find the means of justifying the nonsense of this dream Herr M with whom I became acquainted *at a d nner party* had recently asked me to examine his brother who showed signs of *gene al paralysis* The conjecture was right the painful thing about this visit was that the patient gave his brother away by alluding to his *youthful pranks* thou h our conversation gave him no occasion to do so I had asked the patient to tell me the year of his birth and had repeatedly got him to make trifling calculations in order to show the weakness of his memory—which tests by the way he passed quite well Now I can see that I behave like a paralytic in the dream (*I do not know exactly wl at the date of the present year is*) Other material of the dream is drawn from another recent source The editor of a medical

periodical, a friend of mine had accepted for his paper a very unf vourab e crush g rev ew of the L t book f m Be lin friend, Fl, the critic being a very you hful reviewer who was not very competent t pass j dgment I thought I had a right to interfere and called the edi o t account he greatly regretted his acceptance of the review but he would not promise a v redress I thereupon broke off my relations with the periodical, and in my letter of resi nation I expressed the hope that *our personal relations would no suffer* as a result of the in cident. The third source of this dream is an ac count given by a female patient—it was fresh in my memory t the time—of the psychosis of her brother who had fallen in o a frenzy cry ing *Nature Nature* The p ysicians in at tendance thought that the cry was derived from a reading of Goethe s beautiful *essay* and that it pointed to the patient s overwork in the study of natural philosophy I th ught, rather of the sexual meaning in which even our less cultured peopl use the word *Nature* and the f ct that the unfortunate man afterwards mu tilated his genitals seems to how that I was not far wrong Eighteen years was the age of this patient t the tim f this a cess of frenzy

If I add, further that the book f my so severely criticized friend (One asks oneself whether the uthor or oneself is crazy had been the opinion f another criti) treats of the *temporal cond ions* f life d refers the duration f Goethe lif t th mul ple f a number significant from the b logical point of view it will readily be admitted that in my dream I am putting myself in my friend s place. (*I try t el cid th t mporal lations a lit tle*) But I behave like paretic, and the dream revels in absurdity This means that the dream thoughts say ironically Naturally he is the fool, t lunatic, and you are the clever people who know bette Perhaps however it is the other way bout Now *th other way about* is abundantly *represented in my dream,* inas much as Goethe has tt cked the young man, which is bsurd, while t is perfectly possible even today f young fellow t ttack the imm rtal Goeth and inasmuch as I reckon *from the year f Goethe' d ath* while I mad the paretı reckon from the *year of his birth*

But I ha e further promised t show that no dream is inspired by ther than egoistical mo tives. Accordingly I must ccount for the f ct that in this dream I mak my friend's cause my own, and put myself in his place My criti cal conv ction in waking life would not justify my d g so Now the story of the eigh een year-o d patient, a d th divergent interpreta tions of his cry *Nature* all de to the fact that I ha e put m self in o oppos tion t the maj rity of phys cians by claiming a sexual aetiology for the psychoneuroses I may say to myself You will meet with the ame ki d of crit cism as our friend indeed you ha e al ready done so to some extent so that I may now replace the *he* in th dream-thoughts by *we* "Yes, you are right we two are the foo s That *mea res ap ar s* clea ly hown by the mention of the hort incomparably beautiful essay of Goethe s for it was a popular lecture on this essay which induced me to tud the natural ciences when I l ft the G mnasium, and was till undecided as to my future

VI

I have to show that yet another dream in which my ego does not appear is none the less egoistic On p 49 I referred to a h rt dream in which Professor M sa s *My son the myopic* and I stated that this was only a preliminary dream, preceding another in which I play a part. Here is the main dream previ ously omitted, which challenges us to explain its absurd and unintelligib e w rd formation.

On account of something or other that is ha pening in Rom it is n es ary for the chil dren to fle en thus they do The scene is then laid before a g te a double g te in the ancient style (the Porta Romana in Siena as I real ize wh e I am dreaming) I am si ti g on the edge of a well and I am greatly depr ssed I am almost weeping A woman—a nurse a nun —brings out the two boys nd hands them over t their father who is ot myself The elder s distinctly my eldest son but I do not see the face f th other boy The woman asks the eld st boy for a parting kiss She is remarkab e for a ed ose The boy refuse her the kiss but say to her extending her his hand in part ing Auf Geseres and t both of us (or to one f us) Auf Ungeseres. I have the ide th t this ind cates a pr ference

This dream is built upon a tangle of thoughts ind ced by a play I saw t the theatre called *Das eue Ghetto (The New Ghet o)* Th Jew ish question, anxiety as to the future f my children, who cannot be given f therland anx ty as to ed cating them so that they may enjoy the privileges f citizens—all these fea tures may easily be recognized in the com panying dream thoughts.

By the wat rs of Babylon we sat down and

wept Siena like Rome is famous for its beautiful fountains In the dream I have to find some sort of substitute for Rome (cf p 217) from among localities which are known to me *Near the Porta Romana of Siena* we saw a large bri htly lit building which we learned was the *Manicomio* the insane asylum Shortly before the dream I had heard that a co religionist had been forced to resign a position which he had ecured with *great effort in a State* asylum

Our interest is aroused by the speech *Auf Geseres* where one might expect from the situation continued throughout the dream *Auf Wiedersehen (Au revoir)* and by its quite meaningless antithesis *Auf Ungeseres* (*Un* is a prefix meaning not)

According to information received from Hebrew scholars *Geseres* is a genuine Hebrew word derived from the verb *goiser* and may best be rendered by ordained sufferings fated disaster From its employment in the Jewish *jargon one would take it to mean* wailing and lamentation *Ungeseres* is a coinage of my own and is the first to attract my attention but for the present it baffles me The little ob ervation at the end of the dream—that *Ungeseres* indicates an advantage over *Geseres*—opens the way to the associations and therewith to understanding This relation holds good in the case of caviar the *unsalted kind* is more highly prized than the salted Caviar to the general — noble passions Herein lies concealed a jesting allusion to a member of my household of whom I hope—for she is younger *than I—that she will watch over the future of* my children this too agrees with the fact *that another member of my household our* worthy nurse is clearly indicated by the nurse (or nun) of the dream But a connecting link is wanting between the pair *salted—unsalted* and *Geseres—Ungeseres* This is to be found in *gesauert* and *ungesauert* (*leavened* and *unleavened) In their flight or exodus from Egypt* the children of Israel had not time to allow th ir dough to become leavened and in commemoration of this event they eat unleavened bread at Passover to this day Here too I can find room for the sudden association which occurred to me in this part of the analysis I remembered how we my friend from Berlin and myself had strolled about the streets of Breslau a city which was strange to us during the last days of Easter A little girl asked me the way to a certain street *I had to tell her* that I did not know it I then remarked to my friend I hope that later on in life the child will how more perspicacity in electin the persons whom she allows to direct her Shortly afterwards a sign caught my eye Dr *Herod* consulting hours I said to myself I hope this colleague does not happen to be a children s specialist Meanwhile my friend had been developing his views on the biological significance of *bilateral symmetry* and had begun a sentence with the words *If we had only one* eye in the middle of the forehead like Cyclops This leads us to the speech of the professor in the preliminary dream *My son the myopic* And now I have been led to the *chief source for Geseres* Many years ago when this son of Professor M s who is today an independent thinker was still sitting on his school bench he contracted an affection of the eye which according to the doctor gave some cause for anxiety He expressed the opinion that so long as it was confined *to one eye* it was of no great significance but that if it should extend to the other eye *it would be* serious The affection subsided in the one eye without leaving any ill effects shortly afterwards however the same symptoms did actually appear in the other eye The boy s *terrified mother immediately* summoned the physician to her distant home in the country But the doctor was now of a different opinion (took *the other side) What sort of Geseres is this you are making?* he asked the mother impatiently *If one side got well the other will too* And so it turned out

And now as to the connection between this *and myself and my family* The *school bench* upon which Professor M s son learned his first *lessons has become the property of* my eldest son it was given to him by the boy s mother and it is into his mouth that I put the words of farewell in the dream One of the wishes that may be connected with this tranference may now be readily guessed This school bench *is intended by its construction* to guard the child from becoming *shortsighted* and *one sided* Hence *myopia* (and behind it the Cyclops) and the discussion about *bilateralism* The fear of one sidedness has a twofold significance it might mean not only physical one sidedness but intellectual one sidedness also Does it not seem as though the scene in the dream with all its craziness were contradicting precisely this anxiety? When *on the one hand* the boy has spoken his words of farewell, *on the other hand he calls out the very* opposite as though to establish an equilibrium He is

acting as it were in obedience to bilateral symmetry

Thus a dream frequently has the profoundest meaning in the places where it seems most absurd. In all ages those who have had something to say and have been unable to say it without danger to themselves have gladly donned the cap and bells He for whom the forbidden saying was intended was more likely to tolerate it if he was able to laugh at it and to flatter himself with the comment that what he disliked was obviously absurd. Dreams behave in real life as does the prince in the play who is obliged to pretend to be a madman, and hence we may say of dreams what Hamlet said of himself, substituting an unintelligible jest for the actual truth "I am but mad north-north-west when the wind is southerly I know a hawk from a handsaw" (Act II, sc. ii)

Thus, my solution of the problem of absurdity in dreams is that the dream thoughts are never absurd—at least, not those of the dreams of sane persons—and that the dream work produces absurd dreams, and dreams with individually absurd elements when the dream-thoughts contain criticism, ridicule and derision, which have to be given expression My next concern is to show that the dream work is exhausted by the co-operation of the three factors enumerated—and of a fourth which has still to be mentioned—that it does no more than translate the dream-thoughts observing the four conditions prescribed and that the question whether the mind goes to work in dreams with all its intellectual faculties, or with only part of them is wrongly stated, and does not meet the actual state of affairs. But since there are plenty of dreams in which judgments are passed, criticisms made, and facts recognized in which astonishment at some individual element of the dream appears, and explanations are attempted and arguments adduced, I must meet the objections deriving from these occurrences by the citation of selected examples.

My answer is as follows *Everything in dreams which occurs as the apparent functioning of the critical faculty is to be regarded not as the intellectual performance of the dream-* — *the substance of the* ... *form* ... *than* ... *which* are passed upon the dream as ... is ... bered *after waking* and the feelings which are aroused by the reproduction of the dream belong largely to the latent dream-content, and must be fitted into place in the interpretation of the dream.

1 One striking example of this has already been given. A female patient does not wish to relate her dream *because it was too vague* She saw a person in the dream, and does not know *whether it was her husband or her father* Then follows a second dream fragment, in which there occurs a *manure pail* with which the following reminiscence is associated. As a young housewife she once declared jestingly in the presence of a young male relative who frequented the house that her next business would be to procure a new manure-pail Next morning one was sent to her but it was filled with lilies ... served to ... own ... e find ... of a story heard in youth namely that a girl had given birth to a child and that *it was not clear who was the father* The dream representation here overlaps into the waking thought, and allows one of the elements of the dream thoughts to be represented by a judgment formed in the waking state, of the whole dream.

2 A similar case One of my patients has a dream which strikes him as being an interesting one for he says to himself immediately after waking "*I must tell that to the doctor*" The dream is analysed and shows the most distinct allusion to an affair in which he had become involved during the treatment and of which he had decided to *tell me nothing*

3 Here is a third example from my own experience

I go to the hospital with P through a neighbourhood in which there are houses and gardens Thereupon I have an idea that I have

This dream furnishes a good example in support of the universally valid doctrine that dreams of the same night even though they are separated in the ...

The German expression is equivalent to our saying "I am not responsible for that," "That is not my funeral" "That" not due to my own efforts.—TR.
The injunction ... resolve already contained in the dream "*I must tell that to the doctor*" when it occurs in dreams during psycho-analytic treatment, is constantly accompanied by a great resistance to confessing the dream and is not infrequently followed by the forgetting of the dream.

already seen this locality several times in my dreams I do not know my way very well P shows me a way which leads round a corner to a restaurant (indoor) here I ask for Frau Doni and I hear that she is living at the back of the house in a small room with three children I go there and on the way I meet an undefined person with my two little girls After I have been with them for a while I take them with me A sort of reproach against my wife for having left them there

On waking I am conscious of a great *satisfaction* whose motive seems to be the fact that I shall now learn from the analysis what is meant by *I have already dreamed of this* But the analysis of the dream tells me nothing about this it shows me only that the satisfaction belongs to the latent dream content and not to a judgment of the dream It is *satisfaction concerning the fact that I have had children by my marriage* P s path through life and my own ran parallel for a time now he has outstripped me both socially and financially but his marriage has remained childless Of this the two occasions of the dream give proof on complete analysis On the previous day I had read in the newspaper the obituary notice of a certain Frau *Dona A—y* (which I turn into Doni) who had died in childbirth I was told by my wife that the dead woman had been nursed by the same midwife whom she herself had employed at the birth of our two youngest boys The name *Dona* had caught my attention for I had recently met with it for the first time in an English novel The other occasion for the dream may be found in the date on which it was dreamed this was the night before the birthday of my eldest boy who it seems is poetically gifted

4 The same satisfaction remained with me after waking from the absurd dream that my father after his death had played a political role among the Magyars It is motivated by the persistence of the feeling which accompanied the last sentence of the dream *I remember that on his deathbed he looked so like Garibaldi and* I am glad *that it has really come true (Followed by a forgotten continuation)* I can now supply from the analysis what should fill this gap It is the mention of my second boy to whom I have given the baptismal name of an eminent historical personage who attracted me greatly during my boyhood especially during my stay in England I had to wait for a year before I could fulfil my intention of using this name if the next child should be a son and with great *satisfaction* I greeted him by this name as soon as he was born It is easy to see how the fathers suppressed desire for greatness is in his thoughts, transferred to his children one is inclined to believe that this is one of the ways by which the suppression of this desire (which becomes necessary in the course of life) is effected The little fellow won his right to inclusion in the text of this dream by virtue of the fact that the same accident—that of soiling his clothes (quite pardonable in either a child or in a dying person)—had occurred to him Compare with this the allusion *Stuhlrichter* (presiding judge) and the wish of the dream to stand before one s children *great* and *undefiled*

5 If I should now have to look for examples of judgments or expressions of opinion which remain in the dream itself and are not continued in or transferred to our waking thoughts my task would be greatly facilitated were I to take my examples from dreams which have already been cited for other purposes. The dream of Goethe s attack on Herr M appears to contain quite a number of acts of judgment *I try to elucidate the temporal relations a little as they seem improbable to me* Does not this look like a critical impulse directed against the nonsensical idea that Goethe should have made a literary attack upon a young man of my acquaintance? *It seems plausible to me that he was 18 years old* That sounds quite like the result of a calculation, though a silly one and the *I do not know exactly what is the date of the present year* would be an example of uncertainty or doubt in dreams

But I know from analysis that these acts of judgment which seem to have been performed in the dream for the first time admit of a different construction in the light of which they become indispensable for interpreting the dream while at the same time all absurdity is avoided With the sentence *I try to elucidate the temporal relations a little* I put myself in the place of my friend who is actually trying to elucidate the temporal relations of life The sentence then loses its significance as a judgment which objects to the nonsense of the previous sentences The interposition *Which seems improbable to me* belongs to the following *It seems plausible to me* With almost these identical words I replied to the lady who

A s bject wh ch has bee t ly discus ed i rece t vol mes f th *Rev Phil ph q* (p m ne a in d eams)

tion of her brother's illness. It seems improbable to me that the cry of "Nature, Nature," was in any way connected with Goethe; it seems much more plausible to me that it has the sexual significance which is known to you. In this case it is true the judgment was expressed, but in reality, not in a dream, and on an occasion which is remembered and utilized by the dream-thoughts. The dream-content appropriates this judgment like any other fragment of the dream-thoughts.

The number 18 with which the judgment in the dream is meaninglessly connected still retains a trace of the context from which the real judgment was taken. Lastly, the *I do not know exactly when is the date of the present year* is intended for no other purpose than that of my identification with the paralytic, in examining whom this particular fact was established.

In the solution of these apparent acts of judgment in dreams, it will be well to keep in mind the above-mentioned rule of interpretation, which tells us that we must disregard the coherence which is established in the dream between its constituent parts as an unessential phenomenon, and that every dream-element must be taken separately and traced back to its source. The dream is a compound, which for the purposes of investigation must be broken up into its elements. On the other hand, we become alive to the fact that there is a psychic force which expresses itself in our dreams and establishes this apparent coherence; that is, the material obtained by the dream-work undergoes a secondary elaboration. Here we have the manifestations of that psychic force which we shall presently take into consideration as the fourth of the factors which co-operate in dream formation.

6. Let us now look for other examples of acts of judgment in the dreams which have already been cited. In the absurd dream about the communication from the town council, I ask the question, *You married soon after?* *I reckon that I was born in 1856, which seems to me to be directly afterwards.* This certainly takes the form of an inference. My father married shortly after his attack, in the year 1855; I am the eldest son, born in 1856; so this is correct. But we know that this inference has in fact been falsified by the wish-fulfilment, and that the sentence which dominates the dream-thoughts is as follows: *Four or five years—that is no time at all—that need not be counted.* But every part of this chain of reasoning may be seen to be otherwise determined from the dream-thoughts as regards both its content and its form. It is the patient of whose patience my colleague complains who intends to marry immediately the treatment is ended. The manner in which I converse with my father in this dream reminds me of an *examination* or *cross-examination*, and thus of a university professor who was in the habit of compiling a complete docket of personal data when entering his pupils' names: *You were born when?—1856.—Patre?*—Then the applicant gave the Latin form of the baptismal name of the father and we students assumed that the Hofrat drew inferences from the father's name which the baptismal name of the candidate would not always have justified. Hence the *drawing of inferences* in the dream would be merely the repetition of the *drawing of inferences* which appears as a scrap of material in the dream-thoughts. From this we learn something new. If an inference occurs in the dream-content, it assuredly comes from the dream-thoughts; but it may be contained in these as a fragment of remembered material, or it may serve as the logical connective of a series of dream-thoughts. In any case, an inference in the dream represents an inference taken from the dream-thoughts.[1]

It will be well to continue the analysis of this dream at this point. With the inquisition of the professor is associated the recollection of an index (in my time published in Latin) of the university students; and further, the recollection of *my own course of study*. The *five years* allowed for the study of medicine were, as usual, too little for me. I worked unconcernedly for some years longer; my acquaintances regarded me as a loafer, and doubted whether I should get through. Then, suddenly, I decided to take my examinations, and I got through *in spite of the postponement*. A fresh confirmation of the dream-thoughts with which I defiantly meet my critics: "Even though you won't believe it, because I am taking my time, I shall reach the *conclusion* (German, *Schluss* = end, conclusion, *inference*). It has often happened like that."

In its introductory portion, this dream contains several sentences which, we can hardly deny, are of the nature of an argument. And this argument is not at all absurd; it might

[1] These results correct, in several points, my earlier statements concerning the representation of logical relations (p. 55). These described the general procedure of the dream-work, but overlooked its most delicate and most careful operations.

just as well occur in my waking thoughts *In my dream I make fun of the communication from the town council for in the first place I was not yet born in 1851 and in the second place my father to whom it might refer is already dead* Not only is each of these statements perfectly correct in itself but they are the very arguments that I should employ if I received such a communication We know from the foregoing analysis (p 309) that this dream has sprung from the soil of deeply embittered and scornful dream thoughts and if we may also assume that the motive of the censorship is a very powerful one we shall understand that the dream thought has every occasion to create *a flawless refutation of an unreasonable demand* in accordance with the pattern contained in the dream thoughts But the analysis shows that in this case the dream work has not been required to make a free imitation but that material taken from the dream thoughts had to be employed for the purpose It is as though in an algebraic equation there should occur besides the figures plus and minus signs and symbols of powers and of roots and as though someone in copying this equation without understanding it should copy both the symbols and the figures and mix them all up together The two arguments may be traced to the following material It is painful to me to think that many of the hypotheses upon which I base my psychological solution of the psychoneuroses will arouse scepticism and ridicule when they first become known For instance I shall have to assert that impressions of the second year of life and even the first leave an enduring trace upon the emotional life of subsequent neuropaths and that these impressions —although greatly distorted and exaggerated by the memory—may furnish the earliest and profoundest basis of a hysterical symptom Patients to whom I explain this at a suitable moment are wont to parody my explanation by offering to search for reminiscences of the period *when they were not yet born* My disclosure of the unsuspected part played by the father in the earliest sexual impulses of female patients may well have a similar reception (Cf the discussion on p 244) Nevertheless it is my well founded conviction that both doctrines are true In confirmation of this I recall certain examples in which the death of the father occurred when the child was very young and subsequent incidents otherwise inexplicable proved that the child had unconsciously preserved recollections of the person who had so early gone out of its life I know that both my assertions are based upon *inferences* whose validity will be attacked It is the doing of the wish fulfilment that precisely the material of those inferences which I fear will be contested, should be utilized by the dream work for establishing *incontestable conclusions*

7 In one dream which I have hitherto only touched upon astonishment at the subject emerging is distinctly expressed at the outset.

The elder Brucke must have set me some task or other strangely enough it relates to the preparation of the lower part of my own body the pelvis and legs which I see before me as though in the dissecting room but without feeling the absence of part of my body and without a trace of horror Louise N is standing beside me and helps me in the work The pelvis is eviscerated now the upper now the lower aspect is visible and the two aspects are commingled Large fleshy red tubercles are visible (which even in the dream make me think of haemorrhoids) Also something lying over them had to be carefully picked off it looked like crumpled tinfoil Then I was once more in possession of my legs and I made a journey through the city but I took a cab (as I was tired) To my astonishment the cab drove into the front door of a house which opened and allowed it to pass into a corridor which was broken off at the end and eventually led on into the open Finally I wandered through changing landscapes with an Alpine guide who carried my things He carried me for some distance out of consideration for my tired legs The ground was swampy we went along the edge people were sitting on the ground like Red Indians or gypsies among them a girl Until then I had made my way along on the slippery ground in constant astonishment that I was so well able to do so after making the preparation At last we came to a small wooden house with an open window at one end Here the guide set me down and laid two planks which stood in readiness on the window sill so as to bridge the chasm which had to be crossed from the window Now I grew really alarmed about my legs Instead of the expected crossing I saw two grown up men lying upon wooden benches which were fixed on the walls of the hut and something like two

St [illegible] ll [illegible] *St* [illegible] th [illegible] s system of [illegible] p 3 [illegible]

Th[illegible] pl[illegible]ce [illegible] th [illegible] d [illegible] my [illegible] t[illegible] wh[illegible]re th[illegible] pe[illegible] mb[illegible] t[illegible] th [illegible] th [illegible] [illegible] lso [illegible] th[illegible]rw[illegible]se hype[illegible] [illegible] ed several times o[illegible]

sleeping child en next to them as though not the p... ks but the children were intended to make the crossing possible I awoke w th terri fied th ghts

Anyo e wh has been duly impressed by the extensi e nature of d eam-condensation will readily imagine what a number of pages the exhaustive analysis of this dream would fill. F rtunately for the context I shall make this dream only the one example of ast nishment in dre..ms which makes its appearance in the parenthetical remark, *st angely enough* Let us con. der the occas on of the dream It is a

journey t an undiscovered country a place almost untrodden by the foot of man. Accord ing to a note which I find in my record of the dream, the fatigue in my legs was a real sensa tio from thos days Probably a weary mood corresponded with this fat gue a d the do bt in. question How much farther will m legs carry me? In *She* the end of the ad enture is that the hero e meets her death in the mys teri us cent al fire instead of winning immor tality for herself and for others Some related anxi ty has mi takably arisen in the dream thoughts The *wooden house* is assuredly al o

Haggard. A *st a ge* book, but full ot h dden meanin I try to explain "the eternal fem nine the imm rtality of our emoti ns— Here she interrupts me I know that book already Haven t you something of your own? "No my own immortal wo ks are still unwritten.

Well when are you going to publish your so-ca..ed latest revelations wh ch you prom sed us even we should be able t read? she asks rath sa castically I ow percei e that she is a m uthp ec for someon else, and I m s lent I think f the effort t c t me to m ke public even my work on dreams in which I had to surrende so m ch f my own intimate ature (The best that you know you can t tell the boys) The p epa t on of *my own body* which I am rdered to make in my dream is thus the *self-analysis* invol ed in the communi cati f my dreams The elde Brucke ery properly finds place here *in the first years* f my scientific w k t happened that I eglect d the publication of a certain di covery until his insistence f ced me to publish it. But the furthe trains f th ht p ceedin from my con ersation with Loui e N go too deep to bec m conscious they de tracked by way f the materi l whi h has been incidentally awakened in me by the m on of R d r Hagga d *Sh* Th comment *st angely enough* pplies t this book, and to anoth by the same uth *The H art f the World* and m rou lements f th dream are taken from these two fanta ti r mances. Th swampy ground over which the dream is rried the chasm which has to be crossed by means f planks, com from *She* th Red Indian the girl and the wooden house from *Th H art of th World* I both nov ls a woman th l d and both t t f peril us wanderings *Sh* has to do with an dvent rous

has achieved its masterp ece I was once in a gra e but it was an empty Etruscan grave near Orvieto—a narrow chamber with two stone benches on the walls upon which were lying the skeletons of two adults The interi r of the wooden house n the dream looks exactly like this gra e except that stone has been re placed by wood The dream seems to ..ay If *you must already sojourn in your grave* let it be this Etruscan gra e and by means of this interpolation it transforms the most mournful expectation nto one that is really to be de-sired Unf rtun tely as we shall learn, the dream is able t cha ge to its opposite only th idea compa ying an affect but not al ways th affect itself Hence I awake with *thoughts of terror* even fter the idea that perhap my children will achieve what has been denied to their father has fo ced its way to *represe tatio a fresh allus on to the strange* romance in which the identity of a charact r is preserved through a series of ge erations cover in two thousand years

8 In the context of an ther dream there is a imilar express on of asto ishme t at what is experienced in the dream This however is nn cted with u h a striking f r fetched a d almo t intellectual attempt at explanation that f only o thi ccount I h uld ha e to subject th whol dream to analysis even if it did not possess two othe interesting fea tures On the ni ht of the eighteenth of July I wa tra elli g o the South rn Railway and in my sleep I heard someo e c ll out *H llth rn 10 m t s" I mmed tely th nk f Holo thuria—of natural hist ry museum—th t h e is place where valiant men h e r nly sist d the d m nat on f thei overlo d— Y s th cou er-r format n n Austria!—A th gh t were pl ce Styria or th Tyr l*

Now I see indistinctly a small museum in which the relics or the acquisitions of these men are preserved I should like to leave the train but I hesitate to do so There are women with fruit on the platform they squat on the ground and in that position invitingly hold up their baskets—I hesitated in doubt as to whether we have time but here we are still stationary—I am suddenly in another compartment in which the leather and the seats are so narrow that one s spine directly touches the back I am surprised at this but I may have changed carriages while asleep Several people among them an English brother and sister a row of books plainly on a shelf on the wall—I see The Wealth of Nations *and* Matter and Motion *(by Maxwell) thick books bound in brown linen The man asks his sister about a book of Schiller s whether she has forgotten it These books seem to belong now to me now to them At this point I wish to join in the conversation in order to confirm or support what is being said* I wake sweating all over because all the windows are shut The train stops at *Marburg*

While writing down the dream a part of it occurs to me which my memory wished to pass over *I tell the brother and sister (in English) referring to a certain book It is from but I correct myself It is by The man remarks to his sister He said it correctly*

The dream begins with the name of a station which seems to have almost waked me For this name which was *Marburg* I substitute *Hollthurn* The fact that I heard Marburg the first or perhaps the second time it was called out is proved by the mention of Schiller in the dream he was born in Marburg though not the Styrian Marburg Now on this occasion although I was travelling first class I was doing so under very disagreeable circumstances The train was overcrowded in my compartment I had come upon a lady and gentleman who seemed very fine people and had not the good breeding or did not think it worth while to conceal their displeasure at my intrusion My polite greeting was not returned and although they were sitting side by side (with their backs to the en ine) the woman before my eyes hastened to pre-empt the eat opposite her and next to the window with her umbrella the door was immediately closed, and pointed remarks about the opening of windows were exchanged Probably I was quickly recognized as a person hungry for fresh air It was a hot ni ht and the atmo phere of the compartment closed on both sides, was almost suffocating My experience as a traveller leads me to believe that such inconsiderate and overbearing conduct marks people who have paid for their tickets only partly or not at all When the conductor came round and I presented my dearly bought ticket the lady exclaimed haughtily and almost threateningly

My husband has a pass She was an imposing looking person with a discontented expression in age not far removed from the autumn of feminine beauty the man had no chance to say anything he sat there motionless I tried to sleep In my dream I take a terrible revenge on my disagreeable travelling companions no one would suspect what insults and humiliations are concealed behind the disjointed fragments of the first half of the dream After this need has been satisfied the second wi h to exchange my compartment for another makes itself felt The dream changes its scene so often, and without making the slightest objection to such changes that it would not have seemed at all remarkable had I at once from my memories replaced my travelling companions by more agreeable persons But here was a case where something or other opposes the change of scene and finds it necessary to explain it. How did I suddenly get into another compartment? I could not positively remember having chan ed carriages So there was only one explanation *I must have left the carriage while asleep*—an unusual occurrence examples of which however are known to neuropathologists We know of persons who undertake railway journeys in a crepuscular state without betraying their abnormal condition by any sign whatever until at some stage of their journey they come to themselves and are surprised by the gap in their memory Thus while I am still dreaming I declare my own case to be such a case of *automatisme ambulatoire*

Analysis permits of another solution The attempt at explanation which so surprises me if I am to attribute it to the dream work is not original but is copied from the neurosis of one of my patients I have already spoken

Th descr pt s t i t ll g bl t mys lf b t I f ll w th p pl f p d g th d m thos wo d wh ch oc t m wh le I m w u g t d wn Th word g ts lf s pa t f th dre m r p tatio

Sch lle was ot born i e of th *Marb g* b t i *M b h* as ry Ge m h lb y k w d I myself k w Th aga f th se rs (cf p 2 8) wh ch eep s b t i t f te t o al fal ficat a th plac d wh h I h e de ou ed t expl i *Th P ych p th l gy of Everyd y L fe*

in another chapter of a highl cultured and kindly man who began hortly after the death of his pare ts t accuse himself of murderous tendencies, and wh was distressed by the pretendencies, and which he had to take to customary mea res which he had to take to secure himself against these tendencies His was a case f severe obsess onal ideas with full insight. To begin with it was painful to him to walk through the street s he was obsessed by the necessity of ccounting for all the per sons he met he had to know whither they had disappeared if one of them suddenly luded his pursuing glance h was left with a feeling f distress and the dea that he might possibly have made away with the man. Behind this bsessive idea was co cealed, amon other things, a Cain-phantasy for all men are brothers. Owing to the impos bility of accomplishing this task, he ga e up going for walks, and spent his life mprisoned within his four walls. But reports f murders which had been c mmitted in the world out de were constantly reaching hi room by way of the news papers and his conscienc tormented him with the doubt that he might be the murdere f r whom the police were looking The certainty that he had n t left the house f r weeks protected him fo tim gainst these a cusations until on day there dawned upon him the possibility that *he m ght ha left his h us while in an unconscious st e* and might thus ha e committed murder with t knowing anything bout it. From that time wards he locked his front door and ga e the key to his old housekeeper trictly f b dding her to give t int hi hands even if he demanded t.

This then, is the origin of th ttempted explanation that I may have changed carriages whil in an un nscious ta e it has been taken into th dr am ready mad from the material f the dream thou hts and is evidently int ded t dentify me with th person of my patient My m mory of this patient was awake ed by natural a ociation. My last night journey had been mad few weeks ea lier in his mpany H was cured, and w wer g ing int the country togethe to his relatives who had sent f m as we had a ompartment to ourselve we left all the window open thr ugh out the night, and f as l as I remained wak we had most resting onversation.

dream really resolves itself into a wanton phantasy to the effect that my two elderly tra elling compa ons had acted o unci lly towards me because my arrival on the scene had prevented them from exchangin ki es and embraces d ring the n ght as they had intended. This phantasy however goes back to an early incident of my childhood when probably mpelled by sexual curios ty I had intruded into my parents bedroom and was driven thence by my father s emphatic command.

I think it would be superfluous to mul iply such examples. They would all confirm what we have learned from those already cited namely that an act of judgment in a dream is m rely the repetition of n original act of judgment in the dream thoughts In most cases t is an unsu tabl repetition fitted into an inappropriate con ext occas onally however as in our last example it is so artfully applied that it may alm t give one the impres on of h dream

tio of dreams yet endeavours to fuse th dream-elements f different origin into a flawless and significa t whole. We consider it necessary h wever first of ll to consider the expressions of ffect which appear in dreams and to c mpare these with the affects which analysis disco ers in the dream thoughts

H. *The Affects in Dreams*

A shrewd remark of Strick r s called our attention to th fact that the expres o s of affects in dreams cannot be d posed of in the contemptuous fashion in which we are wo t to shake off the dream-content after we ha e waked. 'If I am afraid of robbers in my dreams the robbers to be sure re imaginary but th fear of them s real and the s me thin is true if I rej e n my dream. A c rd ing to the testim ny of r feelings, an affect experi ced in a dream is in no way inferior to o e f lik intens ty experienced in waki g life and the dream presses ts claim to be accepted part of our real psychic experi nces by virtu of ts aff ct e rather than ts deat onal co tent In th wakin tate we do not put the bef re the th r s nce w d n t kn w h w to evaluate an affect psychically except in conn ction with an deational co tent. If an ff ct and an dea re ill matched as regards th r nature o the inten ty ou w kn

himself the sec d scene f the

judgment becomes confused

The fact that in dreams the ideational content does not always produce the affective result which in our waking thoughts we should expect as its necessary consequence has always been a cause of astonishment Strumpell declared that ideas in dreams are stripped of their psychic values But there is no lack of instances in which the reverse is true when an intensive manifestation of affect appears in a content which seems to offer no occasion for it In my dream I may be in a horrible dangerous or disgusting situation and yet I may feel no fear or aversion on the other hand I am sometimes terrified by harmless things and sometimes delighted by childish things

This enigma disappeared more suddenly and more completely than perhaps any other dream problem if we pass from the manifest to the latent content We shall then no longer have to explain it for it will no longer exist Analysis tells us that *the ideational contents have undergone displacements and substitutions while the affects have remained unchanged* No wonder then that the ideational content which has been altered by dream distortion no longer fits the affect which has remained intact and no cause for wonder when analysis has put the correct content into its original place

In a psychic complex which has been subjected to the influence of the resisting censorship the affects are the unyielding constituent which alone can guide us to the correct completion This state of affairs is revealed in the psychoneuroses even more distinctly than in dreams Here the affect is always in the right at least as regards its quality its intensity may of course be increased by displacement of the neurotic attention When the hysterical patient wonders that he should be so afraid of a trifle or when the sufferer from obsessions is astonished that he should reproach himself so bitterly for a mere nothing they are both in error inasmuch as they regard the conceptual content—the trifle the mere nothing—as the essential thing and they defend themselves in vain because they make this conceptual content the starting point of their thought work Psycho analysis however puts them on the right path inasmuch as it recognizes that, on the contrary it is the affect that is justified, and looks for the concept which pertains to it, and which has been repressed by a substitution All that we need assume is that the liberation of affect and the conceptual content do not constitute the indissoluble organic unity as which we are wont to regard them but that the two parts may be welded together so that analysis will separate them Dream interpretation shows that this is actually the case

I will first of all give an example in which analysis explains the apparent absence of affect in a conceptual content which ought to compel a liberation of affect

I

The dreamer sees three lions in a desert one of which is laughing but she is not afraid of them Then however she must have fled from them for she is trying to climb a tree But she finds that her cousin the French teacher is already up in the tree etc

The analysis yields the following material The indifferent occasion of the dream was a sentence in the dreamer's English exercise The *lion's* greatest adornment is his mane Her father used to wear a beard which encircled his face like a *mane* The name of her English teacher is Miss *Lyons* An acquaintance of hers sent her the ballads of *Loewe* (*Loewe*= lion) These then are the three lions why should she be afraid of them? She has read a story in which a negro who has incited his fellows to revolt is hunted with bloodhounds and climbs a tree to save himself Then follow fragmentary recollections in the merriest mood such as the following directions for catching lions (from *Die Fliegende Blatter*) Take a desert and put it through a sieve the lions will be left behind Also a very amusing but not very proper anecdote about an official who is asked why he does not take greater pains to win the favour of his chief and who replies that he has been trying to creep into favour but that his immediate superior was *already up there* The whole matter becomes intelligible as soon as one learns that on the dream-day the lady had received a visit from her husband's superior He was very polite to her and

If I m ot g e tly m st ke the fi t d e m wh ch I was abl t l t f m my g d (ged m th) p ts to the f t th t th d m w k h d s eded t sf m g t m te l t wish f lfilm t wh l the ffect wh ch b l g d to it e- m d chang d th l p tat The ght bef e ts f th wa t r t t the f t the ch ld ed t bb g l tly P p P p— B by Th t m y m L t P p d B by t ll be togethe wh l the w ep g t k cog za f the mm t depa t e Th ch ld wa t th t m ry w ll bl t exp ess the co ept of sep t n. *F t* (= *u y* repl c d by a pec l a ly c t d } g d awn-o t *h*) h d bee h first w d d f many m th bef re this first d eam h h d pl yed at *w y* w th ll his toys wh ch w t back to his ea ly self-co quest) all w g h m th to go aw y

kissed her hand, and *she was not at all afraid of him* although he is a *big bug (Grosses Tier* =big animal) and plays the part of a social lion in the capital of her country This lion is therefore, like the lion in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* who is unmasked as Snug the joiner and of such stuff are all the dream lions of which one is not afraid.

II

As my second example I will cite the dream of the girl who saw her sister's little son lying as a corpse in his coffin, but who it may be added was conscious of no pain or sorrow Why she was unmoved we know from the analysis. The dream only disguised her wish to see once more the man she loved the affect had to be attuned to the wish, and not to its disguisement. There was thus no occasion for sorrow

In a number of dreams the affect does at least remain connected with the conceptual content which has replaced the content really belonging to it. In others the dissolution of the complex is carried farther The affect is entirely separated from the idea belonging to it, and finds itself accommodated elsewhere in the dream, where it fits into the new arrangement of the dream-elements We have seen that the same thing happens to acts of judgment in dreams. If an important inference occurs in the dream-thoughts there is one in the dream also but the inference in the dream may be displaced to entirely different material. Not infrequently this displacement is effected in accordance with the principle of antithesis

I will illustrate the latter possibility by the following dream, which I have subjected to the most exhaustive analysis

III

A castle by the sea afterward it lies no directly on the coast but on a narrow canal leading to the sea A ert is Herr P is the governor of the castle I stand with him in a large salon with three windows in front of which rise the projections of a wall like battlements of a fortress I belong to the garrison perhaps as a volunteer naval officer We fear the arrival of enemy warships for we are in a state of war Herr P intends to leave the castle he gives me instructions as to what must be done if what we fear should come to pass His sick wife and his child are in the threatened castle As soon as the bombardment begins the large hall is to be cleared He breathes heavily and tries to get away I detain him and ask him how I am to send him news in case of need He says something further and immediately afterwards he sinks to the floor dead. I have probably taxed him unnecessarily with my questions After his death which makes no further impression upon me I consider whether the widow is to remain in the castle whether I should give notice of the death to the higher command whether I should take over the control of the castle as the next in command. I now stand at the window and scrutinize the ships as they pass by they are cargo steamers and they rush by over the dark water several with more than one funnel others with bulging decks (these are very like the railway stations in the preliminary dream which has not been related) Then my brother is standing beside me and we both look out of the window on to the canal At the sight of one ship we are alarmed and call out Here comes the warship! It turns out however that they are only the ships which I have already seen returning Now comes a small ship comically truncated so that it ends amidships on the deck one sees curious things like cups or little boxes We call out as with one voice That is the breakfast ship

The rapid motion of the ships, the deep blue of the water the brown smoke of the funnels —all these together produce an intense and gloomy impression.

The localities in this dream are compiled from several journeys to the Adriatic (Miramare Duino Venice Aquileia) A short but enjoyable Easter trip to Aquileia with my brother a few weeks before the dream, was still fresh in my memory also the *naval war* between America and Spain, and, associated with this my anxiety as to the fate of my relatives in America play a part in the dream. Manifestations of affect appear at two places in this dream. In one place an affect that would be expected is lacking it expressly emphasized that the death of the governor makes no impression upon me at another point, when I see the warships I am *frightened* and experience all the sensations of fright in my sleep The distribution of affects in this well-constructed dream has been effected in such a way that any obvious contradiction is avoided. For there is no reason why I should be frightened at the governor's death, and it is fitting that, as the commander of the castle I should be alarmed by the sight of the warship Now analysis shows that Herr P is nothing but a substitute for my own ego (in the dream I am his substitute)

I am the governor who suddenly dies The dream thoughts deal with the future of my family after my premature death No other disagreeable thought is to be found among the dream thoughts The alarm which goes with the sight of the warship must be transferred from it to this disagreeable thought Inversely the analysis shows that the region of the dream thoughts from which the warship comes is laden with most cheerful reminiscences In Venice a year before the dream one magically beautiful day we stood at the windows of our room on the Riva Schiavoni and looked out over the blue lagoon on which there was more traffic to be seen than usual Some English ships were expected they were to be given a festive reception and suddenly my wife cried happy as a child *Here comes the English warship!* In the dream I am frightened by the very same words once more we see that speeches in dreams have their origin in speeches in real life I shall presently show that even the element *English* in this speech has not been lost for the dream work Here then between the dream thoughts and the dream content I turn joy into fright and I need only point to the fact that by means of this transformation I give expression to part of the latent dream content The example shows however that the dream work is at liberty to detach the occasion of an affect from its connections in the dream thoughts and to insert it at any other place it chooses in the dream content

I will take the opportunity which is here incidentally offered of subjecting to a closer analysis the *breakfast ship* whose appearance in the dream so absurdly concludes a situation that has been rationally adhered to If I look more closely at this dream object I am impressed after the event by the fact that it was black and that by reason of its truncation at its widest beam it achieved at the truncated end a considerable resemblance to an object which had aroused our interest in the museums of the Etruscan cities This object was a rectangular cup of black clay with two handles upon which stood things like coffee cups or tea cups very similar to our modern service for the *breakfast table* Upon inquiry we learned that this was the toilet set of an Etruscan lady with little boxes for rouge and powder and we told one another jestingly that it would not be a bad idea to take a thing like that home to the lady of the house The dream object therefore signifies a *black toilet* (*toilette* = dress) or mourning and refers directly to a death The other end of the dream object reminds us of the *boat* (German *Nachen* from the Greek root νεχυ as a philological friend informs me) upon which corpses were laid in prehistoric times and were left to be buried by the sea This is associated with the return of the ships in the dream

Silently on his rescued boat the old man drifts into harbour

It is the return voyage after the *shipwreck* (German *Schiff bruch* = ship *breaking*) the breakfast ship looks as though it were *broken* off amidships But whence comes the name *breakfast ship?* This is where *English* comes in which we have left over from the warships. *Breakfast* a *breaking of the fast Breaking* again belongs to shipwreck *(Schiff bruch)* and *fasting* is associated with the black (mourning)

But the only thing about this breakfast ship which has been newly created by the dream is its name The thing existed in reality and recalls to me one of the merriest moments of my last journey As we distrusted the fare in Aquileia we took some food with us from Goerz, and bought a bottle of the excellent Istrian wine in Aquileia and while the little mail steamer slowly travelled through the *canale delle Mee* and into the lonely expanse of lagoon in the direction of Grado we had breakfast on deck in the highest spirits—we were the only passengers—and it tasted to us as few breakfasts have ever tasted This then was the *breakfast ship* and it is behind this very recollection of the gayest *joie de vivre* that the dream hides the saddest thoughts of an unknown and mysterious future

The detachment of affects from the groups of ideas which have occasioned their liberation is the most striking thing that happens to them in dream formation but it is neither the only nor even the most essential change which they undergo on the way from the dream thoughts to the manifest dream If the affects in the dream thoughts are compared with those in the dream one thing at once becomes clear Wherever there is an affect in the dream it is to be found also in the dream thoughts the converse however is not true. In general a dream is less rich in affects than the psychic material from which it is elaborated When I have reconstructed the dream thoughts I see that the most intense psychic impulses are constantly striving in them for self assertion usually in conflict with others

which are harply opposed to them. Now if I ! ır

te dream wo k to the level ot tn uue I mt say that a *supp ession of the afects* has been accompl hed by the dream w rk Take for example the dream of the botanical monograph. It correspo ds t a pas onate plea for my freedom to act as I am acting to ar range my life as seems right to me and to me alone The dream which results from this sounds indiff rent I ha e written a monograph it is lying before me it is provided with coloured plates and dri d plants are to be found in each copy It is like th peace of a deserted battlefi ld no trace is l ft of the tumult of battle.

But things ma turn out quite d fferently vn d expres ons of affect may ent r into the dream itself but we will first f all co d the unquestioned fact that so many dreams appea indiaerent, wh rea it s neve poss ble to go deeply int the dream tho ghts without deep em tion.

The complet theoret cal explanati n of this suppression f aff cts durin the dre m work cann t be gi en here t would require most careful inves igati of the theory of the f fects and f the mechanism f repres on. Here I can put f rward only two suggestions I am for ed—f the re so s—to c ei e the liberation f affects as a centrifugal process di rect d toward the interior of the body analogous to the processes of m tor and secretory innervat on Just as in the sleeping tate the emi on f m to impulses towards the out r world seems t be suspended so the centrif gal wakening f affects by un on ci us think ing durin sleep may be rend red more difficult The ffective impulses whi h occur d ring the urse of the dream thought may thus in themselves be feebl so that thos that find thei way into the dream ar n stronge According to this line of thought the *supr sso of th f t* w uld t be a consequence of th dream w k t all but a consequen e of the tat f leep This may be so but t can t possibly be all the truth. We must remem be that all the m re mpl dreams ha e revealed themsel es s th result f compro m e between confli t g psy hic fo es. On the on hand, the wish formi g th ughts ha e to oppose the co tradictio f censorship on the oth hand we ha ften seen, even in unconscious thinking every train of thought is harnessed to its contradictory counterpart Since all these trains of thought are capable of arous ng affects we shall broadly speakin hardly go astray if we conceive the impression of affects as the result of the inhib tion which the co trasts impose upon one another and the cen orship upon the urges wh ch it has uppressed. *The inhibition of affects would ac cord ngly be the second consequence of the d e m-censorsh p just as d eam-distort on was the fir t consequence*

I will here insert an example of a dream in wh ch the ind fiere t emotional tone of the dream-content may be explained by th antag onism of the dream-thou hts I must relate the following short dream, which every reader will read with d gust

IV

Risi g ground and on it something l ke an open-air latri e a very long bench at the end of which is a wide aperture The whole of th back edge s th ckly covered with little heaps of excrement of all si es and degrees of f esh ess A thicket behind the bench I urinate upon the berch a long s' eam of urine rinses everyth g clea the patches of xcrement come off easily and fall in.o the openi g Never theless t s ems as though something remained at the end

Why did I xperience no disgust in this d eam?

Because as the analys s sh ws the most pleasant and gratifying thoughts ha e cooperated in the formation of this dream Upon analysin it I immediately think of the *A g an st bles* which were cleansed by Hercules I am thi Hercules The ris g ground and the thick t belon to Aussee where my children are w staying I have discovered the infantile etiology of the uroses and have thus guarded my own children from falli g ill. The bench (omitting the aperture of course) is the faith f l opy of p ece f f rn ture of which an ffect nat female patient has mad m a pres t Thi reminds me how my patients honour m E e the museum f human excrement s usc ptib e of gratifying interpret tion. How ever m ch it di gusts me t s a souvenir of the be ut ful land of Italy where in the small cities as ev ryo e knows the pri ies re n t equipped in any ther way The tream of uri e that washes ev rything lean is an un mistakabl allu on t greatness It s in this manne that *Gull ver* extinguishes th great fire

in Lilliput to be sure he thereby incurs the displeasure of the tiniest of queens In this way too Gargantua the superman of Master Rabelais takes ven eance upon the Pari ians straddling Notre Dame and training his tream of urine upon the city Only yesterday I was turning over the leaves of Garnier s illustra tions to Rabelais before I went to bed And strangely enough here is another proof that I am the superman! The platform of Notre Dame was my favourite nook in Paris every free afternoon I used to go up into the towers of the cathedral and there clamber about be tween the monsters and gargoyles The circum stance that all the excrement vanishes so rapidly before the stream of urine corresponds to the motto *Afflavit et dissipati sunt* which I shall some day make the title of a chapter on the therapeutics of hysteria

And now as to the affective occasion of the dream It had been a hot summer afternoon in the evening I had given my lecture on the connection between hysteria and the perver sions and everything which I had to say dis pleased me thoroughly and seemed utterly val ueless I was tired I took not the least pleasure in my difficult work and longed to get away from this rummaging in human filth first to see my children and then to revisit the beau ties of Italy In this mood I went from the lecture hall to a cafe to get some little refresh ment in the open air for my appetite had forsaken me But a member of my audience went with me he begged for permission to sit with me while I drank my coffee and gulped down my roll and began to say flattering things to me He told me how much he had learned *from me that he now saw everything through* different eyes that I had cleansed the *Augean stables* of error and prejudice which encum bered the theory of the neuroses—in short that I was a very great man My mood was ill suited to his hymn of praise I struggled with my disgust and went home earlier in or der to get rid of him and before I went to sleep I turned over the leaves of *Rabelais* and read a short story by C F Meyer entitled *Die Leiden eines Knaben* (The Sorrows of a Boy)

The dream had originated from this mate rial and Meyer s novel had supplied the recol lections of scenes of childhood The day s mood of annoyance and disgust is continued in the dream inasmuch as it is permitted to fur nish nearly all the material for the dream con tent But during the night the opposite mood of vigorous even immoderate self assertion awakened and dissipated the earlier mood The dream had to assume such a form as would accommodate both the expressions of elf-de preciation and exaggerated self glorification in the ame material This compromise formation resulted in an ambiguous dream content but, owing to the mutual inhibition of the opposites, in an indifferent emotional tone

According to the theory of wish fulfilment this dream would not have been possible had not the opposed and indeed suppressed yet pleasure emphasized me alomaniac train of thought been added to the thoughts of di gust. For nothing painful is intended to be repre sented in dreams the painful elements of our daily thoughts are able to force their way into our dreams only if at the same time they are able to disguise a wish fulfilment

The dream work is able to dispose of the affects of the dream thou hts in yet another way than by admitting them or reducing them to zero *It can transform them into their op posites* We are acquainted with the rule that for the purposes of interpretation every ele ment of the dream may represent its opposite, as well as itself One can never tell beforehand which is to be posited only the context can decide this point A suspicion of this state of affairs has evidently found its way into the popular consciousness the dream books in their interpretations often proceed according to the principle of contraries This transformation into the contrary is made possible by the inti mate associative ties which in our thoughts connect the idea of a thing with that of its *opposite Like every other displacement* this serves the purpos s of the censorship but it is often the work of wish fulfilment for wish ful *filment* consists in nothing more than the ub stitution of an unwelcome thing by its oppo ite Just as concrete images may be transformed into their contraries in our dreams so also may the affects of the dream thoughts and it is probable that this inversion of affects is usually brought about by the dream censorship The *suppression and inversion of affects* is u eful even in social life as is shown by the familiar analogy of the dream-censorship and above all, hypocrisy If I am conversing with a per on to whom I must show consideration while I should like to address him as an enemy it is almo t more important that I should conceal th ex pression of my affect from him than that I should modify the verbal expression of my

¹ Cf th d e m abo t Co t Th l t sce

thoughts. If I ddress him in courteous terms but accompany them by looks or gestures of hatred and disdain the effect which I produce upo him is not very different from what it would have been had I cast my unmitigated co t mpt i..to his face. Above all then the censor hip b ds me suppress my affects and if I am a master f the art of d s..imulation I can hypocritically displa the oppo te affect—smiling where I hould like to be angry and pretending aff cti n where I should li e to destroy

We have already had an excellent example of ..ch an in ersion of affect in the ervice of the dream-ce sorship In the dream *of my un le's beard* I feel great affect on for my friend R, while (and because) the dre m tho ghts berate him s a simpleton. From this example of the in rs n of affects we deri ed our first proof of the ex tence of the censor ship E en here t is not n c ssary to assume that th d eam wo k creates c unter affect of thi kind that is altogether n w it usually finds it lying ready in the m terial of the dream-th ughts and merely inten..ifies t w th th psychi f rce f the d fence moti s u til it is bl to predominate in th dream forma t I the dream of my uncle the affection

cular n ture of my ea liest childhood p en es the relation of uncle and neph w has become th sou e f all my fri nd hips and h t eds (cf analys s on pp 304 5 above)

An e ellent exampl of such a rev rsal of affect found n a dream rec d d by Fere c zi. An elderly gentl m was awak ned at night by his wif who was frightened beca e h laughed lo dly and un ont ollably in his leep Th m ft rwards related that he had had the f llowing d eam *I l y my bed a gen..lem k own t m c me I wa ted to* — ter which hook me up he thought.

Analyt cally cons dered the dream looks less comical In the latent dream thoughts the *gentlema known* to him who came into the room is the image of death as the great unknown which was awakened in his mind on the p evi ous day The old gentleman who suffers from arteriosclero is had g od re son to think of death on the day before the dream The unco trollable laughter takes the place of weeping and obbing at the idea that he has to d e It is the l ght of l fe that he is no long r able to turn on This mournful tho ght may have as sociated itself w th a fa lure to effect sexual i tercourse which he had attempted shortly before this and in which the a. ista ce of his w fe *en négl gé* was of no a a l he realized that h was already on the decl n The dream work kn w h w to transform the sad idea of impotence and de th nto a comic cene and the sobbing to lau hter

There s one cla s of dreams which has a special claim to be called *hypocri ical* and wh ch se erely tests the theory of wish fulfilment My attention was called to th m when Frau Dr M Hilfe ding p opo ed for d scus ion by the Psy choanalytic Society of Vienna a dream recorded by Ro gger whi h is here reprinted

In *W ldhe mat* vol xi Rosegger writes as follows in h s tory *F emd gemacht* (p 303)

I u..ually e joy healthful sleep yet I have go e without repo e on many a night in addi tion to my modest existence as a student and literary ma I ha e for lo g ye rs dra..ged ut the hadow of a veritable ta'lor's l fe—like a ghost from which I could not become d vo ced

It is not true that I ha e occup ed myself very often or ery intensely with thoughts of my pa t during the day A stormer of he en and earth who has escaped from the hide of the Phil t e has other thi gs to think about. And as a gay young fellow I hardly gave a th ught to my nocturnal dreams only later when I had f rm d the hab t of thinki g about everything o when the Philist ne within me began to a ert itself a l ttl did it strike me that—when I d eamed at all—I was lways a journeyman tailor and that in that capacity I had already work d in my m ter s shop for a l g time with ut a y pay As I sat there be side him and sew d and p essed I was per fectly well aw re that I no l ger belo ged th e d that as a burg s of the town I had ther things to attend to but I was alw ys on a holid y way in th country and I sat bes de my master and helped him. I often felt

day the man was xtremely dep es d and uff red f om head h From too m h laugh

Internat Zei sch f P ych aly IV (9 6)

in Lilliput to be ure he thereby incurs the displeasure of the tiniest of queens In this way too Gargantua the superman of Master Rabelais takes ven eance upon the Pari ians straddling Notre Dame and training his tream of urine upon the city Only yesterday I was turnin over the le ves of Garnier s illustra *tions to Rabelais before I went to bed* And strangely enough here is another proof that I am the superman[1] The platform of Notre *Dame was my favourite nook in Paris* every free afternoon I used to go up into the towers of the cathedral and there clamber about be tween the monsters and gargoyles The circum stance that all the excrement vanishes so rapidly before the stream of urine corresponds to the motto *Afflavit et dissipati sunt* which I shall some day make the title of a chapter *on the therapeutics of hysteria*

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[1] Cf the d eam abo t Co t Thu last sce e

tendencies in mental life to which uch n in ver o might be attributed I see no objection to regardi g u h dreams as *punishment dr ms* as distu gui hed from wish fulfilling dreams I hould not see in this any limitation of the theory of d eams hith rto as presented but merely ve bal co ce n to the po nt of view to which the c n ergence of cont aries seems strange But a m re th ro gh in e tiga ... f th rla allows

placed me in th most gloomy and most un succes f l year f my profes onal *career* I till had o po tion and no idea how I was g ing to support myself whe I suddenly found that I had *the cho ce of* several women whom I m ght m rry! I was therefore young again and what is more she was young again—the w man who has ha ed w th me all the e dif ficult years. In this way e of th wi hes whi h st ntly gnaws at the heart of the age ing man was evealed the unc nsci us dream instig to The confl t raging in other psychic strata between anity and self-criticism had certainly d t rmined the dream-co tent but the more deeply rooted w sh fo youth had al e mad it poss'ble a a dream One often says to oneself eve in the w king stat 'To be sure *things* re going well with you today and ce you found life very hard but fter all life wa we t in those days wh n you were still so young

Another group f dreams which I have often myself xperienced and whi h I have recog nized to be hypocritical ha e as th te t a reco ciliat on w th persons w th wh m one ha l g cea d t ha e friendly elations The analysis n ta tly di covers an occa which m ght w ll ind ce me to cast d the last rem nants f co s deration for these f rmer fri ds and to treat them as trangers enemies B t the dream choo es t dep ct the o trary relatio

In c ns d ring dreams recorded by a ov li t or poet, w may often enough ume that he ha xcluded f m th record th se details whi h he f lt t be disturbing and regarded as es e tial. His d eams thus et u problem whi h c uld be re dily solv d if we had an in t reprod ction f the d eam-conte t

Eve ce psycho-a aly ha d sected th pe sonality into go d supe g (*G sup P y-h logy nd h Anal f h Eg* p 664 belo) it has been easy to recognize in these punishm -dreams wishfulfilments f the supe -ego

O Rank has called my attention to the fact that in Grimm s fairy tale of the valiant little tailor or *Seve at One Stroke* there is related a very s m lar dream of an upstart The ta lor who has become a hero and has married the king s daughter dreams *one night* wh le lyi g bes de the princess his wife about his trade having become su picious on the following night she *places armed guards* where they can listen to what is sa d by the dreamer and ar rest h m But the little ta lor is warned and is *able to correct his dream*

The complicated processes of removal d mi nutio and n ers o by which the affects of the dream thoughts finally become the affects of the dream may be ery well surveyed in su t able synthe es of completely analysed dreams. I shall here discu s a few examples of affecti e man festat ons n dreams which will I th nk prove this conclusively in some of the cases cited.

V

In the dream about the odd task which the elder Bruck sets me—that of preparing my own pel s—I am aware in the dream itself of not feeling *appropriate horror* Now this is a wish fulfilment in more senses than one The p eparation s gnifies the self analyses which I pe form as t we e by publ hing my book on dreams wh ch I *actually found* so painful th t I postpo ed the printing of the completed manuscript for more than a year The wish now arises that I may disregard *this feeli g of aver s o* and for that rea on I feel no horror (*G a en* which also means *to grow grey*) in the dre m I should m ch like to escape *G a en* in the other sense too for I am already grow ing quite grey and the grey in my hair w rns me to delay no longer For we know that at the end of the dream this thought secu es rep-resentat o I shall have to leave my children t reach the goal of th r difficult journey w th out my help

In the two dreams that transfer th expres s on of satisfaction t the moments immedi ately *after* waki g th sat sfact n is in the ne case moti ated by the expectat on that I am now going to learn what is meant by *I have al ady d med of this* a d refers real ty to the birth of my first child and in th other case t is mot vated by the c n ct on that that which has b en anno c d by premoni t ry sign is now going to happen and th sat i f cti is that which I felt on the arrival of my s cond son. Here the same affe ts that

far from comfortable about it and regretted the waste of time which I might have employed for better and more useful purposes If anything was not quite correct in measure and cut I had to put up with a scolding from my master Of wages there was never a question Often as I sat with bent back in the dark workshop I decided to give notice and make myself scarce Once I actually did so but the master took no notice of me and next time I was sitting beside him again and sewing

How happy I was when I woke up after such weary hours! And I then resolved that if this intrusive dream should ever occur again I would energetically throw it off and would cry aloud It is only a delusion I am lying in bed and I want to sleep And the next night I would be sitting in the tailor s shop again

So it went on for years with dismal regularity Once when the master and I were working at Alpelhofer s at the house of the peasant with whom I began my apprenticeship it happened that my master was particularly dissatisfied with my work I should like to know where in the world your thoughts are? he cried and looked at me sullenly I thought the most sensible thing to do would be to get up and explain to the master that I was working with him only as a favour and then take my leave But I did not do this I even submitted when the master engaged an apprentice and ordered me to make room for him on the bench I moved into the corner and kept on sewing On the same day another journeyman was engaged a bigoted fellow he was the Bohemian who had worked for us nineteen years earlier and then had fallen into the lake on his way home from the public house When he tried to sit down there was no room for him I looked at the master inquiringly and he said to me You have no talent for tailoring *you may go you re a stranger henceforth* My fright on that occasion was so overpowering that I woke

The grey of morning glimmered through the clear windows of my familiar home *Objets d art* surrounded me in the tasteful bookcase stood the eternal Homer the gigantic Dante the incomparable Shakespeare the glorious Goethe—all radiant and immortal From the adjoining room resounded the clear little voices of the children who were waking up and prattling to their mother I felt as though I had rediscovered that idyllically sweet peaceful poetical and spiritualized life in which I have so often and so deeply been conscious of contemplative human happiness And yet I was vexed that I had not given my master notice first but had been dismissed by him

And how remarkable this seems to me since that night when my master made a stranger of me I have enjoyed restful sleep I no longer dream of my tailoring days which now lie in the remote past which in their unpretentious simplicity were really so cheerful, but which none the less have cast a long shadow over the later years of my life

In this series of dreams of a poet who in his younger years had been a journeyman tailor it is hard to recognize the domination of the wish fulfilment All the delightful things occurred in his waking life while the dream seemed to drag along with it the ghost like shadow of an unhappy existence which had long been forgotten Dreams of my own of a similar character enable me to give some explanation of such dreams As a young doctor I worked for a long time in the Chemical Institute without being able to accomplish anything in that exacting science so that in the waking state I never think about this unfruitful and actually somewhat humiliating period of my student days On the other hand I have a recurring dream to the effect that I am working in the laboratory making analyses and experiments and so forth these dreams like the examination dreams are disagreeable and they are never very distinct During the analysis of one of these dreams my attention was directed to the word *analysis* which gave me the key to an understanding of them Since then I have become an *analyst* I make analyses which are greatly praised—psycho analyses of course Now I understand when I feel proud of these analyses in my waking life and feel inclined to boast of my achievements my dreams hold up to me at night those other unsuccessful analyses of which I have no reason to be proud they are the punitive dreams of the upstart, like those of the journeyman tailor who became a celebrated poet But how is it possible for a dream to place itself at the service of self-criticism in its conflict with parvenu pride and to take as its content a rational warning instead of a prohibited wish fulfilment? I have already hinted that the answer to this question presents many difficulties We may conclude that the foundation of the dream consisted at first of an arrogant phantasy of ambition but that in its stead only its suppression and abasement has reached the dream content. One must remember that there are masochistic

trap of words. At the end of the dream I am greatly pleased and am quite ready to believe in a possibility which I recognize as absurd when I am awake, namely, that there are revenants who can be swept away by a mere wish.

I have not yet mentioned the occasion of this dream. It is an important one, and leads us far down into the meaning of the dream. From my friend in Berlin (whom I have designated as Fl.) I had received the news that he was about to undergo an operation, and that relatives of his living in Vienna would inform me as to his condition. The first few messages after the operation were not very reassuring, and caused me great anxiety. I should have liked to go to him myself, but at that time I was afflicted with a painful complaint which made every movement a torment. I now learn from the dream-thoughts that I feared for the dear friend's life. I knew that his only sister, with whom I had never been acquainted, had died young, after a very brief illness. (*In the dream Fl. talks about his sister and says: "In three quarters of an hour she was dead."*) I must have imagined that his own constitution was not much stronger, and that I should soon be travelling, in spite of my health, in response to far worse news—and that I should arrive too late, for which I should eternally reproach myself. This reproach, that I should arrive too late, has become the central point of the dream, but it has been represented in a scene in which the revered teacher of my student years—Brücke—reproaches me for the same thing with a terrible look from his blue eyes. What brought about this alteration of the scene will soon become apparent; the dream cannot reproduce the scene itself as I experienced it. To be sure, it leaves the blue eyes to the other man, but it gives me the part of the annihilator, an inversion which is obviously the work of the wish-fulfilment. My concern for the life of my friend, my self-reproach for not having gone to him, my shame (*he had come to me in Vienna unobtrusively*), my desire to consider myself excused on account of my illness—all this builds up an emotional tempest which is distinctly felt in my sleep, and which rages in that region of the dream-thoughts.

But there was another thing in the occasion of the dream which had quite the opposite effect. With the unfavourable news during the first days of the operation I received also an injunction to speak to no one about the whole affair, which hurt my feelings, for it betrayed an unnecessary distrust of my discretion. I knew, of course, that this request did not proceed from my friend, but that it was due to clumsiness or excessive timidity on the part of the messenger, yet the concealed reproach affected me very disagreeably, because it was not altogether unjustified. As we know, only reproaches which *have something in them* have the power to hurt. Years ago, when I was younger than I am now, I knew two men who were friends, and who honoured me with their friendship, and I quite superfluously told one of them what the other had said of him. This incident, of course, had nothing to do with the affairs of my friend Fl., but I have never forgotten the reproaches to which I had to listen on that occasion. One of the two friends between whom I made trouble was Professor Fleischl; the other one I will call by his baptismal name, *Josef*, a name which was borne also by my friend and antagonist P., who appears in the dream.

In the dream the element unobtrusively points to the reproach that I cannot keep anything to myself, and so does the question of Fl. as to *how much of his affairs I have told P*. But it is the intervention of that old memory which transposes the reproach for arriving too late from the present to the time when I was working in Brücke's laboratory; and by replacing *the second person in the annihilation scene of the dream by* Josef, I enable this scene to represent not only the first reproach—that I have arrived too late—but also that other reproach, more strongly affected by the repression, to the effect that I do not keep secrets. The work of condensation and displacement in this dream, as well as the motives for it, are now obvious.

My present trivial annoyance at the injunction not to divulge secrets draws reinforcement from springs that flow far beneath the surface, and so swells to a stream of hostile impulses towards persons who are in reality dear to me. The source which furnishes the reinforcement is to be found in my childhood. I have already said that my warm friendships as well as my enmities with persons of my own age go back to my childish relations to my nephew, who was a year older than I. In these he had the upper hand, and I early learned how to defend myself; we lived together, were inseparable,

[1] It is this fancy from the unconscious dream-thoughts which peremptorily demands non vivit instead of non vixit: "You have come too late, he is no longer alive." The fact that the manifest situation of the dream aims at the non vivit has been mentioned on page [illegible].

dominated in the dream thoughts have remained in the dream but the process is probably not quite so simple as this in any dream If the two analyses are examined a little more closely it will be seen that this satisfaction which does not succumb to the censorship receives r [illegible] fear th [illegible] certain [illegible] it had not screened it elf by a similar and readily admitted affect of satisfaction from the permitted source and had so to speak sneaked in behind it I am unfortunately unable to show this in the case of the actual dream but an example from another situation will make my meaning intelligible I will put the following case Let there be a person near me whom I hate so strongly that I have a lively impulse to rejoice should anything happen to him But the moral side of my nature does not give way to this impulse I do not dare to express this sinister wish and when something does happen to him which he does not deserve I suppress my satisfaction and force myself to thou hts and expressions of regret Everyone will at some time have found himself in such a position But now let it happen that the hated person throu h some transgression of his own draws upon himself a well deserved calamity I shall now be allowed to give free rein to my satisfaction at his being visited by a just punishment and I shall be expressing an opinion which coincides with that of other impartial persons But I observe that my satisfaction proves to be more intense than that of others for it has received reinforcement from another source—from my hatred which was hitherto prevented by the inner censorship from furnishing the affect but which under the altered circumstances is no longer prevented from doing so This case generally occurs in social life when antipathetic persons or the adherents of an unpopular minority have been guilty of some offence Their punishment is then usually commensurate not [illegible] injustice but they are prevented from becoming aware of it by the satisfaction arising from the release within themselves of a suppression of long standing In such cases the quality of the affect is justified but not its degree and the self criticism that has been appeased in respect of the first point is only too ready to neglect to scrutinize the second point Once you have opened the doors more people enter than it was your original intention to admit

A striking feature of the neurotic character namely that in it causes capable of evoking affect produce results which are qualitatively justified but quantitatively excessive is to be explained on these lines in so far as it admits of a psychological explanation at all But the excess of affect proceeds from unconscious and hitherto suppressed affective sources which are able to establish an associative connection with the actual occasion and for whose liberation of affect the unprotested and permitted source of affects opens up the desired path Our attention is thus called to the fact that the relation of mut [illegible] hen the two institutions bring about a pathological result by co operation and mutual reinforcement deserve just as much attention These hints re arding the psychic mechanism will contribute to our understanding of the expressions of affects in dreams A gratification which makes its appearance in a dream and which of course may readily be found in its proper place in the dream thoughts may not always be fully explained by means of this reference As a rule it is necessary to search for a second source in the dream thoughts upon which the pressure of the censorship rests and which under this pressure would have yielded not gratification but the contrary affect had it not been enabled by the presence of the first dream source to free its gratification affect from repression and reinforce the gratification springing from the other source Hence affects which appear in dreams appear to be formed by the confluence of several tributaries and are over determined in respect of the material of the dream thoughts *Sources of affect which are able to furnish the same affect combine in the d eam work in order to produce it*

Some insight into these involved relations is gained from the analysis of the admirable dream in which *Non vixit* constitutes the central point (cf p 304) In this dream expressions of affect of different qualities are concentrated at two points in the manifest content. Hostile and painful impulses (in the dream itself we have the phra e *overcome by strange emotions*) overlap one another at the point where I destroy my antagonistic friend with a

I have [illegible] xpl i ed th [illegible] tra rd [illegible] ry ffect of pl [illegible] p od ced by te d cy w t o [illegible] al gous lines.

coup e of words. At the end of the dream I am greatly plea ed and am quit ready to believe in a pos bil y which I recognize as ab urd when I am awake namel that there are reve nants who can be swept awa by a mere wish.

I have not yet mentio ed the occa ion of this

tends on The first few messages after the operation were ot ery reassuring and caused me great anxiety I should ha e liked to go to him myself but at that time I was afflicted with a painful omplaint whi h mad every movement a t rment I now learn from the dream thoughts that I feared f r the dear f ends life I knew that his only ister with whom I h d eve been acquainted had died youn fte a very bri f illn s (I the d eam Fl tl s ab t his sister a d s ys I th ee q arters f an hour sh was dead) I must have imag ed that his own constitution was

hat has become the entral point of th dream, but t has been repre nted in a cen in which the revered teacher of my t dent years—Brucke—rep oaches me f the sam thi w th a terrible look f om his blue eyes What brought bo t this alt ration of th s en will soon bec me pparent the dream cannot re produce th scen its lf I experienced it To be sure, t l es th bl yes to the other man b t t g e me the part of the annihila t an in ersion which b usly the wo k f th w h fulfilm t My cern for the l fe

of th dream which had quite the pposite ef

fect. With the unfavourable news during the first da s of the operation I rece ed also an injunct on to speak to no one about the whole affair which hurt my feel n s f r it betrayed an unnecessary d stru t of my d scretion I knew of course that this reque t did not proceed from my friend but that it was due to n the part of af s not re have the power to hurt Years ago when I was younger than I am now I k ew two men who were frie ds and who honoured me with the r f iendship a d I qu te superfluously told one of them what the other had sa d of him This i c d nt of course had noth ng to do w th the affa rs of my fri nd Fl but I ha e never forgotten the reproaches to which I had to l ten on that occas on One of the two friends between whom I made tro ble was Professor Fleischl the other one I will call by his baptismal name Josef name which was borne also by my frie d and antagonist P who appears in th s dream

In the d eam the element unobtrusively po nts to the r proach that I cannot keep any thing to myself and so does the questi n of Fl as to *how m ch of his affai s I have told P* B t t is the intervent on of that old memory which tra spo es the repro ch for arri ing too late f om th present to the t me wh n I was wo king in Brucke s laboratory a d by replac ng th eco d person in the ann hilation cene of th d eam by a Jos f I enable this sc ne to represe t not only the first reproach—that I ha e arri ed too late—but also that othe rep oach more trongly affected by the represso to the effect that I do not keep secrets The work of *condensat on* d *displacement* in this dream as well as the mot ve for it are now ob ous

My pre ent tri ial annoyance at the i j nc t on not t divulge secrets draws re f cement f m prings that flow far beneath the surface and o swell to a stream of hostile mp lses

enm ti s w th pers ns of my own age go back to my childh h relat ons to my nephew who was a year lder th n I In th se he had th uppe hand and I ea ly learn d h w to defe d myself we lived t gether w re inseparable,

I is t is fancy from the unconscious dream-thou ts hich peremptorily demands non vivit in ead f non vixit You have come too late he is no l ger live. The fact tha the manifes situation f the dream aims at the non vivit has been mentioned page s

and loved one another but at times as the statements of older persons testify we used to squabble and *accuse* one another In a certain sense all my friends are incarnations of this first figure they are all *revenants* My nephew himself returned when a young man and then we were like Caesar and Brutus An intimate friend and a hated enemy have always been indispensable to my emotional life I have always been able to create them anew and not infrequently my childish ideal has been so closely approached that friend and enemy have coincided in the same person but not simultaneously of course nor in constant alternation as was the case in my early childhood

How when such associations exist a recent occasion of emotion may cast back to the infantile occasion and substitute this as a cause of affect I shall not consider now Such an investigation would properly belong to the psychology of unconscious thou ht or a psychological explanation of the neuroses Let us assume for the purposes of dream interpretation that a childish recollection presents itself or is created by the phantasy with more or less the following content We two children quarrel on account of some object—just what we shall leave undecided although the memory or illusion of memory has a very definite object in view—and each claims that *he got there first* and therefore has the first right to it We come to blows Might comes before Right and according to the indications of the dream I must have known that I was in the wrong (*noticing the error myself*) but this time I am the stronger and take possession of the battlefield the defeated combatant hurries to my father his grandfather and accuses me and I defend myself with the words which I have heard from my father *I hit him because he hit me* Thus this recollection or more probably phantasy which forces itself upon my attention in the course of the analysis—without further evidence I myself do not know how—becomes a central item of the dream thoughts which collects the affective impulses prevailing in the dream thoughts as the bowl of a fountain collects the water that flows into it From this point the dre

ing channels

had to make

push me off r I don t need you I ll soon find someone else to play with etc Then the channels are opened through which these thoughts flow back again into the dream representation

For such an *ote toi que je m y mette* I once had to reproach my deceased friend Josef He was next to me in the line of promotion in Brucke s laboratory but advancement there was very slow Neither of the two assistants budged from his place and youth became impatient My friend who knew that his days were numbered and was bound by no intimate relation to his superior sometimes gave free expression to his impatience As this superior was a man seriously ill the wish to see him removed by promotion was susceptible of an obnoxious secondary interpretation Several years earlier to be sure I myself had cherished even more intensely the same wish—to obtain a post which had fallen vacant wherever there are gradations of rank and promotion the way is opened for the suppression of covetous wishes Shakespeare s Prince Hal cannot rid himself of the temptation to see how the crown fits even at the bedside of his sick father But as may readily be understood the dream inflicts this inconsiderate wish not upon me but upon my friend

As he was ambitious I slew him As he could not expect that the other man would make way for him the man himself has been put out of the way I harbour these thoughts immediately after attending the unveiling of the memorial to the other man at the University Part of the satisfaction which I feel in the dream may therefore be interpreted A just punishment it serves you right

At the funeral of this friend a young man made the following remark which seemed rather out of place The preacher talked as though the world could no longer exist without this one human being Here was a stirring of revolt in the heart of a sincere man whose grief had been disturbed by exaggeration But with this speech are connected the dream thoughts No one is really irreplaceable how many men have I already escorted to the grave! But I am still alive I have survived them all I claim the field Such a thought at the moment when I fear that if I make a journey to see him I shall find my friend no longer among the living permits only of the further development that I am glad once more to have survived someone that it is not *I* who have died but he that I am master of the field as

M k m f m —Ed
It w ll b bee b th t th m *I* *I*
pl y g t p t my d m (ee th d m bout *my cl)* It i p t l ly f m t h d my
g l my d m beh d pe so f th nam ince
J seph w th nam f th d m i terprete i the
B bl

once I was in the imagined scene of my child hood. This satisfaction infantile in origin at th fact that I am ma.ter of the field co ers the greater part of the affect which appears in the dream I am glad that I am the survi or I xpres th s sent me t w th the nai e egoism of the husband who says to hi wife If one of us dies I shall move to Paris My expec tati takes it as a matter f course that I am ot the o e to d e

It cann t be d nied that great self control is eed d to interp et ne s dreams a d to re port them. One has t reveal o e elf as the sole villain among all the noble ouls w th wh m o e shares th breath of life Thus I find t qu te comprehensible that evena ts should exist nly as l ng as o e wants them and that they can be bliterated by a wish. It was for this reason that my frie d Jo ef was p enants are the successi e

tut will doubtless soon be f und ev n for the f end wh m I am ow on the point of lo ing is irreplaceable

But what has the dream ens hip been d ing i the meantime? Why does t not ra se the most emphatic obj ctio to a train of

sati f ct on and with the r ffect co that p ceeding f m the f b dden infantile sources In another strat m of tho ght I sa d t mys lf at the e mony of nveiling the m morial I ha e lost s ma y dea fri d some through death some thr ugh the di.sol tion of fri nd h.p t not good that substitutes ha e p ese ted themsel that I h e gained a f d wh m ans m to me than the others co ld d whom I hall n w lways retain t an g wh t is not easy t f rm ew fri nd ships Th grat ficat on f having f und this s bst t t f my lost frie d can be taken over int th d am without inte f en e b t be hi d t ther sneaks in th h st le feeling of malic ou grat ficati n from th f til so e Child h ff cti undoubt dly h lp t ein fo the rational ff ct on f t day but childi h hatred also ha f und ts w y int th rep esent t n.

B t bes des this th re is in th dream a d t ct ref rence to an th r train f thoughts wh ch may result in gratification Some time before this after long waitin a l ttle daughter was born to my friend I knew how he had grie ed for the sister wh m he had lost at an early age and I wrote to him that I felt that he would transfer to this child the lo e he had felt for her that this little girl would at last make him forget his irreparable loss

Thus th s train also connects up with the intermedi ry thoughts of the latent dream conte t from which paths radiate in the most contrary direct ons No one is irreplace ble See here are only reve ants all those whom one has lost return And now the bonds of association between the contradictory compo ne ts of the dream thoughts are more tightly drawn by the accidental circumstance that my frie d s little daughter bears the same name as the gi l playmate of my own youth who was just my own age and the sister of my oldest friend and antagonist I heard the name *Pauline* with *satisfact on* a d in order to allude to this co nc dence I replaced one Jo ef in the dream by another Josef and found it impossible to suppress the identical in tials in the name Fle schl and Fl From this po nt a train of thought runs to the naming of my own chil dren. I insi ted that the names should not be chosen according to the fash on of the day but should be determined by reg d f r the memory of those dea to us The child en s names make them *revenants* And fi ally is not th pro creat o of children for all men the only way of access to mmortality?

I shall add only a few observations as to the affects f dreams co sidered from another po t of v ew *In the psyche of the sleeper an affec* ti e te dency—what we call a mood—may be contain d as its dominating eleme t and may duce a *corresponding mood in the dream* This mood may be the result of the experiences d thoughts of the d y or t may be of somatic origin in e ther c se it will be ccompan ed by the correspo d ng train f thought. That this ideational c ntent of th dream thoughts sh uld t one tim d t rmine the ffecti e tende cy primarily while at a other time it s w kened in a seco dary man er by the som ti cally d t rmi d m t onal disposition s m diff rent for the p rposes f dream f rm ti Th s is always subject to the re triction that t can represe t nly a wi h fulfilment, nd that t m y l d its psychic n rgy to the wish alo e Th mood actually p se t will rece the sam t eatme t th nsat on wh ch actually emerges d ing sleep (cf p 234)

which is either neglected or reinterpreted in the sense of a wish fulfilment Painful moods during sleep become the motive force of the dream inasmuch as they awake energetic wishes which the dream has to fulfil The *material in* which they inhere is elaborated until it is serviceable for the expression of the wish fulfilment The more intense and the more dominating the element of the painful mood in the dream thoughts the more surely will the most strongly suppressed wish impulses take advantage of the opportunity to secure representation for thanks to the actual existence of discomfort which otherwise they would have to create spontaneously they find that the more difficult part of the work necessary to ensure representation has already been accomplished and with these observations we touch once more upon the problem of anxiety dreams which will prove to be the boundary case of dream activity

I The Secondary Elaboration

We will at last turn our attention to the fourth of the factors participating in dream formation

If we continue our investigation of the dream-content on the lines already laid down—that is by examining the origin in the dream thoughts of conspicuous occurrences—we come upon elements that can be explained only by making an entirely new assumption I have in mind cases where one manifests astonishment anger or resistance in a dream and that too in respect of part of the dream content itself Most of these impulses of criticism in dreams are not directed against the dream content but prove to be part of the dream material taken over and fittingly applied as I have already *shown by suitable examples* There are however criticisms of this sort which are not so derived their correlatives cannot be found in the dream material What for instance is meant by the criticism not infrequent in dreams After all it s only a dream ? This is a genuine criticism of the dream such as I might make if I were awake Not infrequently it is only the prelude to waking even oftener it is preceded *by a painful feeling which sub*sides when the actuality of the dream state has been affirmed The thought After all it s only a dream in the dream itself has the same intention as it has on the stage on the lips of Offenbach s *Belle Hélène* it seeks to minimize what has just been experienced and to secure indulgence for what is to follow It serves to lull to sleep a certain mental agency which at the given moment has every occasion to rouse itself and forbid the continuation of the dream, or the scene But it is more convenient to go on sleeping and to tolerate the dream because *after all it s only a dream* I imagine that the disparaging criticism After all it s only a dream appears in the dream at the moment when the censorship which is never quite asleep *feels that it has been surprised by the* already admitted dream It is too late to suppress the dream and the agency therefore meets with this remark the anxiety or painful emotion which rises into the dream It is an expression of the *esprit d escalier* on the part of the psychic censorship

In this example we have incontestable proof that everything which the dream contains does not come from the dream thou hts but that a psychic function which cannot be differentiated from our waking thoughts may make contributions to the dream content. The question arises does this occur only *in exceptional* cases or does the psychic agency which is otherwise active only as the cen orship play a constant part in dream formation?

One must decide unhesitatingly for the latter view It is indisputable that the censoring agency whose influence we have so far recognized only in the restrictions of and omis ions in the dream content is likewise responsible for interpolations in and amplifications of this content Often these interpolations are readily recognized they are introduced with hesitation prefaced by an as if they have no special vitality of their own and are *constantly in*erted at points where they may serve to connect two portions of the dream content or create a continuity between two sections of the dream They manifest less ability to adhere in the memory than do the genuine products of the dream material if the dream is forgotten they are forgotten first and I strongly su pect that our frequent complaint that althou h we have dreamed so much we have forgotten most of the dream and have remembered only fragments is explained by the immediate falling away of just these cementing thoughts In a *complete analysis these interpolations* are often betrayed by the fact that no material is to be found for them in the dream thoughts But after careful examination I must describe this case as the less usual one in most ca es the interpolated thou hts can be traced to material in the dream thoughts which can claim a place in the dream neither by its own merits nor by way of over-determination Only in the

most extreme cases does the psychic *function* in dream formation which we are now con ..dering rise to original creation whenever pos..b e it makes use of an thing appropriate that it can find in the dream material

What distinguishes this part of the dream ... Th

orts is that the dream loses the *appearance* of bsurdity and incoherenc and pproaches the pa tern of an i telli..ible experience. But the e rt is not always cr wned with complet success. Thus, dreams occur which may upon superficial examinat on seem faultles..ly logical and correct they start from poss bl situa tion, contin e t by means f consistent cha..ges and bri t—although this is rare— t not unnat ral c clusi n. These dre ms have been subjected to th most earching elaboration by a psychic function similar to our waking th u ht they seem to ha e a meanin.. b.. thi meaning is ery fa remo ed f om the real meanin.. of the dream. If we analyse them, we are con ced that the seco dary elaborati has handled the m terial with t.. greatest freedom and has retained s little as pos..bl of ..s proper relati s These are the dreams which ha e, so t speak, already been once interpreted before we subject them t wak..ng int rpretation In oth dreams this tendencious elaboration has su ceeded only p to a point up t this po t con.. tency seems to prevail, but then the dream becomes non se.. cal o onfused but pe haps before it con ludes t may o e more ise to a semblance of rationalit In yet ..her dreams the elaboration has failed compl t ly w find rselves helpless co fronted with a senseless mass f fragme tary co tents

I d ot wi..h to d y to this fo rth dream f rming pow which will soon *becom f miliar to us—it is in reality the o ly on* f the f ur dream-creating factors which is familia t us in other *c nne tions*—I d t w sh t den t this fourth f cto the f culty f crea tively maki g ew co tributi ns to o r dreams B t t infl en is c rtainly exerted like that f the other f ctors mainly in the pref d selecti f psychic mat rial alre dy form d in th dream thou hts Now th re a se where t t great exten pared the work f buildi g as t w re faça e t the dream by the f ct th..t ch s ruct re only waitin to be u..ed already exists in the ma terial of the dream-thou hts I am accustomed *to describe* the element of the dream thoughts which I have in m d as *phantasy* I shall per haps a oid misunder tand..ng if I at once point to the *day-dream* as an analogy in waking l fe The part played by th s element i our psychic Lfe has not yet been fully recognized and re ealed by psychiatrists though M Benedikt has, it eems to me made a h ghly p om n beginning Yet the s gnificance of the da -d eam has not escaped the unerring in..ight of the poets we are all *familiar* with th description of the day-dreams of o e of his subord nate characters wh h Alphonse Daudet has gi en us in his *Nabab* The study of the psychoneu roses di closes the astonishing fact th..t these phanta.. es or d y-dreams are the immediate predecessors of symptoms of hysteria—at least of a great many of them for hyst rical symptoms are dependent not upon actual m m orie but upo the phantasies built up on a basis of memori s The frequent occurrence of conscious day phantas es brings these forma tions to our ken but while some of these phantasies are conscious, there is a super abunda ce of unconscious phantas es which mu t perf ce remain unconsci us on account of their co tent and their origin in repressed material. A more th rough examination of the character f these day phantas es shows with what good reason the same name has been given to these f rmati ns s to th prod cts of noc turnal thought—*d eams* They ha e essenti l features n common with nocturnal dream indeed the in estigation of da -dreams m ght really have afforded the shortest and best app oach to the understanding of nocturnal dreams

Like dreams, they are wish fulfilments like dreams they are largely based upo the im pressio s of childi h experiences like dreams they btain a certain ind lgence from th cen rship in respect of th r creations If we tra th form tion we be ome ware h w th wi h m tive which has been operative in th prod ction has taken the material of which they are built, mixed t together re rranged t and fitted it together into a new wh le Th y bear very m ch the same relat on to the hildi..h mem ries t which they refer a many f th b roq pa..aces of Rom bea to the ancient ruins whose hewn stones and colur ha furni..hed the mat rial for the structures built in the modern styl

Rêve pe em =day-dream tory

In the *secondary elaboration* of the dream content which we have ascribed to our fourth dream forming factor we find once more the very same activity which is allowed to manifest it elf uninhibited by other influences in the creation of day dreams We may say without further preliminaries that this fourth factor of ours seeks to construct *something like* a day dream from the material which offers it self But where such a day dream has already been constructed in the context of the dream thoughts this factor of the dream work will prefer to take possession of it and contrive that it gets into the dream content There are dreams that consist merely of the repetition of a day phantasy which has perhaps remained unconscious—as for instance the boy s dream that he is riding in a war chariot with the heroes of the Trojan war In my *Autodidasker* dream the second part of the dream at least is the faithful repetition of a day phantasy—harmless in itself—of my dealings with Pro fessor N The fact that the exciting phantasy forms only a part of the dream or that only a part of it finds its way into the dream con tent is due to the complexity of the conditions which the dream must satisfy at its genesis On the whole the phantasy is treated like any other component of the latent material but it is often still recognizable as a whole in the dream In my dreams there are often parts which are brought into prominence by their producing a different impression from that produced by the other parts They seem to me to be in a state of flux to be more coherent and at the same time more transient than other portions of the same dream I know that these are unconscious phantasies which find their way into the context of the dream but I have never yet succeeded in registering such a phantasy For the rest these phantasies like all the other component parts of the dream thoughts are jumbled together condensed superimposed and so on but we find all the transitional stages from the case in which they may con stitute the dream content or at least the dream façade unaltered to the most contrary case in which they are represented in the dream content by only one of their elements or by a remote allusion to such an element The fate of the phantasies in the dream thoughts is ob viously determined by the advantages they can offer as against the claims of the censorship and the pressure of condensation

In my choice of examples for dream inter pretation I have as far as possible avoided those dreams in which unconscious phantasies play a considerable part because the introduc tion of this psychic element would have necessitated an extensive discussion of the p y chology of unconscious thou ht But even in this connection I cannot entirely avoid the *phantasy* because it often finds its way into the dream complete and still more often per ceptibly glimmers through it I might mention yet one more dream which seems to be com posed of two distinct and opposed phantasies, overlapping here and there of which the first is superficial while the second becomes as it were the interpretation of the first

The dream—it is the only one of which I possess no careful notes—is roughly to this effect *The dreamer—a young unmarried man—is sitting in his favourite inn which is seen correctly several persons come to fetch him among them someone who wants to arrest him He says to his table companions I will pay later I am coming back But they cry smil ng scornfully We know all about that that s what everybody says One guest calls after him There goes another one He is then led to a small place where he finds a woman with a child in her arms One of his escorts says This is Herr Muller A commissioner or some other official is running through a bundle of tickets or papers repeating Muller Muller Muller At last the commissioner asks him a question which he answers with a Yes He then takes a look at the woman and notices that she has grown a large beard*

The two component parts are here easily separable What is superficial is the *phantasy of being arrested* this seems to be newly cre ated by the dream work But behind it the *phantasy of marriage* is visible and this ma terial on the other hand has been slightly modified by the dream work and the features which may be common to the two phanta ies appear with special distinctness as in Galton s composite photographs The promise of the young man who is at present a bachelor to

I h e a lys d e ll t mpl f dre f th k d h g ts g th t t f t of e l ph t th *F gm l l A l* f *C f Hy t (C ll t d P pers* l III) f d l d th s g lf f s h phant es f d m f m t l g I was w k g p pally o my w d m wh h w ly b sed mos d y-d m b t m t f q tl

return to his place at his accu tomed table—the cepticism of h s drinking companions mad wise by the r many xperie c s—their calling after him *There goes (marri s) a other on* —are all featu es easily suscept ble of the other interpretation as is the affirmative answer gi en to the offic al Running through a bundle of papers and repeating the same name c rre po ds to a subordi ate but easily recog nized f atur of the marriage ceremony—the reading aloud of the c ngratul tory telegrams ... intervals and ... ame ... onde ... e en ... hich cree t The fa t th t this bride fina y wears a beard I can xplain from informati n recei ed —I had n opportunity of making an nalysis The dreamer had on the pre ous d y been tr ssing the stre t with a frie d wh was just s hostile to marriag a himself and had called hi friend s atte tion to beautiful brunett wh was comi g towa ds them The f end h d rema ked Yes f only these wome wouldn t get beard as they gr w lder lik th f thers

Of o rs even in thi dre m there is no la k of l me ts with which the dream-distor ti has d e deep w k. Th s the speech *I will pay later* may ha e refe nc t the be-havi ur feared th part of the father in law in the matte of d wry Ob usly all sorts of mi gi gs are p eve t g th dreamer from surre d ring himself w th pleasu e to the pha *tasy f marri ge* One of thes mi gi gs—that with marri ge he m ght lose hi f edom—has embodi d t lf in the transf rmati n of a scene of rrest

If o e more return t the thesis that th d eam wo k pref rs to mak us f a dy made phantasy nstead of fi t creating o e from th m terial of the d am th ght we shall pe haps be bl to s l e one of th most int rest g p bl m of th dre m I ha re-lated th dre m f M ury who truck the back f th k by a small bo d and w kes fter l g dream—a mplet mance f th period f th F e ch Rev l t on S ce the dream produced in a here t form and c mpl t ly fits th xpl nat f the w ki g tim l f whose curr th sleeper c ld ha e had fo boding only ssumpt seems poss ble m ly that the wh le richly laborated dre m mu t ha bee composed and dream d n the sh rt t rval f tim be

tween the falling of the board on Maury s cervical vertebrae a d the waking induced by the blow We should not venture to ascribe *such rap d ty* to the mental operations of the wak ng state o that we have to adm t that the dream wo k has the pri ilege of a remark able acceleration of its issue

To this conclus on which rapidly became popular more recent authors (*Le Lorrain* Egger and others) ha e opposed emphatic ob-ject ons some of them doubt the correctness of Maury's record of the dream some seek to show that the rap d ty of our mental operat ons in waking life is by no means inferior to that wh ch we can without reservat on ascribe to the m ntal operations i dreams The discus-sion ra ses fundamental que tio s which I do not th nk are at all near solution But I must co fess that Egger's objections for example to M urys dream of the gu llotine do not impress me as convincing I would suggest the follow ng expla ation of this dream Is it o very improbable that Maury s dream may ha e represented a phantasy which had been pre served for years in his memory in a completed state and which was awakened—I should l ke to say all ded to—at th moment when he became aware of the w king stimulus? The whol difficulty of compo g so lo g a story with all its details in the e ceed gly short space of tim which s h e at the dreamer s dispos l then disappears the story was alre dy compo ed If the board h d struck Maury s ne k whe he wa awak there would pe haps ha bee t me f r the thought Why that s ju t like bei g guillotined But as he is struck by th boa d while a le p the dream wo k quickly uti es the *coming st mul s for the* construct on of a wish f lfilment *as f* t

u d iabl that th dr am roma ce ju t such a o e s a young man is wo t t construct unde the fl ence of excit g mpress ons Who h s not be fascin t d—abo e all a F chman a d a stud nt of the history of civiliz t n—by de cripti of the Re gn of Terror in wh h the aristocracy m n and w me th flow r of the nati n h wed that it w s poss ble t d with a light heart and p e rved th r re dy wit and th refinem t of th manners up to the m ment of th last f t ful summons? How tempting t fancy

If in the mid t f all thi as ne of these

young men who take leave of their ladies with a ki s of the hand and fearlessly ascend the scaffold! Or perhaps ambition was the ruling motive of the phantasy—the ambition to put oneself in the place of one of those powerful personalities who by their sheer force of in tellect and their fiery eloquence ruled the city in which the heart of mankind was then beat ing so convulsively who were impelled by their convictions to send thousands of human beings to their death and were paving the way for the transformation of Europe who in the meantime were not sure of their own heads and might one day lay them under the knife of the guillotine perhaps in the role of a Girondist or the hero Danton? The detail pre served in the memory of the dream *accom panied by an enormous crowd* seems to show that Maury s phantasy was an ambitious one of just this character

But the phantasy prepared so long ago need not be experienced again in sleep it is enou h that it should be so to speak touched off What I mean is this If a few notes are struck and someone says as in *Don Juan* That is from *The Marriage of Figaro* by Mozart memories suddenly surge up within me none of which I can recall to consciousness a mo ment later The phrase serves as a point of irruption from which a complete whole is simultaneously put into a condition of stimu lation It may well be the same in unconscious thinking Through the waking stimulus the psy chic station is excited which gives access to the whole guillotine phantasy This phantasy *however is not run through in sleep but only* in the memory of the awakened sleeper Upon waking the sleeper remembers in detail the phantasy which was transferred as a whole in to the dream At the same time he has no means of assuring himself that he is really re membering something which was dreamed The ame explanation—namely that one is dealing with finished phantasies which have been evoked as wholes by the waking stimulus—may be applied to other dreams which are adapted to the waking stimulus—for example to Napoleon s dream of a battle before the explosion of a bomb Among the dreams col lected by Justine Tobowolska in her disserta tion on the apparent duration of time in dreams I think the most corroborative is that related by Macario (1857) as having been dreamed by a playwright Casimir Bonjour

J t Tobowolska *Et d l ll d temp dans les co s du somm il o m l* (19) p 53

Bonjour intended one evening to witness the first performance of one of his own plays but he was so tired that he dozed off in his chair behind the scenes just as the curtain was ris ing In his sleep he went through all the five acts of his play and observed all the various signs of emotion which were manifested by the audience during each individual scene At the close of the performance to his great satisfac tion he heard his name called out amidst the most lively manifestations of applau e Sud denly he woke He could hardly believe his eyes or his ears the performance had not gone beyond the first lines of the first scene he could not have been asleep for more than two minutes As for the dream the runnin through the five acts of the play and the observing the attitude of the public towards each individ ual scene need not we may venture to a ert, have been something new produced while the dreamer was asleep it may have been a repetition of an already completed work of the phantasy Tobowolska and other th re h

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n au like other dreams and that the dreamer s memory of them is summary rather than detailed But the e are precisely the char acteristics which would necessarily be exhib ited by ready made phantasies touched off by the dream work—a conclusion which is not of course drawn by these authors I do not mean to assert that all dreams due to a waking stim ulus admit of this explanation or that the *problem of the accelerated flux of ideas* in dreams is entirely dispo ed of in this manner

And here we are forced to consider the re lation of this secondary elaboration of the dream content to the other factors of the dream work May not the procedure perhaps be as follows? The dream forming factors the efforts at condensation the necessity of evad ing the censorship and the regard for repre sentability by the psychic means of the dream first of all create from the dream material a provisional dream-content which is subse quently modified until it satisfies as far as possible the exactions of a secondary agency No this is hardly probable We must rather assume that the requirements of this agency constitute from the very first one of the con d tions which the dream must atisfy and that this condition a well as the conditions of con densation the opposing censorsh p and repre sentability simultaneously influence in an in

ductive and selective manner the whole mass of material in the dream-thoughts. But of the four conditions necessary for dream formation the last recognized is that whose exactions appear to be least binding upon the dream. The following consideration makes it seem very probable that this psychic function which undertakes the so-called secondary elaboration of the dream-content, is identical with the work of our waking thought. Our waking (preconscious) thought behaves towards any given perceptual material precisely as the function in question behaves towards the dream-content. It is natural to our waking thought to create order in such material, to construct relations and to subject it to the requirements of an intelligible coherence. Indeed, we go rather too far in this respect; the tricks of conjurers befool us by taking advantage of this intellectual habit of ours. In the effort to combine in an intelligible manner the sensory impressions which present themselves we often commit the most curious mistakes, and even distort the truth of the material before us. The proofs of this fact are so familiar that we need not give them further consideration here. We overlook errors which make nonsense of a printed page because we imagine the proper words. The editor of a widely read French journal is said to have made a bet that he could print the words *from in front* or *from behind* in every sentence of a long article without any of his readers noticing it. He won his bet. Years ago I came across a comical example of false association in a newspaper. After the session of the French Chamber in which Dupuy quelled the panic caused by the explosion of a bomb thrown by an anarchist, with the courageous words *La séance continue*, the visitors in the gallery were asked to testify as to their impressions of the outrage. Among them were two provincials. One of these said that immediately after the end of a speech he had heard a detonation, but that he had thought that it was the parliamentary custom to fire a shot whenever a speaker had finished. The other, who had apparently already listened to several speakers, had got hold of the same idea, but with this variation, that he supposed the shooting to be a sign of appreciation following an especially successful speech.

Thus, the psychic agency which approaches the dream-content with the demand that it must be intelligible which subjects it to a first interpretation, and in doing so leads to the complete misunderstanding of it, is none other than our normal thought. In our interpretation the rule will be, in every case, to disregard the apparent coherence of the dream as being of suspicious origin, and whether the elements are confused or clear, to follow the same regressive path to the dream material.

At the same time we note those factors upon which the above-mentioned (p. 272) scale of quality in dreams—from confusion to clearness—is essentially dependent. Those parts of the dream seem to us clear in which the secondary elaboration has been able to accomplish something; those seem confused where the powers of this performance have failed. Since the confused parts of the dream are often likewise those which are less vividly presented, we may conclude that the secondary dream work is responsible also for a contribution to the plastic intensity of the individual dream structures.

If I seek an object of comparison for the definitive formation of the dream as it manifests itself with the assistance of normal thinking, I can think of none better than those mysterious inscriptions with which *Die Fliegende Blätter* has so long amused its readers. In a certain sentence which, for the sake of contrast, is in dialect, and whose significance is as scurrilous as possible, the reader is led to expect a Latin inscription. For this purpose the letters of the words are taken out of their syllabic groupings and are rearranged. Here and there a genuine Latin word results; at other points we think that letters have been obliterated by weathering or omitted; we allow ourselves to be deluded about the significance of certain isolated and meaningless letters. If we do not wish to be fooled we must give up looking for an inscription, must take the letters as they stand, and combine them, disregarding their arrangement, into words of our mother tongue.

The secondary elaboration is that factor of the dream work which has been observed by most of the writers on dreams, and whose importance has been duly appreciated. Havelock Ellis gives an amusing allegorical description of its performances: "As a matter of fact we might even imagine the sleeping consciousness as saying to itself: 'Here comes our master, Waking Consciousness, who attaches such mighty importance to reason and logic and so forth. Quick! gather things up, put them in

The rest will continue.—ED.

order—any order will do—before he enters to take possession

The identity of this mode of operation with that of waking thought is very clearly stated by Delacroix in his *Sur la structure logique du reve* (p 526) *Cette fonction d interprétation n est pas particulière au reve c est le meme travail de coordination logique que nous faisons sur nos sensations pendant la veille*

J Sully is of the same opinion and so is Tobowolska *Sur ces successions incohérentes d hallucinations l esprit s efforce de faire le meme travail de coordination logique qu il fait pendant le veille sur les sensations Il relie entre elles par un lien imaginaire toutes ces images décousues et bouche les écarts trop grands qui se trouvaient entre elles* (p 93)

Some authors maintain that this ordering and interpreting activity begins even in the dream and is continued in the waking state Thus Paulhan (p 547) *Cependant j ai souvent pensé qu il pouvait y avoir une certain déformation ou plutot reformation du reve dans le souvenir La tendence systématisante de l imagination pourrait fort bien achever après le réveil ce qu elle a ébauché pendant le sommeil De la sorte la rapidité réelle de la pensée serait augmentee en apparence par les perfectionnements dus a l imagination éveillée*

Leroy and Tobowolska (p 592) *Dans le reve au contraire l interprétation et la coordination se font non seulement à l aide des données du reve mais encore à l aide de celles de la veille*

It was therefore inevitable that this one recognized factor of dream formation should be over-estimated so that the whole process of creating the dream was attributed to it This creative work was supposed to be accomplished at the moment of waking as was assumed by Goblot and with deeper conviction by Foucault who attributed to waking thou ht the faculty of creating the dream out of the thoughts which emerged in sleep

In respect to this conception Leroy and Tobowolska express them elves as follows *On a cru pouvoir placer le reve au moment du reveil et ils ont attribué à la pensée de la veille la fonction de construire le reve avec les images présentes dans la pensée du sommeil*

To this estimate of the secondary elaboration I will add the one fresh contribution to the dream work which has been indicated by the sensitive observations of H Silberer Silberer has caught the transformation of thoughts into images *in flagranti* by forcing himself to accomplish intellectual work while in a state of fatigue and somnolence The elaborated thought vanished and in its place there appeared a vision which proved to be a substitute for—usually abstract—thou hts In these experiments it so happened that the emerging image which may be regarded as a dream element represented something other than the thoughts which were waiting for elaboration namely the exhaustion itself the difficulty or distress involved in this work that is the subjective state and the manner of functionin of the person exerting himself rather than the object of his exertions Silberer called this case which in him occurred quite often the *functional phenomenon* in contradistinction to the *material phenomenon* which he expected

For example one afternoon I am lying extremely sleepy on my sofa but I nevertheless force myself to consider a philosophical problem I endeavour to compare the views of Kant and Schopenhauer concerning time Owing to my somnolence I do not succeed in holding on to both trains of thought which would have been necessary for the purposes of comparison After several vain efforts I once more exert all my will power to formulate for myself the Kantian deduction in order to apply it to Schopenhauer s statement of the problem Thereupon I directed my attention to the latter but when I tried to return to Kant I found that he had again escaped me and I tried in vain to fetch him back And now this fruitless endeavour to rediscover the Kantian documents mislaid somewhere in my head suddenly presented itself my eyes being closed as in a

Tk World f D m pp ı (Lo d 91)
Th s f t f t rp t t to the d eam t the ame w k f l g cal o d ot p tı la t th t w use u s t s wh w k —E
W th these se f oh t h lu t m d must do th am wo k of l g al oo d at th t t does w th th s sat wh aw k W th bo f m g t t e tes ll th d sc ected ım g and fills the gap f d wh ch t g t —E
H w er I ha ft th ght that th m ght b ce ta d f rm t the d m wh t s recall d th ref m t f t dency f the im g t c w ll f h ft w k g the k tch begu n sleep I th t w y th re l pe d of th ught w ll be gm t d pp by ımp eme ts d to th w k d m g t —Ed
I the d eam o th c t ary th t rp t t d coo d at a m de t ly w th th d f wh t g by th d m b t als w th what is g n by the w ke ed m d —Ed

It wa th ht th t th d m c uld be pl ced at th m m t f w k g d they tt b ted t the wak l g th ughts th f t f tru t g th dre m f m b m g s prese t i th sleep g th ghts —Ed

dream-image in the form of a v s'ble plastic symbol *I derard informat on of a grumpy sec ~~ who bent o er a desk d s not allow*

tion between leep and waking

Example No Conditions M rning while awaking Whil t a certain extent asleep (cre puscular state) thinki g o er a prev o s dream, m way repeating and finishing t I feel my self drawing nearer to the waki g state yet I wish t remain in the crepu cular state

Scene I am stepp g with one foot over a stre m b t I at once pull it back again and es lve to emain on this side

Exampl No 6 Co ditions the same s in Example No 4 (he wi hes to remain in bed a litl longer with ut o ersleeping) I wi.h to indulge in a little longer sleep

Scene I am s yi g good bye to somebody and I agree t meet h m (or her) aga before long

I will now p oceed to summarize this long disquisition on the dream w rk. We w re con fronted by the question whether in dream f rmation th psych exerts all its faculties to their full xtent with ut inhib tion only fractio of them which are estricted in th ir ction. Our in esti-at ons lead us to rej ct ch a statement of the p obl m s wholly inad quate m the ci cumstan es But f in r answer we are t remain o the ground upon whi h the

the process which changes the unconscious thoughts into the dream-content which is pe culiar to the dream life and characteristic of it. Now this peculiar dream work is much farther removed *from* the pattern of waking thought than has been supposed by even the most decided depreciators of the psychic activ ity in dream f rmation. It is not o much that it is more negligent more incorrect more for getful more incomplete than waking thought it is something altogether different qualitative ly from waking thought and cannot therefore be compared with it. It does not think, calcu late or judge at all but limits itself to the work of transformation *It may be exhausti ely* described if we do not lose s ght of the condi tions which its product mu t satisfy This product, the dream has above all to be with drawn from the cen orship and to this end the dream wo k makes use of the *displacement of psychic intensities* even to the transvalua tion of all psychic alues thoughts must be exclusively r predomi antl reproduced in the material of v sual and acou tic memory traces and from this requirement there proceed the *regard of the d e m wo k for representab l ty* which it sati fies by fresh displacements. Greater intens t es have (probably) to be pro- duced than are at the disposal of the n ght dream th ughts and this purpose s served by the exten ive *co densation* to which the co stit ents of the dream thou hts are subjected Little attentio is paid to the logical relations of th thought material they ultimately find

transform tion f these into the dream-co t nt. The dream thoughts perf ctly accurate and are formed with all the psychic p ofus n of whi h we re capabl they bel g t the thought which ha e t become conscio s from whi h ou onsc tho ghts also result by m ans f rtain transpos t on. The e is doubtles m ch in them that is w rth kn wing and also my t rious but th e p bl ms have no particula relation to our dream and can ot claim t be treated under the head f dream-p blems On the other hand we have

pressed whe they are preserved they a e freed from the oncepts and comb ed in

tained the mem ry d the ecees y f i rpre g th dream was ignored. B w when the analysts ha lea become reconciled subs t ting f the manifes dream is m ni as found by interpreta ma y f them re guilty f the mistak to wh ch they dhere jus as tubbornly They look f the es- sence f the dream in this l te co tent, and thereby ve look the dis ction be ween late dream thoughts and the dream wo k. The dream is fundamentally thing m re than *speci l form* f ou thi ki g,

pective tendency f dreams. That the dream should

accordance with their similarity Only one part of the dream work—the revision variable in amount which is effected by the partially wak ened conscious thought—is at all consistent with the conception which the writers on the subject have endeavoured to extend to the whole performance of dream formation

VII THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE DREAM PROCESSES

AMONG the dreams which have been commu nicated to me by others there is one which is at this point especially worthy of our atten tion It was told me by a female patient who had heard it related in a lecture on dreams Its original source is unknown to me This dream evidently made a deep impression upon the lady since she went so far as to imitate it i e to repeat the elements of this dream in a dream of her own in order by this transference to express her agreement with a certain point in the dream

The preliminary conditions of this typical dream were as follows A father had been watching day and night be ide the sick bed of his child After the child died he retired to rest in an adjoining room but left the door ajar so that he could look from his room into the next where the child s body lay surrounded by tall candles An old man who had been installed as a watcher sat beside the body murmuring prayers After sleeping for a few hours the father dreamed that *the child was standing by his bed clasping his arm and cry ing reproachfully Father don t you see that I am burning?* The father woke up and no ticed a bright light coming from the adjoining room Rushing in he found that the old man had fallen asleep and the sheets and one arm of the beloved body were burnt by a fallen candle

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potted it was correct The bright light shining through the open door on to the sleeper s eyes gave him the impres sion which he would have received had he been awake namely that a fire had been started near the corpse by a falling candle It is quite possible that he had taken into his sleep his anxiety lest the aged watcher should not be equal to his ta k

We can find nothing to change in this in terpretation we can only add that the content of the dream must be overdetermined and that the peech of the child must have con sisted of phrases which it had uttered while still alive and which were associated with im portant events for the father Perhaps the complaint *I am burning* was associated with the fever from which the child died and *Fa ther don t you see?* to some other affective occurrence unknown to us

Now when we have come to recognize that the dream has meaning and can be fitted into the context of psychic events it may be surprising that a dream should have occurred in circum stances which called for such an immediate waking We shall then note that even this dream is not lacking in a wish fulfilment The dead child behaves as though alive he warns his father himself he comes to his father s bed and clasps his arm as he probably did in the recollection from which the dream obtained the first part of the child s speech It was for the sake of this wish fulfilment that the father slept a moment longer The dream was given precedence over waking reflection because it was able to show the child still living If the father had waked first and had then drawn the conclusion which led him into the adjoin ing room he would have shortened the child s life by this one moment

There can be no doubt about the peculiar features in this brief dream which engage our particular interest So far we have endeav oured mainly to ascertain wherein the secret meaning of the dream consists how it is to be discovered and what means the dream work uses to conceal it In other words our greatest interest has hitherto been centered on the problems of interpretation Now however we encounter a dream which is easily explained and the meaning of which is without disguise we note that nevertheless this dream preserves the essential characteristics which conspicuous ly differentiate a dream from our waking thoughts and this difference demands an ex planation It is only when we have disposed of all the problems of interpretation that we feel how incomplete is our psychology of dreams

But before we turn our attention to this new path of investigation let us stop and look back and consider whether we have not overlooked something important on our way hither For we must understand that the easy and com fortable part of our journey lies behind us Hitherto all the paths that we have followed have led if I mistake not, to l ght to explana tion and to full understanding but from the moment when we seek to penetrate more deep-

t th psychic proce ses in dream ng all

edge to whi h we can eter suc exp ... y fundame tals as may be inferr d from the psy ch logical invest gation of dreams On the co trary w shall be compelled to ad ance a number of new assumpti ns which do l ttle more than co j cture th struct re of the psy chi apparatus and the play of the e e gies active in it a d we hall ha e to be careful not to go too far beyo d the s mplest logical constru tion si c th rw e ts value will be doubtful And e en if we should be unerr g in our infere ces and take c gn zan e of all the l gical po s bilit s we should st ll be in danger of arri g at a c mplet ly mi taken result wing to the probabl incompl teness of the p liminary stat ment of o r elementary data. W shall not be able to rri e at a y concl ons s to the stru t re and f ctio of *the psy hic instrume t* from eve the most careful n t gation of d eams or of any oth r *isolat d* t vity or t all events we shall not be bl t confirm our ncl o s To do this w shall h e to coll te ch phenomena as th mpa t e st dy f a whole serie of psychic t t pro es t be liably e st. t. So that th psych logical a s mpt ons whi h we ha th analys of the d am p se will ha to ma k t me s t we until they ca join up with th results of other in est at o s wh h p eedi g f om an ther starting point w ll ek t penetrat to the heart of the ame p bl m

A *The Fo g tt g f D eams*

I p opos then that we sh ll first of all turn ou ttent on to s bj t whi h brings us t hith rto dis ga d d bj cti which threatens t und rm e the ery found t of fforts at *d eam int rpretat on* The obje tio has been mad f om mo tha o qu rte that th d m whi h w wi h t t rp t s really unkn wn t us or t be m e p cise that we h gu rant that we know it as t re lly o cu red

What we ec ll ct of th d am d what we bj t to o m thod f terp et t o th first pl c m tilat d by th unf th fu f memory wh h seem q te peculia ly in pable f retaining dre ms and wh h m y ha m tted pre sely the m t signific t parts of their nte t F r when we try to cons der our dreams attentively we often ha e rea on to complain that we have dreamed much more than we remember that unfortunately we know nothing more than this o e fragment and that our recollection of even th s fragment eems to us strang ly uncerta n M reo er everything goes to prove that our memory *reproduces the dream not only in* completely but also untruthfully in a fal ify ng manner As on the one hand we may doubt whether what we dreamed was really as d s con ected as it is in o r recollections so on the other hand we may doubt whethe a dream was really as coherent as our account of it whether in our attempted reproductio we ha e not filled n the g ps which *really exi ted* or those whi h are due to forgetf lness with new and arb trarily chosen material whether we have not mb llished the dream rounded it off and corrected t so that any conclus on as to its real content becomes impo ble In deed one writer (Spitta) surmises that all that is orderly and cohe ent is really first put *i to the dream during the attempt to recall it* Thus we are in danger of being depri ed of the very object whose value we have undertaken to determine

In all our dream terpretat ons we have hitherto ignored the e w rnings On the c n trary ind d we have fou d that the smallest, m t n gnificant a d m st uncertai com

read I *q ckly* c lled in Dr M and we as umed that *eve th s small addendum* would not have got into the dream if it had not been suscept bl of a special derivation In this way we arrived at the h tory of that u fortunate pati nt to whose bed ide I *qu ckly* called my older colleagu In the s mingly absurd dream whi h t t d the diffe ence between fifty-o e and fifty ix q *t tê ẽgl ge bl* th num ber fifty-one was m ti ed r pe tedly Inste d of regarding this as a matter of course or a d ta l f diffe ent al e we proceeded from thi t sec d train of thought in the latent d eam-cont t which led to the number fifty d by foll wing up this clue we *rri* ed t the fears which proposed fifty-one years as th term f life *in th* harpest oppositi n t dominant tra n f thou ht wh ch was bo t fully lavi h of the years In the dream N

S mila ews re xpressed by F ca lt d T n-ry

vixit I found as an insignificant interpolation that I had at first overlooked the sentence *As P does not understand him Fl asks me* etc The interpretation then coming to a stand still I went back to these words and I found through them the way to the infantile phantasy which appeared in the dream thoughts as an intermediate point of junction This came about by means of the poet s verses

Selten habt ihr mich verstanden
Selten auch verstand ich Euch
Nur wenn wir im Kot *uns fanden*
So verstanden wir uns gleich!

Every analysis will afford evidence of the fact that the most insignificant features of the dream are indispensable to interpretation and will show how the completion of the task is delayed if we postpone our examination of them We have given equal attention in the interpretation of dreams to every nuance of verbal expression found in them indeed when ever we are confronted by a senseless or in sufficient wording as though we had failed to translate the dream into the proper version we have respected even these defects of expres sion In brief what other writers have re arded as arbitrary improvisations concocted hastily to avoid confusion we have treated like a sacred text This contradiction calls for ex planation

It would appear without doing any injustice to the writers in question that the explana tion is in our favour From the standpoint of our newly acquired insight into the origin of dreams all contradictions are completely reconciled It is true that we distort the dream in our attempt to reproduce it we once more find therein what we have called the secondary and often misunderstanding elaboration of the dream by the agency of normal thinking But this distortion is itself no more than a part of the elaboration to which the dream thoughts are constantly subjected as a result of the dream censorship Other writers have here sus pected or observed that part of the dream distortion whose work is manifest but for us this is of little consequence as we know that a far more extensive work of distortion not so easily apprehended has already taken the dream for its object from among the hidden dream thoughts The only mistake of these writers consists in believing the modification effected in the dream by its recollection and verbal expression to be arbitrary incapable of further solution and consequently liable to lead us astray in our cognition of the dream. They underestimate the determination of the dream in the psyche Here there is noth g arbitrary It can be shown that in all ca es a second train of thought immediately takes over the determination of the elements wh ch have been left undetermined by the first For example I wish quite arbitrarily to think of a number but this is not possible the number that occurs to me is definitely and neces arily determined by thou hts within me which may be quite foreign to my momentary purpo e The modifications which the dream undergoes in its revision by the waking mind are ju t as little arbitrary They preserve an associative connection with the content whose place they take and serve to show us the way to this content which may itself be a substitute for yet another content

In analysing the dreams of patients I im pose the following test of this assertion and never without success If the first report of a dream seems not very comprehensible I re quest the dreamer to repeat it This he rarely does in the same words But the passages in which the expression is modified are thereby made known to me as the weak points of the dream s disguise they are what the embroi dered emblem on Siegfried s raiment was to Hagen These are the points from which the analysis may start The narrator has been ad moni hed by my announcement that I intend to take special pains to solve the dream and immediately obedient to the urge of resistance he protects the weak points of the dream s disguise replacing a treacherous expression by a less relevant one He thus calls my attention to the expressions which he has discarded. From the efforts made to guard against the solution of the dream I can also draw conclu sions about the care with which the raiment of the dream has been woven

The writers whom I have mentioned are however less justified when they attribute o much importance to the doubt with which our jud ment approaches the relation of the dream. For this doubt is not intellectually warranted our memory can give no guarantees but never theless we are compelled to credit its state ments far more frequently than is objectively justifiable Doubt concerning the ac urate re production of the dream or of individual

S ld m h ve y u d rst od m
S ld m h v I derst d y u
B t when w f d l th m e
W t ce de t d ch th I

Cf The P y h p th l gy f E eryd y Life

dust of the dream, is only another offshoot of the dream-censorship that is of resistance to the emergence of the dream thoughts into consciousness. This resistance has not yet exhausted itself by the displacements and substitutions which it has effected so that it still clings in the form of doubt, to what has been allowed to emerge. We can recognize this doubt all the more readily in that it is careful never to attack the intensive elements of the dream, but only the weak and indistinct ones. But we already know that a transvaluation of all the psychic values has taken place between the dream thoughts and the dream. The distortion has been made possible only by devaluation; it constantly manifests itself in this way and sometimes contents itself therewith. If doubt is added to the indistinctness of an element of the dream-content we may, following the indication, recognize in this element a direct offshoot of one of the outlawed dream thoughts. The state of affairs is like that obtaining after a great revolution in one of the republics of antiquity or the Renaissance. The once powerful, ruling families of the nobility are now banished, all high posts are filled by upstarts; in the city itself only the poorer and most powerless citizens or the remoter followers of the vanquished party are tolerated. Even the latter do not enjoy the full rights of citizenship. They are watched with suspicion. In our case instead of suspicion we have doubt. I must insist, therefore, that in the analysis of a dream one must emancipate oneself from the whole scale of standards of reliability and if there is the slightest possibility that this or that may have occurred in the dream, it should be treated as an absolute certainty. Until one has decided to reject all respect for appearances in tracing the dream elements the analysis will remain at a standstill. Disregard of the element concerned has the psychic effect, in the person analysed, that nothing in connection with the unwished ideas behind this element will occur to him. This effect is really not self-evident. It would be quite reasonable to say: Whether this or that was contained in the dream I do not know for certain, but the following ideas happen to occur to me. But no one ever does say so. It is precisely the disturbing effect of doubt in the analysis that permits it to be unmasked as an offshoot and instrument of the psychic resistance. Psycho-analysis is justifiably suspicious. One of its rules runs: Whatever disturbs the progress of the work is a resistance.

The forgetting of dreams too remains inexplicable until we seek to explain it by the power of the psychic censorship. The feeling that one has dreamed a great deal during the night and has retained only a little of it may have yet another meaning in a number of cases; it may perhaps mean that the dream work has continued in a perceptible manner throughout the night, but has left behind it only one brief dream. There is however no possible doubt that a dream is progressively forgotten on waking. One often forgets it in spite of a painful effort to recover it. I believe however that just as one generally overestimates the extent of this forgetting so also one overestimates the lacunae in our knowledge of the dream due to the gaps occurring in it. All the dream-content that has been lost by forgetting can often be recovered by analysis; in a number of cases at all events, it is possible to discover from a single remaining fragment, not the dream of course—which, after all is of no importance—but the whole of the dream thoughts. It requires a greater expenditure of attention and self suppression in the analysis, that is all, but it shows that the forgetting of the dream is not innocent of hostile intention.

A convincing proof of the tendencious nature of dream forgetting—of the fact that it serves the resistance—is obtained on analysis by investigating a preliminary stage of forgetting. It often happens that, in the midst of an interpretation, an omitted fragment of the dream suddenly emerges which is described as having been previously forgotten. This part of the dream that has been wrested from forgetfulness is always the most important part. It lies on the shortest path to the solution of

This peremptory statement, "Whatever disturbs the progress of the work is a resistance" might easily be misunderstood. It has, of course, the significance merely of a technical rule, a warning for the analyst. It is not denied that during an analysis events may occur which cannot be ascribed to the intention of the person analysed. The patient's father may die in other ways than by being murdered by the patient, [illegible]

the dream and for that very reason it was most exposed to the resistance Among the examples of dreams that I have included in the text of this treatise it once happened that I had subsequently to interpolate a fragment of dream content The dream is a dream of travel which revenges it elf on two unamiable travelling companions I have left it almost entirely uninterpreted as part of its content is crudely obscene The part omitted reads *I said referring to a book of Schiller's It is from but corrected myself as I reali ed my mistake It is by Whereupon the man remarked to his sister Yes he said it correctly*

Self correction in dreams which to some writers seems so wonderful does not really call for consideration But I will draw from my own memory an instance typical of verbal errors in dreams I was nineteen years of age when I visited England for the first time and I spent a day on the shore of the Irish Sea Naturally enough I amused myself by picking up the marine animals left on the beach by the tide and I was just examining a starfish (the dream begins with *Hollthurn—Holothurian*) when a pretty little girl came up to me and asked me *Is it a starfish? Is it alive?* I replied *Yes he is alive* but then felt ashamed of my mistake and repeated the sentence correctly For the grammatical mistake which I then made the dream substitutes another which is quite common among German people *Das Buch ist von Schiller'* is not to be translated by *the book is from* but by *the book is by* That the dream work accomplishes this substitution because the word *from* owing to its consonance with the German adjective *fromm* (pious devout) makes a remarkable condensation possible should no longer surprise us after all that we have heard of the intentions of the dream work and its unscrupulous selection of means But what relation has this harmless recollection of the seashore to my dream? It explains by means of a very innocent example that I have used the word—the word denoting gender or *sex* or the *sexual* (*He*)—in the wrong place This is surely one of the keys to the solution of the dream Those who have heard of the derivation of the book title *Matter and Motion* (Molière in *Le Malade Imaginaire La Matière est-elle laudable?—A Motion of the bowels*) will readily be able to supply the missin parts

Moreover I can prove conclusively by a *demonstratio ad oculos* that the forgetting of the dream is in a large measure the work of the resistance A patient tells me that he has dreamed but that the dream has vanished without leaving a trace as if nothing had happened We set to work however I come upon a resistance which I explain to the patient encoura ing and urgin him I help him to become reconciled to some disagreeable thought and I have hardly succeeded in doing so when he exclaims Now I can recall what I dreamed! The same resistance which that day disturbed him in the work of interpretation caused him also to forget the dream By overcoming this resistance I have brought back the dream to his memory

In the same way the patient having reached a certain part of the work may recall a dream which occurred three four or more days ago and which has hitherto remained in oblivion

Psycho analytical experience has furnished us with yet another proof of the fact that the forgetting of dreams depends far more on the resistance than on the mutually alien character of the waking and sleeping states as some writers have believed it to depend It often happens to me as well as to other analysts and to patients under treatment that we are waked from sleep by a dream as we say and that immediately thereafter while in full possession of our mental faculties we begin to interpret the dream Often in such cases I have not rested until I have achieved a full understanding of the dream and yet it has happened that after waking I have forgotten the interpretation work as completely as I have forgotten the dream content itself though I have been aware that I have dreamed and that I had interpreted the dream The dream has far more frequently taken the result of the interpretation with it into forgetfulness than the intellectual faculty has succeeded in retaining the dream in the memory But between this work of interpretation and the waking thoughts there is not that psychic abyss by which other writers have sought to explain the forgetting of dreams When Morton Prince objects to my explanation of the forgettin of dreams on

S h ect o i th u f f gn l gu ge are t rar d e m b t th y u lly tt b t d to f gn rs M ty (p 43) whil h w t dy g E gl h d m d that h f m d m th t he h d ll d h m th d y bef th f ll wi g w ds I call d f yo yest d y Th th s wer d correctly You me I called on you yest d y

E t J es d sc be l e case f fre Q t oc d i g th ly f dream th d m f th sam ght l fte recalled wh ch t l th was t m rely f g tte b t was t p ted

the ground that it is only a special case of the amnes of di ociated psychic states and that the imposs b lity of app ying my explanation m es a to othe types of am

planat n underlying these phenomena ut had he do e so he would surely ha e discovered that repression (and th res tance p oduced thereby) is th ca s not of these dissociations merely but also f the amnes a of their psy chic c t t

That dreams are s little forgotten as other psychi acts that even in the r power of m pres ing them l es o the mem ry they may fairly be c mpared with the ther psychic per formances was p o ed to m by an experim t which I was able to make while preparing th manuscript of this book I had pre rved in my otes a great many dreams of my own which f r e reaso or anoth r I could not interp et r t th time of dreaming them could interpret only very imperfectly In order to obtain material to illustrate my assertion I ttemp d t interpret some of them a year or tw later In this attempt I was in ariably su ce ful indeed, I m y say that the inter pretation was ff cted more ea ily aft r all this time than when the dreams we e of recent occurrence. As a pos ble explanation f this f ct I would suggest that I had overcome many f the i ternal resistances which had dist bed m at the time of dreaming In such subseque t interpretati ns I ha e compa d the old y eld of d eam thoughts with the p esent esult, which has usually bee more abun da t and I ha in ariably found the old dream thoughts unalt red am g the present es H wev r I soo recove ed from my sur prise when I refl cted that I had l ng been customed to nterpret dreams f form r ye rs that had *occasionally* been related to me by my pat ents as though they had bee dream f the night before by the same method and with the same ucce In the section on anxi ety-d eams I shall incl de two examples of h d layed dream int rpretations Whe I mad this experiment for the first time I e pe ted ot unrea onably that d eam would beha e in this onnecti n m rely like ne tic symptoms. F when I treat psycho urotic fo in tance an hysterical patient, by psychoanaly is I am c mpelled to fi d explanations f the first symptoms of the malady which have long since disappeared as well as for those still existing symptoms which have brought the patient to me and I find the former problem ea ier to sol e than the more exigent one of today In the *Stud es in Hysteria* published as early as 1895 I was able to give the explanation of a first hyster cal attack which the patient, a woman over forty years of age, had experienced in her fifteenth year

I will n w make a few rather unsystemat c remarks relating to the interpretat ons of dreams which will perhaps s rve as a gu de to the reader who wishes to test my assertions by the analysis of his own dreams

He must not expect that it will be a simple a d easy matter to interpret his own dreams E en the bservation of endopt c ph nomena and other en ations which are commonly immune from attent on calls for pract ce alth ugh this gr up of observations is not oppo ed by any psychic moti e It is very much more difficul to get hold f the *unwished deas* He who s eks to do so must fulfil the requirements la d down in this treati e and while following the rules here gi en he must endeavo r to restrai all criticism all precon ceptions, and all affecti e or i tellectual bias in him. If durin the work of analy s He must be ever mindful of the precept which Claude Berna d h ld up to the xperimenter in the phys ological laboratory *T availler comme une bete'*—that is he must be as enduring as an animal, and also as disinterested n the re sults of his work He who will f ll w this ad ice will no longe fi d the ta k a difficult e. The interpretat n of a dream cannot lways be ac complished in one session after f llowing up a chain of sociations you will often feel that your working capacity is exhausted *the dream* will t tell you anythin mo e that d y it is then best to break off and to resume the wo k the follow ng day *Another portion of* the dream-content then solicits your attent on and you thus obtain access t fresh stratum f the dream thoughts One might call this the *f ct onal* interpretation f dreams

It is most difficult to indu e the beginner in d eam interp et tio to recognize th fact that his task is ot finished when h is in posses ion

S udien ber Hy erie Case II.
Dreams which have occurred d ring the first ye rs f childhood d which ha e sometimes been ta ned in th memory for decades with pe fec se so i l freshnes re almos al ys f grea impo ta ce f the understandi g f the developmen d the neurosi f the d me The lysis f th m ro ects the physician from rrors d certai ies which migh fuse him ven theore icall

of a complete interpretation of the dream which is both ingenious and coherent and which gives particulars of all the elements of the dream content Besides this another interpretation an over interpretation of the same dream one which has escaped him may be possible It is really not easy to form an idea of the wealth of trains of unconscious thought striving for expression in our minds or to credit the adroitness displayed by the dream work in killing—so to speak—seven flies at one stroke like the journeyman tailor in the fairy tale by means of its ambiguous modes of expression The reader will constantly be inclined to reproach the author for a superfluous display of ingenuity but anyone who has had personal experience of dream interpretation will know better than to do so

On the other hand I cannot accept the opinion first expressed by H Silberer that every dream—or even that many dreams and certain groups of dreams—calls for two different interpretations between which there is even supposed to be a fixed relation One of these which Silberer calls the *psycho-analytic* interpretation attributes to the dream any meaning you please but in the main an infantile sexual one The other the more important interpretation which he calls the *anagogic* interpretation reveals the more serious and often profound thoughts which the dream work has used as its material Silberer does not prove this assertion by citing a number of dreams which he has analysed in these two directions I am obliged to object to this opinion on the ground that it is contrary to facts The majority of dreams require no over interpretation and are especially insusceptible of an anagogic interpretation The influence of a tendency which seeks to veil the fundamental conditions of dream formation and divert our interest from its instinctual roots is as evident in Silberer s theory as in other theoretical efforts of the last few years In a number of cases I can confirm Silberer s assertions but in these the analysis shows me that the dream work was confronted with the task of transforming a series of highly abstract thoughts incapable of direct representation from waking life into a dream The dream work attempted to accomplish this task by seizing upon another thou ht mat [illegible]
allegori [illegible]
thereby [illegible]
them T [illegible] interpretation of a dream originating in this manner will be given by the dreamer immediately but the correct interpretation of the substituted material can be obtained only by means of the familiar technique

The question whether every dream can be interpreted is to be answered in the negative One should not forget that in the work of interpretation one is opposed by the psychic forces that are responsible for the distortion of the dream Whether one can master the inner resistances by one s intellectual interest one s capacity for self control one s psychological knowledge and one s experience in dream interpretation depends on the relative strength of the opposing forces It is always possible to make some progress one can at all events go far enough to become convinced that a dream has meaning and generally far enough to gain some idea of its meaning It very often happens that a second dream enables us to confirm and continue the interpretation assumed for the first A whole series of dreams continuing for weeks or months may have a common basis and should therefore be interpreted as a continuity In dreams that follow one another we often observe that one dream takes as its central point something that is only alluded to in the periphery of the next dream and conversely so that even in their interpretations the two supplement each other That different dreams of the same night are always to be treated in the work of interpretation as a whole I have already shown by examples

In the best interpreted dreams we often have to leave one passage in obscurity because we observe during the interpretation that we have here a tangle of dream thoughts which cannot be unravelled and which furnishes no fresh contribution to the dream content This then, is the keystone of the dream the point at which it ascends into the unknown For the dream thoughts which we encounter during the interpretation commonly have no termination but run in all directions into the net like entanglement of our intellectual world It is from some denser part of this fabric that the dream wi h then arises like the mushroom from its mycelium

Let us now return to the facts of dream forgetting So far of course we have failed to draw any important conclusion from them When our waking life shows an unmistakable intention to forget the dream which has been formed during the night either as a whole immediately after waking or little by little

in the course of the day, and when we recognize as the chief factor in this process of forgetting the psychic resistance against the dream which has already done its best to oppose the dream at night, the question then arises: What actually has made the dream-formation possible against this resistance? Let us consider the most striking case in which the waking life has thrust the dream aside as though it had never happened. If we take into consideration the play of the psychic forces, we are compelled to assert that the dream would never have come into existence had the resistance prevailed at night as it did by day. We conclude, then, that the resistance loses some part of its force during the night; we know that it has not been discontinued, as we have demonstrated its share in the formation of dreams—namely, the work of distortion. We have therefore to consider the possibility that at night the resistance is merely diminished, and that dream-formation becomes possible because of this slackening of the resistance; and we shall readily understand that, as it regains its full power on waking, it immediately thrusts aside what it was forced to admit while it was feeble. Descriptive psychology teaches us that the chief determinant of dream-formation is the dormant state of the psyche, and we may now add the following explanation: *The state of sleep makes dream-formation possible by reducing the endopsychic censorship.*

We are certainly tempted to look upon this as the only possible conclusion to be drawn from the facts of dream-forgetting, and to develop from this conclusion further deductions as to the comparative energy operative in the sleeping and waking states. But we shall stop here for the present. When we have penetrated a little farther into the psychology of dreams we shall find that the origin of dream-formation may be differently conceived. The resistance which tends to prevent the dream-thoughts from becoming conscious may perhaps be evaded without suffering reduction. It is also plausible that both the factors which favour dream-formation, the reduction as well as the evasion of the resistance, may be simultaneously made possible by the sleeping state. But we shall pause here, and resume the subject a little later.

We must now consider another series of objections against our procedure in dream-interpretation. For we proceed by *dropping* all the directing ideas which at other times control reflection, directing our attention to a single element of the dream, noting the involuntary thoughts that associate themselves with this element. We then take up the next component of the dream-content, and repeat the operation with this, and, regardless of the direction taken by the thoughts, we allow ourselves to be led onwards by them, rambling from one subject to another. At the same time we harbour the confident hope that we may in the end, and without intervention on our part, come upon the dream-thoughts from which the dream originated. To this the critic may make the following objection: That we arrive somewhere if we start from a single element of the dream is not remarkable. Something can be associatively connected with every idea. The only thing that is remarkable is that one should succeed in hitting upon the dream-thoughts in this arbitrary and aimless excursion. It is probably a self-deception; the investigator follows the chain of associations from the one element which is taken up until he finds the chain breaking off, whereupon he takes up a second element; it is thus only natural that the originally unconfined associations should now become narrowed down. He has the former chain of associations still in mind, and will

with the associations of the first chain. He then *imagines that he has found a thought which* represents a point of junction between two of the dream-elements. As he allows himself all possible freedom of thought-connection, except only the transitions from one idea to another which occur in normal thinking, it is not difficult for him finally to concoct out of a series of *intermediary thoughts* something which he calls the dream-thoughts, and without any guarantee, since they are otherwise unknown, he palms these off as the psychic equivalent of the dream. But all this is a purely arbitrary procedure, an ingenious-looking exploitation of chance, and anyone who will go to this useless trouble can in this way work out any desired interpretation for any dream whatever.

If such objections are really advanced against us, we may in defence refer to the impression produced by our dream-interpretations, the surprising connections with other dream-elements which appear while we are following up the individual ideas, and the improbability that anything which so perfectly covers and

explains the dream as do our dream interpretations could be achieved otherwise than by following previously established psychic connections We might also point to the fact that the procedure in dream interpretation is identical with the procedure followed in the resolution of hysterical symptoms where the correctness of the method is attested by the emergence and disappearance of the symptoms —that is where the interpretation of the text is confirmed by the interpolated illustrations But we have no reason to avoid this problem—namely how one can arrive at a pre existent aim by following an arbitrarily and aimlessly maundering chain of thoughts—since we shall be able not to solve the problem it is true but to get rid of it entirely

For it is demonstrably incorrect to state that we abandon ourselves to an aimless excursion of thought when as in the interpretation of dreams we renounce reflection and allow the involuntary ideas to come to the surface It can be shown that we are able to reject only those directing ideas which are known to us and that with the cessation of these the unknown—or as we inexactly say unconscious—directing ideas immediately exert their influence and henceforth determine the flow of the involuntary ideas Thinking without directing ideas cannot be ensured by any influence we ourselves exert on our own psychic life neither do I know of any state of psychic derangement in which such a mode of thought establishes itself The psychiatrists have here far too prematurely relinquished the idea of the solidity of the psychic structure I know that an unregulated stream of thoughts devoid of directing ideas can occur as little in the realm of hysteria and paranoia as in the formation or solution of dreams Perhaps it does not occur at all in the endogenous psychic affections and according to the ingenious hypothesis of Lauret even the deliria observed in confused psychic states have meaning and are incomprehensible to us only because of omissions I have had the same conviction whenever I have had an opportunity of observing such states The deliria are the work of a censorship which no longer makes any effort to conceal its sway which instead of lending its support to a revision that is no longer obnoxious to it cancels regardlessly anything to which it objects thus causing the remnant to appear disconnected This censorship proceeds like the Russian censorship on the frontier which allows only those foreign journals which have had certain passages blacked out to fall into the hands of the readers to be protected

The free play of ideas following any chain of associations may perhaps occur in cases of destructive organic affections of the brain What however is taken to be such in the psychoneuroses may always be explained as the influence of the censorship on a series of thoughts which have been pushed into the foreground by the concealed directing ideas It has been considered an unmistakable sign of free association unencumbered by directing ideas if the emerging ideas (or images) appear to be connected by means of the so-called superficial associations—that is by assonance verbal ambiguity and temporal coincidence without inner relationship of meaning in other words if they are connected by all those a so-

Only recently has my attention been called to the fact that Ed. v. Hartmann ... [illegible]

Ch. V) E ... law ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... help from th ... the u ... [illegible]

... A fl ... 46) ... (Phil. d. L. ben ... [illegible] ... (N. F. P. b ... D. Prel ... [illegible] ... (Cf. The P... ted by A. A. B... Mono ... as P. bl. h. g. C. ... N. w. Y. ... k]) ... d. M. tal Di ... [illegible]

ciations which we allow oursel es to explo t in w t and in playing upon words This dis-tinguishing ma k h lds good with a ociations which lead us from the elements of the dream co ent to th intermediary thoughts, and from these t the dream-though s proper in many analyses of dreams w ha e found ur pri ing examples of this. In these no connection was too loose and o witticism too objectio ble to serve as a bridg from one thought to an t e B th correct understanding of such surpris g t lerance is not f r to seek. *When ever on psych lement s corrected with an ther by an ob x ous and superficial associ at o th e exists als a correct and more pr found connection between the two wh ch s c mb to the esist ce of the censorsh p*

The orrect explanation f r the predomi nance of the superficial a sociations is the pressure of the censorship and n t the sup-pressio f the di ecting idea Whe ever th censorship re d rs th ormal conn ctive paths impassabl the uperficial associations will re place the deeper ones in the represent tion It is as though *n mounta ous region a general* m erruption f traffic, fo example an inunda t n, should rend r the broad highways impass-able traffic would the ha e to be maintained by teep and inco enient tracks used at other times nly by the hunter

We can here di ti guish two cases which however are essentially In th first case th sorship is dire ted nly again t the con ection f two th ughts which, bein d tached from anoth r escape ts o pos t on. The tw th ught th enter successi ely into con sc ousness their onnection remains concealed but in ts p ace th re occurs to us a uperficial c nnection between the two which ld ot therwise ha e occurred to us and which as a rule onnects with another an le of the con ceptual complex instead f that f om w ch the suppressed but essential conn ction pro-ceeds Or in th seco d case both th ughts owing to thei content, succumb t the c nso ship both then appear not in th orrect form but in modified ubst uted f rm and both substit ted th ughts re so selected as to represent, by a superficial sociat o the essential relation which xi ted between those that they ha e epla ed. *Unde th pre sur f th cen or h p the displ ment f ormal nd ri al ass ciation by one s perficial and ap-parently absurd has thus curr d in both ses*

Because w kn w f these displacem ts we unhesitatingly rely upon even the superficial associations which occur in the course of dream interpretati n

The psycho-analys s of neurotics makes abundant use of the two principles that with the abandonment of the conscious directin ideas the control o er the flow of ideas is transferred to the concealed directing ideas and that superficial a sociations are o ly a displacement substitute for suppres ed and m re profound ones Indeed, psycho-analysis makes these two principles the found tio stones of its techniqu When I request a

d report

ly

be

able to drop the directin idea of the treat ment and I feel justfied n concluding that what he reports even thou h it may seem to be quite ingenuous and arb trary has ome connect on w th his mo bid state An ther di ecting idea of which the pat ent has no us p n is my own personal ty The full appreci ation as well as the deta led proof of both these explanations belo gs to the description *of th psycho-analytic technique as a therapeu* tic m thod We ha e here reached o e of the junct ns so to peak, at which we purposely dr p the bject of dream interpretation.

Of all th object ns ra sed only one is just fi d and st ll remains to be m t namely that we ought t t a ribe all the associations of the interp t tio wo k to the nocturnal dream work. By int rpretat on in the wakin state we are ctually pennin a path running back fr m th dream-elem nts to the dream thought The dream wo k has follow d the contrary direction, and it is not t all probable that these paths are equally passable in opposite directions. On the contrary it appe rs that during the day by means of n w thought-con nections we sink shafts that strike the inte med ary tho ghts and the dream thoughts now in this pla e, now in that We can see how the recent th ught mat rial of the day f ces its way into the interpretation series and how th

Th sam considerations na rally hold good f th

additional resistance which has appeared since the night probably compels it to make new and further detours But the number and form of the collaterals which we thus contrive during the day are psychologically speaking indifferent so long as they point the way to the dream thoughts which we are seeking

B *Regression*

Now that we have defended ourselves against the objections raised or have at least indicated our weapons of defence we must no longer delay entering upon the psychological investigations for which we have so long been preparing Let us summarize the main results of our recent investigations The dream is a psychic act full of import its motive power is invariably a wish craving fulfilment the fact that it is unrecognizable as a wish and its many peculiarities and absurdities are due to the influence of the psychic censorship to which it has been subjected during its formation Besides the necessity of evading the censorship the following factors have played a part in its formation first a need for condensing the psychic material second regard for representability in sensory images and th

...udates and assumptions Thus the reciprocal relation of the wish motives and the four conditions as well as the mutual relations of these conditions must now be investigated the dream must be inserted in the context of the psychic life

At the beginning of this section we cited a certain dream in order that it might remind us of the problems that are still unsolved The interpretation of this dream (of the burning child) presented no difficulties although in the analytical sense it was not given in full We asked ourselves why after all it was necessary that the father should dream instead of waking and we recognized the wish to represent the child as living as a motive of the dream That there was yet another wish operative in the dream we shall be able to show after further discussion For the present however we may say that for the sake of the wish fulfilment the thought process of sleep was transformed into a dream

If the wish fulfilment is cancelled out only one characteristic remains which distinguishes the two kinds of psychic events The dream thought would have been I see a glimmer coming from the room in which the body is lying Perhaps a candle has fallen over and the child is burning! The dream reproduces the result of this reflection unchanged but represents it in a situation which exists in the present and is perceptible by the senses like an experience of the waking state This however is the most common and the most striking psychological characteristic of the dream a thought usually the one wished for is objectified in the dream and represented as a scene or—as we think—experienced

But how are we now to explain this characteristic peculiarity of the dream work or—to put it more modestly—how are we to bring it into relation with the psychic processes?

On clo...

th...

by...

...are almost independent of each other One is its representation as a present situation with the omission of *perhaps* the other is the translation of the thought into visual images and speech

The transformation to which the dream thoughts are subjected because the expectation is put into the present tense is perhaps in this particular dream not so very strikin This is probably due to the special and really subsidiary role of the wish fulfilment in this dream Let us take another dream in which the dream wish does not break away from the continuation of the waking thoughts in sleep for example the dream of Irma s injection Here the dream thought achievin representation is in the conditional If only Otto could be blamed for Irma s illness! The dream suppresses the conditional and replaces it by a simple present tense Yes Otto is to blame for Irma s illness This then is the first of the transformations which even the undistorted dream imposes on the dream thoughts But we will not linger over this first peculiarity of the dream We dispose of it by a reference to the conscious phantasy the day dream which behaves in a similar fashion with its conceptual content When Daudet s M Joyeuse wanders unemployed throu h the streets of Paris while his daughter is led to believe that he has a post and is sitting in his office he dreams in the present ten e of circumstances that might help him to obtain a recommendation and employment The dream then employs the pre ent tense in the same manner and with the same right as the day dream The present is the tense in which the wish is represented as fulfilled

The second quality peculiar to the dream alone, as distinguished from the day-dream, is that the conceptual content is not thought, but is transformed into visual images to which we give credence and which we believe that we experience. Let us add, however, that not all dreams show this transformation of ideas into visual images. There are dreams which consist solely of thoughts but we cannot on that account deny that they are substantially dreams. My dream *Autodidasker—the day fantasy with Professor N.* is of this character: it is almost as free of visual elements as though I had thought its content during the day. Moreover every long dream contains elements which have not undergone this transformation into the visual, and which are simply thought or known as we are wont to think or know in our waking state. And we must here reflect that this transformation of ideas into visual images does not occur in dreams alone but also in hallucinations and visions, which may appear spontaneously in health, or as symptoms in the psychoneuroses. In brief the relation which we are here investigating is by no means an exclusive one: the fact remains however that this characteristic of the dream, wherever it occurs, seems to be its most noteworthy characteristic, so that we cannot think of the dream-life without it. To understand it, however requires a very exhaustive discussion.

Among all the observations relating to the theory of dreams to be found in the literature of the subject, I should like to lay stress upon one as being particularly worthy of mention. The famous G. T. H. Fechner makes the conjecture in a discussion as to the nature of the dream *that the scene of action of dreams is set up elsewhere than in the waking ideation*. No other assumption enables us to comprehend the special peculiarities of the dream-life.

The idea which is thus put before us is one of *psychic locality*. We shall wholly ignore the fact that the psychic apparatus concerned is known to us also as an anatomical preparation, and we shall carefully avoid the temptation to determine the psychic locality in any anatomical sense. We shall remain on psychological ground, and we shall do no more than accept the invitation to think of the instrument which serves the psychic activities much as we think of a compound microscope, a photographic camera, or other apparatus. The psychic locality, then, corresponds to a place within such an apparatus in which one of the preliminary phases of the image comes into existence. As is well known, there are in the microscope and the telescope such ideal localities or planes in which no tangible portion of the apparatus is located. I think it superfluous to apologize for the imperfections of this and all similar figures. These comparisons are designed only to assist us in our attempt to make intelligible the complication of the psychic performance by dissecting it and referring the individual performances to the individual components of the apparatus. So far as I am aware no attempt has yet been made to divine the construction of the psychic instrument by means of such dissection. I see no harm in such an attempt. I think that we should give free rein to our conjectures provided we keep our heads and do not mistake the scaffolding for the building. Since for the first approach to any unknown subject we need the help only of auxiliary ideas, we shall prefer the crudest and most tangible

... others ...

the sake of clearness *systems*. We shall then anticipate that these systems may perhaps maintain a constant spatial orientation to one another very much as do the different and successive systems of lenses of a telescope. Strictly speaking there is no need to assume an actual spatial arrangement of the psychic system. It will be enough for our purpose if a definite sequence is established, so that in certain psychic events the system will be traversed by the excitation in a definite temporal order. This order may be different in the case of other processes; such a possibility is left open. For the sake of brevity we shall hence forth speak of the component parts of the apparatus as *ψ-systems*.

The first thing that strikes us is the fact that the apparatus composed of ψ-systems has a direction. All our psychic activities proceed from (inner or outer) stimuli and terminate in innervations. We thus ascribe to the apparatus a sensory and a motor end; at the sensory end we find a system which receives the perceptions, and at the motor end another which opens the sluices of motility. The psychic process generally runs from the perceptive end to the motor end. The most general scheme of the psychic apparatus has therefore the following appearance as shown in Fig. 1 on page 352. But this is only in compliance with the requirement, long familiar to us, that the psychic apparatus

Psychophysik, Part II, p. 520.

must be constructed like a reflex apparatus The reflex act remains the type of every psychic activity as well

We now have reason to admit a first differentiation at the sensory end The percepts that come to us leave in our psychic apparatus a trace which we may call a *memory trace* The function related to this memory trace we call *the memory* If we hold seriously to our resolution to connect the psychic processes into systems the memory trace can consist only of lasting changes in the elements of the systems But as has already been shown elsewhere

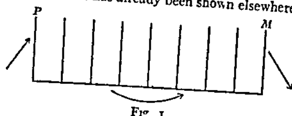
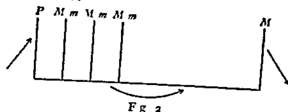


Fig 1

obvious difficulties arise when one and the same system is faithfully to preserve changes in its elements and still to remain fresh and receptive in respect of new occasions of change In accordance with the principle which is directing our attempt we shall therefore ascribe these two functions to two different systems We assume that an initial system of this apparatus receives the stimuli of perception but retains nothing of them — that is it has no memory and that behind this there lies a second system which transforms the momentary excitation of the first into lasting traces The following would then be the diagram of our psychic apparatus



Fg 2

We know that of the percepts which act upon the *P* system we retain permanently something else as well as the content itself Our percepts prove also to be connected with one another in the memory and this is especially o if they originally occurred simultaneously We call this the fact of *association* It is now clear that if the *P* system is entirely lacking in memory it certainly cannot preserve traces for the associations the individual *P*-elements would be intolerably hindered in their functioning if a residue of a former connection should make its influence felt a ainst a new perception Hence we must rather assume that the memory system is the basis of association The fact of association then consists in this— that in consequence of a lessening of resistance a d a smoothing of the ways from one of the *mem* elements the excitation transmits itself to a second rather than to a third *mem*-element.

On further investigation we find it necessary to assume not one but many such *mem* systems in which the same excitation transmitted by the *P*-elements undergoes a diversified fixation The first of these *mem* systems will in any ca e contain the fixation of the association through simultaneity while in those lying farther away the same material of excitation will be arranged according to other forms of combination so that relation hips of similarity etc might perhaps be represented by these later systems It would of course be idle to attempt to express in words the psychic significance of such a system Its characteristic would lie in the intimacy of its relations to elements of raw material of memory—that is (if we wish to hint at a more comprehensive theory) in the gradations of the conductive resistance on the way to these elements

An observation of a general nature which may possibly point to something of importance may here be interpolated The *P* system which possesses no capacity for preserving changes and hence no memory furnishes to consciousness the complexity and variety of the sensory qualities Our memories on the other hand are unconscious in themselves those that are most deeply impressed form no exception They can be made conscious but there is no doubt that they unfold all their activities in the unconscious state What we term our character is ba ed indeed on the memory traces of our impressions and it is precisely those impressions that have affected us most strongly tho e of our early youth which hardly ever become conscious But when memories become conscious again they show no sensory quality or a very ne ligible one in comparison with the perceptions If now it can be confirmed *that for consciousness memory and quality are mutually exclusive in the ψ systems* we have gained a most promising insight into the determinations of the neuron excitations

What we have so far assumed concerning the composition of the psychic apparatus at

S w it g th I ha th ght th t co sci nes oc t ally th l l ty f the m m ry t ce (Cf \ t *be de li d blo k* 9 5 *Ges Sch ft* \ L i)

the sens'b'e end has been assumed regardless of dreams and of the psychological explanations which we have hitherto deri ed from them Dreams h wever w ll erv as a s u ce of ev dence f ou knowledge f an ther part of the apparatus We ha e seen that it was impos ible to explain dream formation unless we ventur d to a sume two psychic *ins ances* on of which subjected the activities of the other to criti cism the result of which was exclusion from co sciousness.

We have concluded that the criticizing *in-sta e* maintains closer relati ns with the con-sciou ness than the *inst ce* criticized It stands between the latt r and th consciousness like a screen. Furth we ha e f und that the e is reaso to identify th riti izing *instance* with th t which directs our waking life and deter min s our voluntary conscious activitie If in acc rdance with our a sumptions we now re pla e these *nstan es* by systems the criticiz ing system will th refo e be moved to the mo-to d. We ow enter both systems in our di agram, exp es in by the names given them thei relation to c ciousness

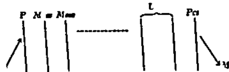


Fig 3

The last f the syst ms at the motor e d we call the *preconscio (Pcs)* to de te that the exciti g processes in thi sy tem can re ch con sciousness w tho t any furthe d tention, pro-ded ertain other condition are fulfilled e.g th attainment of a d finite degree of intens ty ertain pportionment f that functi which must all ttenti n, tc This is at the same tim the system which h lds the keys f vol untary m tility The system behind t we call the *unconscious (Ucs)* because it has no a ess to ons ne s *except th ough th pr con scious* in th pas ge thr gh which the e ci tation-p ocess m t submit to certain changes

I hich f these syst ms then do we lo-calize the impetus t dream f rmation? F r th sak f mplicity l t u say in the ystem *Ucs* W shall fi d t is true in subsequ nt di cus ons, that this is not alt gether orrect

that dream formation is obliged to make con nect on w th dream thoughts which belong to the system of the preconscious. But we shall learn elsewhere when we come to deal with the dream wish that the motive power of the dream is furnished by the *Ucs* and on account of this factor we shall a sume the unconscious system as the tarting poi t for dream forma t o This dream-e citation l ke all the other thought structures will now stri e to continue itself in the *Pcs* and thence to gain admis ion to the consciousness

Experience teaches us that the path lead ng through the preconsc ous to consciousness is cl sed to the dream thoughts during the day by

this admission were rendered possible to the dream th ughts by the weaken ng during the night of the resista ce watching n the bound ary between the unconscious and the precon sci us, we should then ha e dreams in the mat rial of our deas which would not display the hallucinatory character that interests us at present.

Th weakening of the censorship between the two systems *Ucs* a d *Pcs* can explain to us only su h dreams as the *A todidasker* dream but n t dreams like that of the burn ng child whi h—as will be remembe ed—we tated as a p oblem at the outset in our present inves tigations

Wh t takes place n th hallucinatory d eam we can describe no ther way than by say ing that the excitation foll w a retrogres e co se It communicates it elf not to the m tor e d of the apparatus but to the sen ory end and finally rea hes the system of pe cept on. If we call the direct on which the ps chic pro-ce s foll ws f om the unco scious to the waking tate *progressive* we may then speak of th d am as ha ing *eg essi e* character

This *egres on* th efore ssu edly one of the mo t mporta t psycholog al peculi rit es f th d eam process but we must n t forget that t is n t characteri tic of the dream alo e Intent nal recollect on and other c mponent

The furthe laboration f th Linear diagram will have reckon with the as umption that the ystem foll wi g the *P* represents the one hich we mus tribute conscio sness (*C*) so that $P = C$

Th firs i d ca f the element f regres is already encou ed the wri rs f Albertu M us. Accord g t h m the m g *so co* ructs th dre m t f the tangibl bjects which l h retained. The

processes of our normal thinking likewise neces sitate a retrogression in the psychic apparatus from some complex act of ideation to the raw material of the memory traces which underlie it But during the waking state this turning backwards does not reach beyond the memory images it is incapable of producing the hallu cinatory revival of the perceptual images Why is it otherwise in dreams? When we poke of the condensation work of the dream we could not avoid the assumption that by the dream work the intensities adhering to the ideas are completely transferred from one to another It is probably this modification of the usual psy chic process which makes possible the cathex is of the system of *P* to its full sensory viv idness in the reverse direction to thinking

I hope that we are not deluding ourselves as regards the importance of this present dis cussion We have done nothing m [illegible] a [illegible] it [illegible] b [illegible] or [illegible] but even this step requires justifi cation Why this definition if it does not teach us anything new? Well I believe that the word *regression* is of service to us inasmuch as it connects a fact familiar to us with the scheme of the psychic apparatus endowed with direc tion At this point and for the first time we shall profit by the fact that we have constructed such a scheme For with the help of this scheme we shall perceive without further reflection another peculiarity of dream formation If we look upon the dream as a process of regres sion within the hypothetical psychic apparatus we have at once an explanation of the empi rically proven fact that all thought relations of the dream thoughts are either lost in the dream work or have difficulty in achieving ex pression According to our scheme these thought relations are contained not in the first *mem* systems but in those lying farther to the front and in the regression to the perceptual images they must forfeit expression *In regres sion the structure of the dream thoughts breaks up into its raw material*

But what change renders possible this regres sion which is impossible during the day? Let us here be content with an assumption There must evidently be changes in the cathexis of the individual systems causing the latter to become more accessible or inaccessible to the discharge of the excitation but in any such apparatus the same effect upon the cour e of the excitation might be produced by more than one kind of change We naturally think of the sleeping state and of the many cathectic changes which this evokes at the sensory end of the apparatus During the day there is a continuous stream flowing from the ψ system of the *P* toward the motility end this current ceases at night and can no longer block the flow of the current of excitation in the oppo site direction This would appear to be that *seclusion from the outer world* which accord ing to the theory of some writers is suppo ed to explain the psychological character of the dream In the explanation of the regression of the dream we shall however have to take into account those other regressions which occur during morbid waking states In these other forms of regression the explanation just given plainly leaves us in the lurch Regression occurs in spite of the uninterrupted sensory current in a progressive direction

The hallucinations of hysteria and paranoia as well as the visions of mentally normal per sons I would explain as corresponding in fact, to regressions i e to thoughts transformed into images and would assert that only such thoughts undergo this transformation as are in intimate connection with suppressed memories or with memories which have remained un conscious As an example I will cite the case of one of my youngest hysterical patients—a boy of twelve who was prevented from fallir asleep by green faces with red eyes which terrified him The source of this manifestation was the suppressed but once conscious mem ory of a boy whom he had often seen four years earlier and who offered a warning ex ample of many bad habits including mastur bation for which he was now reproaching him self At that time his mother had noticed that the complexion of this ill mannered boy was *g eenish* and that he had *red* (i e red rimmed) *eyes* Hence his terrifying vision which mere ly determined his recollection of another say ing of his mother s to the effect that such boys become demented are unable to learn anything at school and are doomed to an early death A part of this prediction came true in the case of my little patient he could not get on at school and as appeared from his involuntary associations he was in terrible dread of the re mainder of the prophecy However after a brief period of successful treatment his sleep was restored his anxiety removed and he fin

F om the G eek *K the* to ccupy d h e in pl c f the tho t m *Be t g t* s gn fy a charge r i estm t of e e gy —TR

ished his scholastic year with an excellent record.

Here I may add the interpretation of a vision described to me by an hysterical woman of forty as ha ing occurred when she was in normal health. One morning she opened her eyes and saw h brother in the oom although she knew him to be onfined in a insane asylum H r little son was asleep by her s de. Lest the child *should be frighten d* on see ng his

1

of e of he childish memo es ... though conscious was most intimat ly connected with all the unco cious material in her mind Her urs rymaid had told her that her m the who had died young (my patient was then only eighteen months old) had suffered fr m epilept c or hyst rical o vuls ons which dated back to a fright caused by her b othe (*the pati t s u cle*) wh appeared to her disguised as a spectr with a *sheet* over h s h ad. The visio contains th same eleme ts a th reminiscence viz the appearance of *the brother the sheet* the *fright* a d its ef f t These elements however are arranged in fresh o text and tran ferred t oth er pers s The obv m t e of th vis on and th thought which it replac d was her solicitud lest h r little so who bo e a trik ing resemblan e to his uncl should ha the latter's fate.

B th examples here cited are not e tirely unrelated t the state of sleep and m y fo that eason be unfitted to aff rd th evidence fo th sake of which I ha e cited th m I will th ef re refer t my analys s of an hallucina t ry paran w man pat ent and to the results f my hitherto unpublished st dies on th psychol gy of the psych eurose in ord to emphasize the fact that these cases of egres- e th ght-transf rm tio one mu t t over look the nfl enc of a suppre sed memory one that has remained un nscious this being usually f an infantil charact This m mory draws into th regressio as it were, the thoughts with which t is connect d and which are kept f m xpress on by the censo hip—that is, into that f rm of representa ti in which the m mory tself is psychically xi tent. And here I may add a result of my t dies of hysteria that f o e ucceeds in bringing t consci usnes infantil scenes (whether they are recollections or phantasies) th y appear as hallucinations and are di ested of this character only when they are *communi* cated It is known also that even in persons whose memories are not otherwise visual the earliest infantile memories remain vividly visual until late in life

If now we bear in mind the part played in the dream thoughts by the infant le experi ences or by the phantasies based upon them and recollect how often fragments of these re emerge in the dream-content and how even the dream wishes often p oceed from them we cannot deny the probab lity that in dreams too the transformation of th ughts into visual images m y be the result of the *att action* ex e cised by the visually repre ented memory striving for resuscitat on upon the thoughts severed from the consciousness and struggling for express on Pursuing this conceptio we may further describe the dream as the *s b- stitute for the i fa tile scene mod fied by t ans ference to recent material* The nfantile scene cannot enfo ce its own revi al and must there for be satisfied to return as a dream

This refere ce to the significa ce of the in fantile scenes (or of their phantastic repeti tions) as in a certai degree furnishing the pattern for the dream-co te t renders superfluous the assumption made by Scherner and his pupils co cerning inner sou ces of stimuli Scherner assumes a state of *visual e citat on* of int rnal excitation in the organ of s ght when the *dreams manifest* a pecial vividness r an extrao dinary abundance of visual ele- me ts We n ed raise no objection to this as- sumptio we may pe haps content oursel es *with assuming such a state of excitat on* nly for the psychic pe ceptive system of the or gan of vis on we shall however insist that this tat of excitation is a reanim t o by the *memory* f a *former actual* ual excitation I cannot, from my own experi ce give a good exampl showing h an nfluen e of an infan til memory my own dream a e ltogether less rich in *percept al eleme ts* than I imagi e those f others to be but in my mo t beautiful and most vi d dream of lat years I can eas ly trace the hallu inatory distinctness of the dream-conte ts to the visual qualities of re cently ece ed impress ons On p 3 I mentioned dream in which th d k blue of the water the b wn of the sm ke ssuing from th ship funn ls and th sombre b own and red of the buildings whi h I saw mad a profound and lasting impress on upon my mind.

Sele d P per on H eria "Further Observations on the Defence-Neuro-Psychoses p 97 bo e.

This dream if any must be attributed to visual excitation but what was it that had brou ht my organ of vision into this excitable state? It was a recent impression which had joined itself to a series of former impressions The colours I beheld were in the first place those of the toy blocks with which my children had erected a magnificent building for my admi ration on the day preceding the dream There was the sombre red on the large blocks the blue and brown on the small ones Joined to these were the colour impressions of my last journey in Italy the beautiful blue of the Isonzo and the lagoons the brown hue of the Alps The beautiful colours seen in the dream were but a repetition of those seen in memory

Let us summarize what we have learned about this peculiarity of dreams their power of recasting their idea content in visual images We may not have explained this character of the dream work by referring it to the known laws of psychology but we have singled it out as pointing to unknown relations and have given it the name of the *regressive* character Wherever such regression has occurred we have regarded it as an effect of the resistance which opposes the progress of thought on its normal way to consciousness and of th simultaneous attraction exerted upon it by vivid memories The regression in dreams is perhaps facilitated by the cessation of the progressive stream flowing from the sense organs during the day for which auxiliary factor there must be some compensation in the other forms of regression by the strengthening of the other regressive motives We must also bear in mind that in pathological cases of regres ion just as in dreams the process of energy transference must be different from that occurrin in the re gressions of normal psychic life since it ren ders possible a full hallucinatory cathexis of the perceptive system What we have described in the analysis of the dream work as *regard for representab lity* may be referred to the *selec tive attraction* of visually remembered scenes touched by the dream thoughts

As to the regression we may further observe that it plays a no less important part in the theory of neurotic symptom formation than in the theory of dreams We may therefore dis tinguish a threefold species of regres on (*a*) a *topical* one in the sense of the scheme of the ψ systems here expounded (*b*) a *temporal* one in so far as it is a regression to older psychic formations and (*c*) a *formal* one when primi tive modes of expression and representation take the place of the customary modes These three forms of regression are however basic ally one and in the majority of cases they co incide for that which is older in point of time is at the same time formally primitive and, in the psychic topography nearer to the percep tion end

We cannot leave the theme of regression in dreams without giving utterance to an impres sion which has already and repeatedly forced itself upon us and which will return to us re inforced after a deeper study of the psycho neuroses namely that dreaming is on the whole an act of regression to the earliest relationships of the dreamer a resuscitation of his childhood of the impulses which were then dominant and the modes of expression which were then avail able Behind this childhood of the individual we are then promised an insight into the phylo genetic childhood into the evolution of the hu man race of which the development of the in dividual is only an abrid ed repetition influ enced by the fortuitous circumstances of life. We begin to suspect that Friedrich Nietzsche was right when he said that in a dream there persists a primordial part of humanity which we can no longer reach by a direct path and we are encouraged to expect from the analysis of dreams a knowledge of the archaic inheri tance of man a knowledge of psychical things in him that are innate It would seem that dreams and neuroses have preserved for us more of the psychical antiquities than we sus pected so that psycho analysis may claim a high rank among those sciences which en deavour to reconstruct the oldest and darkest phases of the beginnings of mankind

It is quite possible that we shall not find this first part of our psychological evaluation of dreams particularly satisfying We must how ever console ourselves with the thou ht that we are after all compelled to build out into the dark If we have not gone altogether astray we shall surely reach approximately the same place from another starting point and then perhaps we shall be better able to find our bearings

C *The Wish Fulfilment*

The dream of the burning child (cited above) affords us a welcome opportunity for appreci

[1] I a tat m t f th theory of p es it sh ld be expla d th t th u ht p es t ep es ow g t the c -op t f tw f th f t rs wh h i fl ce t O th s d (th enso h p f C) it pushed a d f om th the d (th U) it is pulled m ch s o h lped t th t p f th G e t Py m d. (C mp th p pe R p p 42 bel w)

ating the difficulties confro ting the theory of —— Th dream should be noth

meaning Accordin to the correct but summa ry definiti n of Ari totle the dream is a con ti uation f thinking in sleep N w if during the day our thou hts perf rm uch a di ersity of ps hic cts—judgme ts conclu ons the answ ring of objections expe tati ns inten tio etc—why hould th y be forced at night to confine themsel es t the p oducti of wishes only? Are there ot, on the co trary

a

upon his eyes while he is a leep th father draw th apprehensive onclusion that a candle has fallen over and may be burni g the body h transforms this co cl sion into a dream by embodyi g t i an b o s s tuation enacted in the prese t tense What part is played in this d am by the wish fulfilment? And h w can we possibly mistak the predom inance of th tho ght continued f om the wak ing st te or evok d by the ew sensory imp es s ?

All thes con d rat ns are justified and *force us t look more closely into the rôl of* the h f lfilm t in dreams, and the signifi can f the waking thoughts co tinued in sleep.

It is p ec sely the wi h f lfilment that has already caused us t divide all dreams into two gr ps W have found dreams whi h were plainly w sh fulfilments and oth rs in which the wi h fulfilment *was unrecognizabl* and was ften con ealed by every available mean In this latte class of d eams w recognized th fi e of th dream-cen orsh p The un di guised wi h-d eams were f und hiefly in hildren *short* frank w h-dream *seem d* (I purposely emphasize this w rd) to occur also in dults

W may ow ask whence in ea h case does the wish that is realized in th dream originat ? But t what ppo tion o t what di ers ty d we relat this *whence?* I think to the pposi tion between consci us daily life and an un conscious psychic activity which is able to make itself perceptible only at n ght I thus find a threefold possibility for the orig n of a wish Firstly t may have been exc ted during the day and owing to external circumstances may have remained u satis fied there is thus left for the n ght an acknowledged and unsatis fied wish Secondly t may ha e emerged during the day only to be rejected there is thus left for the night an unsati fied but s ppressed wish Th rd ly it may have no relation to daily life but may belong to tho e wi hes which awake o ly at night out of the suppressed material in us. If we turn t ou scheme of the psych c appa ratus we can localize a wish f the fir t order in the system *Pcs* We may assume that a w sh of the seco d order has been fo ced back from the *Pcs* system into the *Ucs* system where alone if anywh re can it ma tain itself as *for the wi h impulse of the third order we be- l eve that it s wh lly ncapable of leaving the Ucs* ystem. Now have the wishes arisi g from these different sources the same value for the dream the same power to incite a dream?

On surveyi g the dreams at our disposal with a view to answering this question we are at o e mo ed to add as a fourth source of the dream wi h the actual wi h impetus which ari es d ri g the ni ht (fo example the stim ulus of thirst and sexual des re) It the seems t us probable that the source of the dream w sh does not affect its capacity to incite a dre m I have in mind the d eam of the child who continued the oyage th t had been inter rupted during the day and the other child e s dreams cited in the same chapter they are explained by an unfulfilled but unsuppres ed wish of the daytime That wishes suppre sed duri g the day as ert them el es in dreams is shown by a great many examples I will men tion very simple dre m of this ki d A rath e sa castic lady whose younge friend has be come engaged to be married, is asked in the daytime by her acquai tances whether she k —

ly that he is a *commonplace fellow — one me ts s h by the d en (D t endmensch)* The foll wi ght h d eams that the same quest on is put to he and that she pl s with th f rmula *I c se of s bs q e t ders t wi l suffic to ment on the ef c n mber* Finally th result of mer u analyses we learn that the wish in all dreams that have been

subject to distortion has its origin in the uncon scious and could not become perceptible by day At first sight then it seems that in re spect of dream formation all wishes are of equal value and equal power

I cannot prove here that this is not really the true state of affairs but I am strongly in clined to assume a stricter determination of the dream wish Children s dreams leave us in no doubt that a wish unfulfilled during the day may instigate a dream But we must not forget that this is after all the wish of a child that it is a wish impul e of the strength n

adult it would rather seem that as we learn to control our instinctual life by intellection we more and more renounce as unprofitable the formation or retention of such intense wishes as are natural to child hood In this indeed there may be individual variations some retain the infantile type of the psychic processes longer than others just as we find such differences in the gradual de cline of the originally vivid visual imagination In general however I am of the opinion that unfulfiled wishes of the day are insufficient to produce a dream in adults I will readily admit that the wish impulses originating in conscious ness contribute to the instigation of dreams but they probably do no more The dream would not occur if the preconscious wish were not re inforced from another source

That source is the unconscious I believe that *the conscious wish becomes effective in ex citing a d*

ing a sim

it From

analysis [illegible] neuroses I believe that these unconscious wishes are always active and ready to express themselves whenever they find an opportunity of allying themselves with an im pulse from consciousness and transferring their own greater intensity to the lesser intensity of the latter It must therefore seem that the conscious wish alone has been realized in the dream but a slight peculiarity in the form of the dream will put us on the track of the pow erful ally from the unconscious These ever active and as it were immortal wishes of our unconscious recall the legendary Titans who from time immemorial have been buried un der the mountains which were once hu l d [illegible]

[illegible] the psychological investigation of the neuroses Let me therefore set aside the view previously expressed that it matters lit tle whence the dream wish originates and re place it by another namely *the wish mani fested in the dream must be an infantile wish* In the adult it originates in the *Ucs* while in the child in whom no division and censorship exist as yet between the *Pcs* and *Ucs* or in whom these are only in process of forma tion it is an unfulfilled and unrepressed wish from the waking state I am aware that this conception cannot be generally demonstrated but I maintain that it can often be demon strated even where one would not have sus pected it and that it cannot be generally refuted

In dream formation the wish impulses which are left over from the conscious waking life are therefore to be relegated to the back ground I cannot admit that they play any part except that attributed to the material of actual sensations during sleep in relation to the dream content If I now take into account those other psychic instigations left over from the waking life of the day which are not wish es I shall merely be adhering to the course mapped out for me by this line of thought We may succeed in provisionally disposing of the energetic cathexis of our waking thoughts by deciding to go to sleep He is a good sleeper who can do this Napoleon I is reputed to have been a model of this kind But we do not al ways succeed in doing it or in doing it com pletely Unsolved problems harassing care

[illegible] termed the preconscious The thought im pulses continued into sleep may be divided in to the following groups

1 Those which have not been completed during the day owing to some accidental cause

2 Those which have been left uncomplet

[illegible]

ed because our mental powers ha e failed us, e un ol ed problems

3 Th se which have been turned back and suppressed durin, the day This is rein for ed by a powerful fourth group

4. Those which ha e been e cit d in our *Ucs* during the day by the wo kings of the *Pcs* and finally we may add a fifth, consisting of h d v

the day s w king e p

nating from th group of the unsol ed iss es It s rtain that the e e citations conti u to tn e f r xpres on during the night, and we may a sume w th equal c rtainty that the state of sleep renders impossible the usual ontinu ance f th process of e citati in the preco cious a d ts terminatio in becoming con ci us In so f r as we can become c n cious f our mental proces es in the ordin ry way ev during the night to that extent we are mply ot asleep I cannot say what chan e is produced in the *Pcs* system by the state of leep but th re s o d bt that the psychological chara teristics of leep are to be sought m inly in the cathect changes occurring just in this system, whi h dominates m reover the pp oa h to motility paralysed during leep On the ther hand I ha e found n thi g in the psych l gy of dreams to warrant the as sumpti that leep prod es ny but secon dary changes in the co ditions of the *Ucs* system Hence f th octurnal excitations in th *P* there emains no th path than that taken by the wi h-excitations from the *Ucs* they must seek re f ceme t from the *Ucs* d f llow the detours of the un nsci us x citations. But what s th relation of the pre n c us day residues t the dream? There is doubt that they pen trat bundantly into the dream that they utilize the dream-co tent t obtrud themsel es upon consciousnes even d ring the night indeed they somet mes even dominate the dream-content, nd impel t t cont ue the w k of the day t is also r t that the day esid es may just as well ha e any othe haracte s that of wishes B t t is hi hly instructive and f r the theory f wi h fulfilment of quite decis ve importance to see what cond tions they must comply with in order to be rece ved into the dream.

Let us p ck out one of the dreams c ted above e g the dream in which my friend Otto eems to show the symptoms of *Basedow's d s ease* (p 249) Otto s appearance ga e me ome co cern during the day and this worry like e erything else relating to him greatly affected me I may assume that this concern followed me into sleep I was probably bent on findin out what was the matter with him Dur

friend Otto with a certain Baron L a d myself

ad antage of the opportunity to creep into the dream but the worry f the d y had likewise found ome sort of express on by means of a substitute in the dream-content. The day thought, which wa in tself not a wish but on the contrary a worry had n ome way to find a connection with some infantile wi h now unconsc ous and suppres ed which then allowed it—duly dressed up—to *arise* f r con ciousn ss The more domineering the worry the more forced could be the connect on to be established between the content of th wi h and that f the worry the need be no connec tion n was there one in our example

It would perh ps be appropri te in deal ng with this p oblem to inquire how a d eam be haves when m terial is ff red to it in the d eam th ghts whi h flatly oppo es a wish fulfilment su h as justified w rries painful reflecti ns and distressing realizations The

Th then, results in a pure and simpl sat f tio -dream, a palpable wi h *fulfilment* on cerning which th re is nothing more t be said.

(*b*) The painful deas find th ir way into the

manifest dream content more or less modi fied but nevertheless quite recognizable This is the case which raises doubts about the wish theory of dreams and thu calls for further investigation Such dreams with a painful con tent may either be indifferent in feeling or they may convey the whole painful affect which the ideas contained in them seem to justify or they may even lead to the develop ment of anxiety to the point of waking

Analysis then shows that even these painful dreams are wish fulfilments An unconscious and repressed wish whose fulfilment could only be felt as painful by the dreamer s ego has seized the opportunity offered by the con tinued cathexis of painful day residues has lent them its support and has thus made them capable of being dreamed But whereas in case *(a)* the unconscious wish coincided with the conscious one in case *(b)* the discord between the unconscious and the conscious—the re pressed material and the ego—is revealed and the situation in the fairy tale of the three wishes which the fairy offers to the married couple is realized (see p 534 below) The gratification in respect of the fulfilment of the repressed wish may prove to be so great that it balances the painful affects adhering to the day residues the dream is then indifferent in its affective tone althou h it is on the one hand the fulfilment of a wish and on the other the fulfilment of a fear Or it may happen that the sleeper s ego plays an even more extensive part in the dream formation that it reacts with vio lent resentment to the accomplished satisfac tion of the repressed wish and even goes so far as to make an end of the dream by means of anxiety *It* is thus not difficult to recognize that dreams of pain and anxiety are in accord ance with our theory just as much wish ful filments as are the straightforward dreams of gratification

Painful dreams may also be *punishment dreams* It must be admitted that the recogni tion of these dreams adds something that is in a certain sense new to the theory of dreams What is fulfilled by them is once more an un conscious wish—the wish for the punishment of the dreamer for a repressed prohibited wish impulse To this extent these dreams comply with the requirement here laid down that the motive power behind the dream formation must be furnished by a wish belonging to the unconscious But a finer psychological dissec tion allows us to recognize the difference be tween this and the other wish-dreams In the dreams of group *(b)* the unconscious dream forming wish belonged to the repres ed ma terial In the punishment dreams it is likewise an unconscious wi h but one which we must attribute not to the repressed material but to the *ego*

Punishment dreams point therefore to the possibility of a still more extensive participa tion of the ego in dream formation The mech anism of dream formation becomes indeed in every way more transparent if in place of the antithesis *conscious* and *unconscious* we put the antithesis *ego* and *repressed* This how ever cannot be done without taking into ac count what happens in the psychoneuroses, and for this reason it has not been done in this book Here I need only remark that the oc currence of punishment dreams is not generally subject to the presence of painful day residues. They originate indeed most readily if the con trary is true if the thoughts which are day residues are of a gratifying nature but express illicit gratifications Of the e thoughts noth ing then finds its way into the manifest dream except their contrary just as was the ca e in the dreams of group *(a)* Thus it would be the essential characteristic of punishment-dreams that in them it is not the unconscious wish from the repressed material (from the system *Ucs*) that is responsible for dream formation but the punitive wish reacting against it a wish per taining to the ego even though it is uncon scious (i e preconscious)

I will elucidate some of the foregoin obser vations by means of a dream of my own and above all I will try to show how the dream work deals with a day residue involving pain ful expectation

Indistinct beginning *I tell my wife I have some news for her something very special She becomes frightened and does not wish to hear it I assure her that on the contrary it is some thing which will please her greatly and I begin to tell her that our son s Officers Corps has sent a sum of money (5 000 k ?) something about honourable mention dist ibution at the same time I have gone with her into a small room like a store room in order to fetch something from it Suddenly I see my son ap pea he is not in uniform but rather in a tight fitting spo ts suit (like a seal?) with a smal cap He climbs on to a basket which stands to one side nea a cl est in order to put some thing on tl is chest I add ess l im no answer*

H may d th d f th super-ego which was l t r rec gn ed by psycho-a alysis.

It seems to me that his face or f ehead is band g d he arranges someth ng in his mou h push ng someth g i to i Also h.s hair shows a glint f grey I refle t Can he be so ex hau sted? A d has he false teeth? B fo e I can address h m again I awake without anxiety but with palp t tons My clock poi ts to 2 30 a m

To give a full analysis is o ce more imposs ble I shall th r fore co fin myself to emphasizing some decisive points Painful expectations of the day had gi en occas on for this dream o c ag in there had been no news for over a week from my on who was fi htin at the Fro t It is e sy to see that i the dream-con tent the c viction that he has been killed or wounded finds express on. At the beginning of the dream o e can observe an energetic effort to replace the painf l tho ghts by th con trary I ha e to impart something very pleas ing something abo t sending mo ey honour abl men

ui a y among the from ts theme) But this ffort fails The boy mothe has a pre entiment of omething t rrible and does n t wi h to li ten. Th d guises are too thin the referen e t th material t be supp essed hows th gh e erywhe e If my on killed th his c mrad s will end back his property I hall ha to distrib t whatever he has l ft amo g his s ters brothers and other people H ourabl m ntion is frequ tly aw rded to a ffi e fte he has d d the he o s death Th d am thus strives to give direct expres-s on to what t at first wi.hed to deny whilst at the same t m the wi h fulfilling tendency reveals tself by disto tion. (The hange of lo-cal ty in the d eam is n doubt to be unde stood s threshold symbolism in line with S l-bere s w) We have indeed n der lends does i tle) b ui ing r unc —tle is not in uniform b t in a ports u t that is the pl ce f th f tal ty now d eaded b s been taken by an ident which happened to him t n time when he w ki run when he f ll and fractured h s thigh. B t th nature f hi cost m which m k s him look like a seal recalls mmediately a younge person ou com cal l ttle gr d the grey ha r r calls his f th r so in law who has had a bad t m i the Wa What does thi s gnify? But let us leave this the locality a pantry the chest, from which he wants to take somethi g (in the dream to put something on it) are unmistakable allusions to an accident of my own brou ht upon myself when I was between two and three years of age I climbed on a foot-stool in the pantry in order to get m h

t

have knocked all my teeth out At this point an admonition prese ts itself it erves you right—like a hostile impulse against the valiant warrior A prof under analysis enables me to det ct the hidden impulse which would be able to find satisfaction in the d eaded mi.hap to my on It i the envy of youth which the elderly man believes that he has thoroughly stifled in ctual life There is no mistak ng the fact that it w s the very intensity of the pa n ful apprehension lest such a mi fortune should really happen that earched out for its allevia ti n such a repressed wish fulfilment

I can now clearly define what the uncon scious wish means for the d eam I will ad mit that there is a whole class of dreams in which the *incitement* originates ma nly or even e clu ively from the residues of the day and returning to the dream about my frie d Otto I believe that even my desire to become at last a *pr fe sor ext aord narius* would have al l w d m to sle p in peace that night, had not th d y s concern for my friend s health con ti ued acti e B t this worry alo e would not hav prod ced a dream th

i as the moti e power of the dream To put t figurati ely it is quite pos ible that a day thought plays the part f th *ent epreneur* in the dream but the *ent epre eur* wh as we say has the idea and fe l mpelled t realize it can do nothing with ut *ap tal* h needs a *c pitalist* who will def y the xpense, and thus c p tal st who on tributes the psychic expenditure for the dream is i variably a d indisputably whatever the nature of th waking tho ghts *a wish f om the un on*

In other cases the cap talist h mself is the *ent preneur* this indeed, seems to be the more usual case An u cious wi h is ex ted by th d y s w k and this now creates the dream And th dream p cesses p vid a parallel for all th other pos.*bil ti of th eco m c la ti nship here u d as an illu trati n Thus the *ent pren ur* may hims.lf contribute a little

of the capital or several *entrepreneurs* may seek the aid of the same capitalist or several capitalists may jointly supply the capital required by the *entrepreneurs* Thus there are dreams sustained by more than one dream wish and many similar variations which may be readily imagined and which are of no further interest to us What is still lacking to our discussion of the dream wish we shall only be able to complete later on

The *tertium comparationis* in the analogies here employed the quantitative element of which an allotted amount is placed at the free disposal of the dream admits of a still closer application to the elucidation of the dream structure As shown on p 263 we can recognize in most dreams a centre supplied with a special sensory intensity This is as a rule the direct representation of the wish fulfilment for if we reverse the displacements of the dream work we find that the psychic intensity of the elements in the dream thoughts is replaced by the *sensory* intensity of the elements in the dream content The elements in the neighbourhood of the wish fulfilment have often nothing to do with its meaning but prove to be the offshoots of painful thoughts which are opposed to the wish But owing to their connection with the central element often artificially established they secure so large a share of its intensity as to become capable of representation Thus the representative energy of the wish fulfilment diffuses itself over a certain sphere of association within which all elements are raised to representation including even those that are in themselves without resources In dreams containing several dynamic wishes we can easily separate and delimit the spheres of the individual wish fulfilments and we shall find that the gaps in the dream are often of the nature of boundary zones

Although the foregoing remarks have restricted the significance of the day residues for the dream they are none the less deserving of some further attention For they must be a necessary ingredient in dream formation inasmuch as experience reveals the surprising fact that every dream shows in its content a connection with a recent waking impression often of the most indifferent kind So far we have failed to understand the necessity for this addition to the dream mixture (p 212) This necessity becomes apparent only when we bear in mind the part played by the unconscious wish and seek further information in the psychology of the neuroses We shall then learn that an unconscious idea as such is quite incapable of entering into the preconscious, and that it can exert an influence there only by establishing touch with a harmless idea already belonging to the preconscious to which it transfers its intensity and by which it allows itself to be screened This is the fact of *transference* which furnishes the explanation of so many surprising occurrences in the psychic life of neurotics The transference may leave the idea from the preconscious unaltered, though the latter will thus acquire an unmerited intensity or it may force upon this some modification derived from the content of the transferred idea I trust the reader will pardon my fondness for comparisons with daily life but I feel tempted to say that the situation for the repressed idea is like that of the American dentist in Austria who may not carry on his practice unless he can get a duly installed doctor of medicine to serve him as a signboard and legal cover Further just as it is not exactly the busiest physicians who form such alliances with dental practitioners so in the psychic life the choice as regards covers for repressed ideas does not fall upon such preconscious or conscious ideas as have themselves attracted enough of the attention active in the preconscious The unconscious prefers to entangle with its connections either those impressions and ideas of the preconscious which have remained unnoticed as being indifferent or those which have immediately had attention withdrawn from them again (by rejection) It is a well known proposition of the theory of associations confirmed by all experience that ideas which have formed a very intimate connection in one direction assume a negative type of attitude towards whole groups of new connections I have even attempted at one time to base a theory of hysterical paralysis on this principle

If we assume that the same need of transference on the part of the repressed ideas of which we have become aware through the analysis of the neurosis makes itself felt in dreams also we can at once explain two of the problems of the dream namely that every dream analysis reveals an interweaving of a recent impression and that this recent element is often of the most indifferent character We may add what we have already learned elsewhere that the reason why these recent and indifferent elements so frequently find their way into the dream-content as substitutes for the very oldest elements of the dream thoughts

is that they have the least to fear from the resisting censorship. But while this freedom from censorship explains only the preference shown to the trivial elements, the constant presence of recent elements points to the necessity for transference. Both groups of impressions satisfy the demand of the repressed ideas for material still free from associations, the indifferent ones because they have offered no occasion for extensive associations, and the recent ones because they have not had sufficient time to form such associations.

We thus see that the day residues, among which we may now include the indifferent impressions, not only borrow something from the *Ucs* when they secure a share in dream formation—namely, the motive-power at the disposal of the repressed wish—but they also offer to the unconscious something that is indispensable to it, namely *the points of attachment* necessary for transference. If we wished to penetrate more deeply into the psychic processes, we should have to throw a clearer light on the play of excitations between the preconscious and the unconscious, and indeed the study of the psychoneuroses would impel us to do so, but dreams, as it happens, give us no help in this respect.

Just one further remark as to the day residues. There is no doubt that it is really these that disturb our sleep, and not our dreams, which, on the contrary, strive to guard our sleep. But we shall return to this point later.

So far we have discussed the dream wish; we have traced it back to the sphere of the *Ucs* and have analysed its relation to the day residues, which, in their turn, may be either wishes or psychic impulses of any other kind, or simply recent impressions. We have thus found room for the claims that can be made for the dream-forming significance of our waking mental activity in all its multifariousness. It might even prove possible to explain, on the basis of our train of thought, those extreme cases in which the dream, continuing the work of the day, brings to a happy issue an unsolved problem of waking life. We merely lack a suitable example, to analyse it in order to uncover the infantile or repressed source of wishes the tapping of which has so successfully reinforced the efforts of the preconscious activity. But we are not a step nearer to answering the question: Why is it that the unconscious can furnish in sleep nothing more than the motive-power for a wish fulfilment? The answer to this question must elucidate the psychic nature of the state of wishing, and it will be given with the aid of the notion of the psychic apparatus.

We do not doubt that this apparatus too has only arrived at its present perfection by a long process of evolution. Let us attempt to restore it as it existed in an earlier stage of capacity. From postulates to be confirmed in other ways, we know that at first the apparatus strove to keep itself as free from stimulation as possible, and therefore, in its early structure, adopted the arrangement of a reflex apparatus, which enabled it promptly to discharge by the motor paths any sensory excitation reaching it from without. But this simple function was disturbed by the exigencies of life, to which the apparatus owes the impetus toward further development. The exigencies of life first confronted it in the form of the great *physical needs*. *The excitation aroused by the* inner need seeks an outlet in motility, which we may describe as *internal change* or *expression of the emotions*. The hungry child cries or struggles helplessly. But its situation remains unchanged, for the excitation proceeding from the inner need has not the character of a momentary impact, but of a continuing pressure. A change can occur only if, in some way (in the case of the child by external assistance) there is an *experience of satisfaction* which puts an end to the internal excitation. An essential constituent of this experience is the appearance of a certain percept (of food in our example), the memory image of which is henceforth associated with the memory-trace of the excitation arising from the need. Thanks to the established connection, there results, at the next occurrence of this need, a psychic impulse which seeks to revive the memory image of the former percept, and to re-evoke the former percept itself; that is, it actually seeks to re-establish the situation of the first satisfaction. Such an impulse is what we call a wish; the reappearance of the perception constitutes the wish fulfilment, and the full cathexis of the perception, by the excitation springing from the need, constitutes the shortest path to the wish fulfilment. We may assume a primitive state of the psychic apparatus in which this path is actually followed, i.e., in which the wish ends in hallucination. This first psychic activity therefore aims at an identity of perception: that is, at a repetition of that perception which is connected with the satisfaction of the need.

This primitive mental activity must have

been modified by bitter practical experience into a secondary and more appropriate activity The establishment of identity of perception by the short regressive path within the apparatus does not produce the same result in another re pect as follows upon cathexis of the same perception coming from without The satisfaction does not occur and the need continues In order to make the internal cathexis equivalent to the external one the former would have to be continuously sustained just as actually happens in the hallucinatory psychoses and in hunger phantasies which exhaust their performance in *maintaining their hold* on the object desired In order to attain to more appropriate use of the psychic energy it becomes necessary to suspend the full regression so that it does not proceed beyond the memory image and thence can seek other paths leading ultimately to the production of the desired identity from the side of the outer world This inhibition as well as the subsequent deflection of the excitation becomes the task of a second system which controls voluntary motility i e a system whose activity first leads on to the use of motility for purposes remembered in advance But all this complicated mental activity which works its way from the memory image to the production of identity of perception via the outer world merely represents *a roundabout way to wish fulfilment* made necessary by experience Thinking is indeed nothing but a substitute for the hallucinatory wish and if the dream is called a wish fulfilment this becomes something self-evident since nothing but a wish can impel our psychic apparatus to activity The dream which fulfils its wishes by following the short regressive path has thereby simply preserved for us a specimen of the *primary* method of operation of the psychic apparatus which has been abandoned as inappropriate What once prevailed in the waking state when our psychic life was still young and inefficient seems to have been banished into our nocturnal life just as we still find in the nursery those discarded primitive weapons of adult humanity the bow and arrow *Dreaming is a fragment of the superseded psychic life of the child* In the psychoses those modes of operation of the psychic apparatus which are normally suppres ed in the waking state reassert themselves and thereupon betray their inability to satisfy our demands in the outer world

The uncon cious wish impulses evidently strive to assert them elves even during the day and the fact of transference as well as the psychoses tells us that they endeavour to force their way through the preconscious sy tem to consciousness and the command of motility Thus in the censorship between *Ucs* and *Pcs* which the dream forces us to a sume we must recognize and respect the guardian of our psychic health But is it not carelessness on the part of this guardian to diminish his vigilance at night and to allow the suppressed impulses of the *Ucs* to achieve expression thus again making possible the process of hallucinatory regression? I think not for when the critical guardian goes to rest—and we have proof that his slumber is not profound—he takes care to close the gate to motility No matter what impulses from the usually inhibited *Ucs* may bustle about the stage there is no need to interfere with them they remain harmless because they are not in a position to set in motion the motor apparatus which alone can operate to produce any change in the outer world. Sleep guarantees the security of the fortress which has to be guarded The state of affairs is less harmless when a displacement of energies is produced not by the decline at night in the energy put forth by the critical censorship but by the pathological enfeeblement of the latter or the pathological reinforcement of the unconscious excitations and this while the preconscious is cathected and the gates of motility are open The guardian is then overpowered the unconscious excitations subdue the *Pcs* and from the *Pcs* they domin te our peech and action or they enforce hallucinatory regressions thus directing an apparatus not designed for them by virtue of the attraction exerted by perceptions on the distribution of our psychic energy We call this condition psychosis

We now find ourselves in the most favourable position for continuing the construction of our psychological scaffolding which we left after inserting the two systems *Ucs* and *Pcs*

In other wo d the t d u of *t t j* *r l ty* ec g l d s n ce ry Le Lo j tly t ls th wi h f lfilm t of d e ms *S s fat g série a ét* *ec ur d tt lutt p dt t l g q bl gé d c d l j e p s t* [W th t f t g e w th t be g bl g d t h rse to th t l g a d st bbor st ggl wh ch exh u ts d w rs aw y ple s es s ght.]

I h f th I b t d th t f th ght l wh wh e I h d t gu h d th two p ples l ed th pl p l pl d th real ty p pl *F m l t* *pl M t l F t g d g th Tw Pr* V l p 3 *t* In *Collected Papers*

However, we still have reason to give further consideration to the wish as the sole psychic motive-power in the dream. We have accepted the explanation that the reason why the dream is in every case a wish-fulfilment is that it is a function of the system *Ucs*, which knows no other aim than wish-fulfilment, and which has at its disposal no forces other than the wish-impulses. Now if we want to continue for a single moment longer to maintain our right to develop such far-reaching psychological speculations from the facts of dream-interpretation, we are in duty bound to show that they insert the dream into a context which can also embrace other psychic structures. If there exists a system of the *Ucs*—or something sufficiently analogous for the purposes of our discussion—the dream cannot be its sole manifestation; every dream may be a wish-fulfilment, but there must be other forms of abnormal wish-fulfilment as well as dreams. And in fact the theory of all psychoneurotic symptoms culminates in the one proposition that *they too must be conceived as wish-fulfilments of the unconscious*. Our explanation makes the dream only the first member of a series of the greatest importance for the psychiatrist, the understanding of which means the solution of the purely psychological part of the psychiatric problem. But in other members of this group of wish-fulfilments—for example, in the hysterical symptoms—I know of one essential characteristic which I have so far failed to find in the dream. Thus, from the investigations often alluded to in this treatise, I know that the formation of an hysterical symptom needs a *junction* of both the currents of our psychic life. The symptom is not merely the expression of a realized unconscious wish; the latter must be joined by another wish from the preconscious, which is fulfilled by the same symptom; so that the symptom is at least doubly determined, once by each of the conflicting systems. Just as in dreams, there is no limit to further *over-determination*. The determination which does not derive from the *Ucs* is, as far as I can see, invariably a thought-stream of reaction against the unconscious wish, for example, a self-punishment. Hence I can say, quite generally, that *an hysterical symptom originates only, where two contrary wish-fulfilments, having their source in different psychic systems, are able to meet in a single expression*. Examples would help us but little here, as nothing but a complete unveiling of the complications in question can carry conviction. I will therefore content myself with the bare assertion, and will cite one example, not because it proves anything, but simply as an illustration. The hysterical vomiting of a female patient proved, on the one hand, to be the fulfilment of an unconscious phantasy from the years of puberty—namely, the wish that she might be continually pregnant, and have a multitude of children; and this was subsequently supplemented by the wish that she might have them by as many fathers as possible. Against this immoderate wish there arose a powerful defensive reaction. But as by the vomiting the patient might have spoilt her figure and her beauty, so that she would no longer find favour in any man's eyes, the symptom was also in keeping with the punitive trend of thought, and so, being admissible on both sides, it was allowed to become a reality. This is the same way of acceding to a wish-fulfilment as the queen of the Parthians was pleased to adopt in the case of the triumvir Crassus. Believing that he had undertaken his campaign out of greed for gold, she caused molten gold to be poured into the throat of the corpse. "Here thou hast what thou hast longed for!"

Of the dream we know as yet only that it expresses a wish-fulfilment of the unconscious, and apparently the dominant preconscious system permits this fulfilment when it has compelled the wish to undergo certain distortions. We are moreover not in fact in a position to demonstrate regularly the presence of a train of thought opposed to the dream-wish, which is realized in the dream as well as its antagonist. Only now and then have we found in dream-analyses signs of reaction-products, as, for instance, my affection for my friend R in the *dream of my uncle* (p. 1[illegible]9). But the contribution from the preconscious which is missing here may be found in another place. The dream can provide expression for a wish from the *Ucs* by means of all sorts of distortion, once the dominant system has withdrawn itself into the *wish to sleep*, and has realized this wish by

Expressed more exactly: One portion of the symptom corresponds to the unconscious wish-fulfilment, the other corresponds to the reaction-formation opposed to it.

Hughlings Jackson has expressed himself as follows: 'Find out all about dreams, and you will have found out all about insanity.'

Cf. my latest formulation (in *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, Ed. I) of the origin of hysterical symptoms in the treatise on Hysterical Phantasies and their Relation to Bisexuality, *Collected Papers*, II, p. 51. This forms chapter X of *Selected Papers on Hysteria*, p. [illegible] above.

producing the changes of cathexis within the psychic apparatus which are within its power thereupon holding on to the wish in question for the whole duration of sleep

Now this persistent wish to sleep on the part of the preconscious has a quite general facilitating effect on the formation of dreams Let us recall the dream of the father who by the gleam of light from the death chamber was led to conclude that his child s body might have caught fire We have shown that one of the psychic forces decisive in causing the father to draw this conclusion in the dream instead of allowing himself to be awakened by the gleam of light was the wish to prolong the life of the child seen in the dream by one moment Other wishes originating in the repressed have probably escaped us for we are unable to analyse this dream But as a second source of motive power in this dream we may add the father s desire to sleep for like the life of the child the father s sleep is prolonged for a moment by the dream The underlying motive is Let the dream go on or I must wake up As in this dream so in all others the wish to sleep lends its support to the unconscious wish On pa e 189 we cited dreams which were manifestly dreams of convenience But in truth all dreams may claim this designation The efficacy of the wish to go on sleeping is most easily recognized in the awakening dreams which so elaborate the external sensory stimulus that it becomes compatible with the continuance of sleep they weave it into a dream in order to rob it of any claims it might make as a reminder of the outer world *But this wish to go on sleeping* must also play its part in permitting all other dreams which can only act as disturbers of the state of sleep from within Don t worry sleep on it s only a dream is in many cases the sug estion of the *Pcs* to consciousness when the dream gets too bad and this describes in a quite general way the attitude of our dominant psychic activity towards dreaming even though the thought remains unuttered I must draw the conclusion that *throughout the whole of our sleep we are just as certain that we are dreaming as we are certain that we are sleeping* It is imperative to disregard the objection that our consciousness is never directed to the latter knowledge and that it is directed to the former knowledge only on special occasions when the censorship feels as it were taken by surprise On the contrary there are persons in whom the retention a night of the knowledge that they are sleepin and dreaming becomes quite manifest and who are thus apparently endowed with the conscious faculty of guiding their dream life Such a dreamer for example is dissatisfied with the turn taken by a dream he breaks it off without waking and begins it afresh, in order to continue it along different lines just like a popular author who upon request gives a happier ending to his play Or on another occasion when the dream places him in a sexually exciting situation he thinks in his sleep I don t want to continue this dream and exhaust myself by an emission I would rather save it for a real situation

The Marquis Hervey (Vaschide) declared that he had gained such power over his dreams that he could accelerate their course at will and turn them in any direction he wished It seems that in him the wish to sleep had accorded a place to another a preconscious wi h, the wish to observe his dreams and to derive pleasure from them Sleep is just as compatible with such a wish resolve as it is with some proviso as a condition of waking up (wet nurse s sleep) We know too that in all persons an interest in dreams greatly increases the number of dreams remembered after waking

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D *Waking Caused by Dreams The Function of Dreams The Anxiety Dream*

Now that we know that throughout the night the preconscious is orientated to the wish to sleep we can follow the dream process with proper understanding But let us first summarize what we already know about this process We have seen that day residues are left over from the waking activity of the mind residues from which it has not been possible to withdraw all cathexis Either one of the unconscious wishes has been aroused through the waking activity during the day or it so happens that the

Th s d a h bee bo wed f m the th ry f sleep of Lieb ult wh d hyp t es h mod rn times (*Du S mm l p qué* tc. P is [1889])

two comode we have already discussed the multifarious possibilities. Either already during the day or only on the establishment of the state of sleep the unconscious wish has made its way to the day residues and has effected a transference to them. Thus there arises a wish transferred to recent material or the suppressed recent wish is revived by a reinforcement from the unconscious This wish now endeavours to make its way to consciousness along the normal path of the thought processes through the preconscious to which indeed it belongs by virtue of one of its constituent elements. It is however confronted by the censorship which still subsists and to whose influence it soon succumbs. It now takes on the distortion for which the way has already been paved by the transference to recent material. So far it is on the way to becoming something resembling an obsession, a delusion, or the like, i.e., a thought reinforced by a transference and distorted in expression owing to the censorship. But its further progress is now checked by the state of sleep of the preconscious this system has presumably protected itself against invasion by diminishing its excitations. The dream-process therefore, takes the regressive course, which is just opened up by the peculiarity of the sleeping state and in so doing follows the attraction exerted on it by memory-groups, which are in part only themselves present as visual cathexes not as translations into the symbols of the later systems On its way to regression it acquires representability The subject of compression will be discussed later. The dream-process has by this time covered the second part of its contorted course The first part threads its way progressively from the unconscious scenes or phantasies to the preconscious while the second part struggles back from the boundary of the censorship to the tract of the perceptions But when the dream process becomes a perception-content, it has, so to speak, evaded the obstacle set up in the Ps by the censorship and the sleeping state. It succeeds in drawing attention to itself and in being remarked by consciousness. For consciousness, which for us means a sense-organ for the apprehension of psychic qualities can be excited in waking life from two sources firstly from the periphery of the whole apparatus, the perceptive system and secondly from the excitations of pleasure and pain which emerge as the sole psychic qualities yielded by the transpositions of energy in the interior of the apparatus. All other processes in the ψ-systems even those in the preconscious, are devoid of all psychic quality and are therefore not objects of consciousness inasmuch as they do not provide either pleasure or pain for its perception. We shall have to assume that *these releases of pleasure and pain automatically regulate the course of the cathectic processes* But in order to make possible more delicate performances, it subsequently proved necessary to render the flow of ideas more independent of pain-signals. To accomplish this, the *Pcs* system needed qualities of its own which could attract consciousness and most probably received them through the connection of the preconscious processes with the memory system of speech-symbols which was not devoid of quality Through the qualities of this system, consciousness hitherto only a sense-organ for perception, now becomes also a sense-organ for a part of our thought-processes. There are now as it were two sensory surfaces, one turned toward perception and the other toward the preconscious thought-processes.

I must assume that the sensory surface of consciousness which is turned to the preconscious is rendered far more inexcitable by sleep than the surface turned toward the *P*-system The giving up of interest in the nocturnal thought-process is of course an appropriate procedure. Nothing is to happen in thought the preconscious wants to sleep. But once the dream becomes perception it is capable of exciting consciousness through the qualities now gained. The sensory excitation performs what is in fact its function namely it directs part of the cathectic energy available in the *Pcs* to the exciting cause in the form of attention. We *must therefore admit that the dream always has a waking effect—that is,* it calls into activity part of the quiescent energy of the *Pcs* Under the influence *of this energy it now* undergoes the process which we have described as secondary elaboration with a view to coherence and comprehensibility This means that the dream is treated by this energy like any other perception-content it is subjected to the same anticipatory ideas as far at least, as the material allows As far as this third part of the dream-process has any direction, this is once more progressive

To avoid misunderstanding it will not be amiss to say a few words as to the temporal characteristics of these dream-processes. In a very interesting discussion evidently suggested by Maury's puzzling guillotine dream, Goblot tries to demonstrate that a dream takes up no

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Th s id h s bee b r w d f m th th ry of sleep f L éb lt wh re i ed hyp t es a b f modern times (*D S mm l f v q é* tc. P is [1889])

shown its power to form a dream and with it to awaken the precon cious why does this powe lapse after cognizance ha been taken of the dream? W uld it not eem more p obable that th dream should continually renew itself like the disturb ng fly which when dri en away *takes pleasure in r turning* again and again? What justificatio have we for our as sertion that the dream removes the disturbance to sleep?

It is quite tru th t the unconsciou wishes are always acti e. They represent paths which are always practicabl whe ever a quantum of excitation makes use of them It is indeed an outstanding peculiarity of the unco scious processes that they are indestructible N thing

thither by the excitation of consciousness b nds the unco scious excitat on of the dream and renders it harmless as a d turber of sleep Wh n the dreamer wakes up for a moment he has really chased away the fly that threat ened to disturb his sleep We may now begin to suspect that it is really more expedient and economical to gi e way to the uncon c ous wish to lea e clear its path to regression so that it may f rm a dream and then to bind and dispose of this dre m by means of a small out lay of p consc ous wo k than to hold the un c nsc ous in check throughout the whole pe od of sleep It was indeed to be expected that the dream even if originally it was not a pur poseful process would have seized upon some definite functi n in the play of forces of the

years ago operate after having gained access to th ncons ous so es of ffect during all these thirty ye rs as though t we a recent xperience Wheneve its memory s touched t re ves and shows tself t be cath cted w th excitation whi h p ocu es a motor d s-charge for t elf in n attack. It precisely here that psychoth rapy must interven its task being to ensu that th unconsc us proc esses ar settled and forgotten Indeed the fadi g of mem rie and the weak affect of im pressi ns which are no lo ger re ent which we are pt to take as self-ev dent and to explain as a primary effect of time on our psychic memory residues are in reality e o d ry changes brought bo t by laborious wo k It s th pre nsciou that accompli hes this wo k *and the only course wh h psych ther py an purs e is to bri g the Ucs under th d minio f the Pcs*

There ar th efore tw possibl issues for any singl un ci us excitation pro ss E th t s left t tself in which case it ulti mately breaks thro gh somewh and secures o this o e occas on di harge for t excita t on int motil ty it cumbs to the influ-ence f th pre o ci us a d thro gh thi ts cit t n be om *bound* in tead f being *dis harg d It is th latter cas that o curs the dr m pro ss* Th cath xi f m the *Pcs* which goes t m t th dream ce this ha t tained to pe ept n, because it has been drawn

waking acti ty secures the sleep of the pre conscious Thus like the other psych c forma tions f ts group the dream offers itself as a comp mise serving both systems simultane-ously by fulfilling the wishes of both in so fa as they are m tually compat ble A glance at Robert s liminat on the ry will show that we must gree with this author on hi main point n mely th determination of the func t on of d ams tho gh we differ from him in our gen ral p esuppositions and in our estima tion of th d eam process

sol tions f co fl ts which fterwards ctually carried through They thus beh ve l k prepara ry pra tice f waking es. H theref re d w p rall l be wee dreaming and the pl y f m ls d childre which is t be nc sed as tra g f the nh ted ins in ts and prep ra f the la se ou ac ty th se g p *f tso l d gu f* the dream. A l l hil bef re M ede Alfred Adl l k wise mph ized the f nc f *th king k d* in the dre m (A alys which I p bl bed j S co ta ed dream h ch may be co ce ed as resol t on-dream wh ch w repea ed ght ft ight until was re lized)

B an b reflecti must h w th t this *ond* y f nc f he dre m has cl m rec gn w thi the framew k f y dre m rpre ta Thi ki g ab d m k g resol k ch g em ted sol ti h ch ca th pe h ps be re l zed wak life—these d m y m re pe f rmances re funct f the consci d pre-sc ous ct vi es f the mind which be d y s*dues* f the sleep tate nd can then combin w th an unconscious ish f m d eam (p 36 bo)

other time than the transition period between sleeping and waking The process of waking up requires time during this time the dream occurs It is supposed that the final picture of the dream is so vivid that it forces the dreamer to wake in reality it is so vivid only because when it appears the dreamer is already very near waking *Un reve c est un réveil qui commence*

It has already been pointed out by Dugas that Goblot in order to generalize his theory was forced to ignore a great many facts There are also dreams from which we do not awaken for example many dreams in which we dream that we dream From our knowledge of the dream work we can by no means admit that it extends only over the period of waking On the contrary we must consider it probable that the first part of the dream work is already begun during the day when we are still under the domination of the preconscious The second phase of the dream work viz the alteration by the censorship the attraction exercised by unconscious scenes and the penetration to perception continues probably all through the night and accordin ly we may always be correct when we report a feeling that we have been dreaming all night even although we cannot say what we have dreamed I do not however think that it is necessary to assume that up to the time of becoming conscious the dream processes really follow the temporal sequence which we have described viz that there is first the transferred dream wish then the process of distortion due to the censorship and then the change of direction to regression etc We were obli ed to construct such a sequence for the sake of description in reality however it is probably rather a question of simultaneou ly trying this path and that and of the excitation fluctuatin to and fro until finally because it has attained the most apposite concentration one particular grouping remains in the field Certain personal experiences even incline me to believe that the dream work often requires more than one day and one night to produce its result in which case the extraordinary art manifested in the construction of the dream is shorn of its miraculous character In my opinion even the regard for the comprehensibility of the dream as a perceptual event may exert its influence before the dream attracts consciousness to itself From this point however the proce s is accelerated since the dream is henceforth subjected to the same treatment as any other perception It is like fire works which require hours for their preparation and then flare up in a moment.

Through the dream work the dream process now either gains sufficient intensity to attract consciousness to itself and to arouse the preconscious (quite independently of the time or profundity of sleep) or its intensity is insufficient and it must wait in readiness until attion becoming more alert immediately before waking meets it half way Most dreams seem to operate with relatively slight psychic intensities for they wait for the process of waking This then explains the fact that as a rule we perceive omethin dreamed if we are suddenly roused from a deep sleep Here as well as in spontaneous waking our first glance lights upon the perception content created by the dream work while the next falls on that provided by the outer world

But of greater theoretical interest are those dreams which are capable of wakin us in the midst of our sleep We may bear in mind the purposefulness which can be demonstrated in all other cases and ask ourselves why the dream that is the unconscious wish is granted the power to disturb our sleep i e the fulfilment of the preconscious wish The explanation is probably to be found in certain relations of energy which we do not yet understand If we did so we should probably find that the freedom given to the dream and the expenditure upon it of a certain detached attention repre ent a saving of energy as against the alternative case of the unconscious having to be held in check at night just as it is during the day As experience shows dreaming even if it interrupts our sleep several times a night still remains compatible with sleep We wake up for a moment and immediately fall a leep again It is like driving off a fly in our sleep we awake *ad hoc* When we fall asleep again we have removed the cause of disturbance The familiar examples of the sleep of wet nurses etc show that the fulfilment of the wish to sleep is quite compatible with the maintenance of a certain amount of attention in a given direction

But we must here take note of an objection which is based on a greater knowledge of the unconscious processes We have ourselves described the uncon cious wishes as always active whilst nevertheless as erting that in the daytime they are not strong enough to make themselves perceptible But when the state of sleep supervenes and the unconscious wish has

A d eam is the beg g f w ke i g—E

the *Ucs* during sleep I could refrai from the discussi n of the anxiety-d eam altogether and thus a id all the b curities in ol ed in t

The theory of the anxiety-dream belo gs as I ha e already repeatedly stated to the psy chology of the neur s s I m ght further add that anxiety in dr ams is an anxi ty p oblem d not a d eam p oblem Ha ing once ex hib ted the po nt of co t ct of the psychol gy of the neuroses with the theme of the d e m p ocess w have nothing f rthe to do with it *Th re is only one* thing left which I can do Sin e I hav assert d that neurotic anxiety has

of th examples so abundantly plat u a my di posal by eurot c patients nd pref r t give some anxiety-d e ms of child en

Perso ally I ha e had no real nxiety-dream f d c des but I do ecall on from my sev enth e ghth yea which I subj cted to t pret tion some thirty yea later The dre m wa ery vi d and howed me *my b loved*

e

b k I awok cryi g and scr ami g and disturbed my pare t sleep Th peculiarly draped ex es i ely tall figu es w th be ks I had taken

ecollectio of a hou e port s boy who us d t play w th child e a meadow i fro t f the house I might dd that his name was Philip It seem d t m then that I first heard f m thi boy th ulgar w d signifying se ual inter rse whi h repla ed among du cated perso by the Latin w d *coit* but which the dream plainly ough i dicates by th ch of the b ds heads I must have gu ssed th exual s gn ficanc f the word f om the look f my w ldly wise te cher My m th e s exp ss in th dream was c p ed from th countenan f my grandfather wh m I had seen few d ys bef e hi death snoring in a stat f ma. The t rp t t o of the se ond ry elab ratio in the dre m m t th re- f re ha e bee th t my *mother* was dyi g the t mb reli f too gr s w th this I w k w th this xi ty and ould t calm myself until I had waked my parents I remembe that I sud denly became calm wh n I saw my mother t was as though I had needed the assurance then she was not dead But this secondary in terpretation of the dream had only taken place when the fluence of the de eloped anxiety was already at work. I was not in a state of anxiety because I had dreamt that my mother was dying I interpreted the dream in this manner in the p econscious elaboration be cause I was already under the domination of the anxiety The latter however could be traced back through the repression to a dark plainly sexual cra ing which had found app o- priate express on in the v sual content of the dream

A man twenty seven years of age who had been seriously ill for a year had repeatedly dream d between the age of eleven and thir t en dreams atte ded with great anxiety to the effect that *a man with a hatchet was ru ning after h m he w ted to ru away but seemed to be paralysed n d c ld not move f om the spot* This may be taken as a good and typ cal xample of a very common anxiety dream free from any susp c on of a sexual meaning In the an lys s the dreamer first tho ght of a story told him by his uncle (chron logi ally later than the dream) viz that he was atta k d at night in the stre t by a

luded

that during this period f his life he o ce hurt his hand with a *h tchet* while chopp ng wood. This immediat ly r minded him of his rel tions with his younger b other whom he used to

day While he s emed to be th s held by the theme f *viole c* a memory from his ninth ye suddenly eme ged His parents had come *home late and had gone to bed whil t* he was pretending to be asleep H soon heard pant i g and other sounds that seemed to him mys teriou and he c ld also guess th pos ti n f hi pare t in bed His furth r tho ghts showed that h had est blish d an anal gy betw n this latio between h parent and h s own r la ti to his y ung brothe He s bsum d what was happening between his pa ents u de the notion of an act f vi le ce and a fight The fact that h had f q e tly n tic d *blo d his mother' bed* corroborated this co pti n

That the sexual int rse f ad lts ppears

The above qualification—*in so far as the two wishes are mutually compatible*—contains a suggestion that there may be cases in which the function of the dream fails The dream process is to begin with admitted as a wish fulfilment of the unconscious but if this attempted wish fulfilment disturbs the preconscious so profoundly that the latter can no longer maintain its state of rest the dream has broken the compromise and has failed to perform the second part of its task It is then at once broken off and replaced by complete awakening But even here it is not really the fault of the dream if though at other times the guardian it has now to appear as the disturber of sleep nor need this prejudice us against its averred purposive character This is not the only instance in the organism in which a contrivance that is usually to the purpose becomes inappropriate and disturbing so soon as something is altered in the conditions which engender it the disturbance then at all events serves the new purpose of indicating the change and of bringing into play against it the means of adjustment of the organism Here of course I am thinking of the anxiety dream and lest it should seem that I try to evade this witness against the theory of wish fulfilment when ever I encounter it I will at least give some indications as to the explanation of the anxiety dream

That a psychic process which develops anxiety may still be a wish fulfilment has long ceased to imply any contradiction for us We may explain this occurrence by the fact that the wish belongs to one system (the *Ucs*) whereas the other system (the *Pcs*) has rejected and suppressed it The subjection of the *Ucs* by the *Pcs* is not thoroughgoing even in perfect psychic health the extent of this suppression indicates the degree of our psychic normality Neurotic symptoms indicate to us that the two systems are in mutual conflict the symptoms are the result of a compromise in this conflict and they temporarily put an end to it On the one hand they afford the *Ucs* a way out for the discharge of its excitation—they serve it as a kind of sally gate—while on the other hand they give the *Pcs* the possibility of dominating the *Ucs* in some degree It is instructive to consider for example the significance of a hysterical phobia or of agora phobia A neurotic is said to be incapable of cro sing the street alone and this we should rightly call a *symptom* Let someo[illegible] move th[illegible]
action[illegible]
perforr[illegible] result will be an attack of anxiety just as an attack of anxiety in the street has often been the exciting cause of the establishment of an agoraphobia We thus learn that the symptom has been constituted in order to prevent the anxiety from breaking out The phobia is thrown up before the anxiety like a frontier fortress

We cannot enlarge further on this subject unless we examine the role of the affects in these processes which can only be done here imperfectly We will therefore affirm the proposition that the principal reason why the suppression of the *Ucs* becomes necessary is that, if the movement of ideas in the *Ucs* were allowed to run its course it would develop an affect which originally had the character of pleasure but which since the process of *repression* bears the character of pain The aim as well as the result of the suppression is to prevent the development of this pain The suppression extends to the idea content of the *Ucs* because the liberation of pain might emanate from this idea content We here take as our basis a quite definite assumption as to the nature of the development of affect This is regarded as a motor or secretory function the key to the innervation of which is to be found in the ideas of the *Ucs* Through the domination of the *Pcs* these ideas are as it were strangled that is inhibited from sendin out the impulse that would develop the affect The danger which arises if cathexis by the *Pcs* ceases thus consists in the fact that the unconscious excitations would liberate an affect that—in consequence of the repression that has previously occurred—could only be felt as pa n or anxiety

This danger is released if the dream process is allowed to have its own way The conditions for its realization are that repressions shall have occurred and that the suppressed wish impulses can become sufficiently stron They therefore fall entirely outside the psychological framework of dream formation Were it not for the fact that our theme is connected by just one factor with the theme of the development of anxiety namely by the setting free of

Th f ct on of *th k g he d i* th d m is thu athe f ct f p sc w k g th ght th re lt f wh ch may be d cl sed t by th lys f d ms or oth ph m Aft the d am h lo g bee f sed w th ts m f t t t must ow gu d ga t f g t w th th l t t d m th ghts

Ge cr l I t d t o to P ych A aly p 534 below

c'est à l'ischém e cé ébrale que nous rattachons cet état part cul.er[20]

E. The Primary and Secondary Processes. R pression

In ttempting to penetrate more prof undly int the psycholo̲gy of th dream-processes I ha e und rtaken a difficult task to which in deed my powers of expos tion are hardly adequate. To reprodu e the simultaneit of so complicated a cheme in terms of a success.i e description and at the same time to make each part appea free from all assumpti n goes fai ly bey nd my powers I ha e now to atone fo the fact that i my exposition of the psy chology of dreams I ha e been un ble to foll w the hist ric developmen of my own in ight. The lines of pproach to the comprehension of the dream were laid down f me by pre i us invest gati s into the psychology of the neuroses to which I hould t refer here altho h I am constantly obliged to do so whereas I hould like to wo k in the opposite directi starting from the dream and then p oceeding t establ h its junction with the psych l y of the neuroses. I am conscious of all the difficult es wh h th in olves for the reader but I know f o way to a o d them

S ce I am di satisfied with this state of aff irs, I am glad to dwell upo oth point of iew which would seem to enhance the value of my fforts As was sh wn i the int od ctory section, I f und myself confront d with a theme wh h had been marked by the harpest contradicti s on the part f those who had writt t. In th course of ou treatment of the probl ms of the dream room has been found f most f these co tradictory iews. W ha e been mpelled to tak decided eption t tw nly f the view xpres ed nam ly that th dream is meaningles process. and that t is a somatic process. Apart f om th se we ha e been abl to fi d a place fo the truth of all the co tradictory opinions t on point the of th complicated tissue f the f ct and we ha e bee abl to show th t ea h exp essed som thi genuine and rrect. That dreams contin the impulses and int rests of waking lif has been gen raly onfirmed by th discov ry of the hidden dream-thoughts Th se co ern th m sel es only with thi gs that seem t u impo tant and f great interest D eams never occupy th m el es with trifles But we have accep ed a so the opposite iew namely that the dream gath rs up the indifferent residues of the day and cann t eize upon any important interest of the day until it has in some measure with drawn itself from waking acti ty We have found that this h lds true of the dream-content which by means of distortion gi es the dream tho ght an altered express on. We ha e said that the dream process, owing to the nature of the mechani m of as ociati n finds it ea ier to obtain pos es on of recent or indifferent material which has not yet been put under an embargo by our waking mental activity a d that, on a count of the censorship it tran fers the psychic intensity of the nificant but also objectio able material to the indifferent. The hypermnes a of the dream and its ability to dispose of infant le material have become the mai foundations of our doctrine in our theory of dreams we have assigned to a wish of infantile origin the part of the indispensable motive power of dream formation It has not of course occurred to u to doubt the experi mentally d m strated significance of external se ory timuli d ring leep but we ha e placed this m terial in the same relation to the dream wi h as the th ght res dues left o er from our waking activ y We need not dispute the fact that the dream int rpret objective sensory stimuli afte the man of an illu ion but we have supplied the m t e for this inter pretati n, which has been l ft indeterminate by oth writers The interp etation proceeds in such way that the per ei ed object s ren dered harml ss as a sour f distu banc of sleep whilst it is made usabl f r the wish ful filment. Though we d not admit as a special sou e of dreams the subjecti e state of exc ta tion f the sensory organs during sleep (which seems to have been dem nstrated by Trumb l Ladd) we are ne ertheless, abl to explai this

being inhibited—rep esent an ever ready ma terial, which th dream w l can employ t ex press the dream th ught as ften as need arises

That the dream-pro es i rap d and momentary o e is w believe true as regards the per ept by n cious ess f the preformed dream-co tent but we ha e found that

[20] W pu th case in the f f pyre del ria f la ai on for i is cerebral anaemia t we tach this particular tate.—ED.

strange and alarming to children who observe it and arouses anxiety in them is I may say a fact established by everyday experience I have explained this anxiety on the ground that we have here a sexual excitation which is not mastered by the child s understanding and which probably also encounters repulsion because their parents are involved and is therefore transformed into anxiety At a still earlier period of life the sexual impulse towards the parent of opposite sex does not yet suffer repression but as we have seen (pp 244 45) expresses itself freely

For the night terrors with hallucinations (*pavor nocturnus*) so frequent in children I should without hesitation offer the same explanation These too can only be due to misunderstood and rejected sexual impulses which if recorded would probably show a temporal periodicity since an intensification of sexual *libido* may equally be produced by accidentally exciting impressions and by spontaneous periodic processes of development

I have not the necessary observational material for the full demonstration of this explanation On the other hand pediatrists seem to lack the point of view which alone makes intelligible the whole series of phenomena both from the somatic and from the psychic side To illustrate by a comical example how closely if one is made blind by the blinkers of medical mythology one may pass by the understanding of such cases I will cite a case which I found in a thesis on *pavor nocturnus* (Debacker 1881 p 66)

A boy of thirteen in delicate health began to be anxious and dreamy his sleep became uneasy and once almost every week it was interrupted by an acute attack of anxiety with hallucinations The memory of these dreams was always very distinct Thus he was able to relate that the devil had shouted at him Now we have you now we have you! and then there was a smell of pitch and brimstone and the fire burned his skin From this dream he woke in terror at first he could not cry out then his voice came back to him and he was distinctly heard to say No no not me I haven t done anything or Please don t I will never do it again! At other times he said Albert has never done that! Later he avoided undressing because the fire attacked him only when he was undressed In the midst of these evil dreams which were endan ering his health he was sent into the country where he recovered in the course of eighteen months At the age of fifteen he confessed one day *Je n osais pas l avouer mais j éprouvais cor [illegible] lement des picotements et des surexcitations aux parties à la fin cela m énervait tant que plusieurs fois j ai pensé me jeter par la fenêtre du dortoir*

It is of course not difficult to guess 1 That the boy had practised masturbation in former years that he had probably denied it and was threatened with severe punishment for his bad habit (His confession *Je ne le ferai plus* his denial *Albert n a jamais fait ça*) 2 That under the advancing pressure of puberty the temptation to masturbate was re awakened through the titillation of the genitals 3 That now however there arose within him a struggle for repression which suppressed the libido and transformed it into anxiety and that this anxiety now gathered up the punishments with which he was originally threatened

Let us on the other hand see what conclusions were drawn by the author (p 69)

1 It is clear from this observation that the influence of puberty may produce in a boy of delicate health a condition of extreme weakness and that this may lead to a *very marked cerebral anaemia*

2 This cerebral anaemia produces an alteration of character demono maniacal hallucinations and very violent nocturnal and perhaps also diurnal states of anxiety

3 The demonomania and the self reproaches of the boy can be traced to the influences of a religious education which had acted upon him as a child

4 All manifestations disappeared as a result of a lengthy sojourn in the country bodily exercise and the return of physical strength after the termination of puberty

5 Possibly an influence predisposing to the development of the boy s cerebral state may be attributed to heredity and to the father s former syphilis

Then finally come the concluding remarks *Nous avons fait entrer cette observation dans le cadre des délires apyrétiques d inanition car*

Th s mater l ha s ce been p [illegible] d d l [illegible] b dance by the l t rat re of psycho [illegible] lysis

The emph s [illegible] my own th gh th mea [illegible] pl [illegible] ugh w th [illegible]

I d d [illegible] t d [illegible] dm t [illegible] b t I [illegible] ually f lt t gl gs d [illegible] tem t [illegible] f th p [illegible] t the end t w ed m [illegible] m h th t se [illegible] l times I th ght t th w myself f m th d rm t ry wi d w —ED

I w ll [illegible] t d [illegible] it g i [illegible] —ED

Alb rt [illegible] d d th t —ED

The italics are mi e.

ream thoughts proceed from perfectly normal psychic activities but on the other hand we have found among the dream thoughts a number of entirely abnormal mental processes which extend also to the dream-content, and which we reproduce in the interpretation of the dream. All that we have termed the d eam work seems t depart so completely f om the psychic processes which w recognize as correct and appropriat that th severest judgments e pressed by the writers mentioned as to the low level of psychic achievement f dreams must appear well founded.

Here, pe haps only further investigations can prov de an explanation and set us on the r ht path. Let m pick out f r renewed atten tion one of the const llations which lead to dream formati n.

W have le rned that the dream serves as a s bstitute f numbe f thoughts derived from our daily Life, and which fit together with perfect logic We cann t, theref re, doubt that these thought ha e their own rigin in our rmal mental life. All th qualities which we al e in ur thought processes, and which mark them out as c mplica ed perf rmances of a high order we shall find repeated in the dream thoughts. There is h wever no need to sume that this mental work is performed during sleep such an assumption w uld badly fuse the cep on f the psychic tate of sleep t which we have hitherto adhered. On the contrary these thoughts may ery well ha e the origin in the daytime, and unre marked by our consci usnes may ha e gone on f om th first stimulus until, t th onset of leep they have reached completion If we re t conclud anythi from this tat of affairs, t can only be that t pro es *th t the mo t omplex ment l pera ions are po sibl without th cooperation f consciousn s* — truth which w ha e had t learn anyhow from very psycho-analysi of patient suffering om h s eria bses ons. These dream oughts re ertainly in themselves incap- l f onsci usnes f w have t becom onsci us f them during the day this may been due t various reasons. The ct f ec ming conscious depends upo de nit sychi function—atten on—being brought to ear This seems t be ailable only in deter ua qua tv whi h may ha e been diverted rom the tra f thoug t in question by o uma A ther wa in which such trains of thought ma be withheld from consciousness is the f owing From our conscious reflection we know tha when applying our attention we follow a particular course. But if that course leads us to an idea which cannot with tand critici m we break off and allow the cathexis of attention to drop Now it would eem that th train of thought thus started and abandoned may continue to develop without our atten ion returning, t t unless t some point it attains a specially high inten ty which compels atten tion. An initial con cious reject on by our j dgm t, on the ground f incorrectness or uselessness for the immedia e purpose of the ct of thought may therefore be the cau e of a thou t-process go ng *n unnoticed by con sci usness* until the onset of leep

Let us now recapitulate We call such a train of thought a *preco scious* train and we believe it t be perf ctly correct, and that it may equally well be a m rely negl cted train or ne that has been nterrupted and sup- pressed. Let us also tate in plain terms how we visualize the movement f our thought We believe that a certain quantity of excitati n, whi h we call *cathect c energy* is displaced from a purposi e idea alon the ssociation paths selected by this directing idea. A *eglected* train f th ugh has received no such cathexis, and th cathexis has been withdrawn from one that was *supp re sed* or *reje ted* both ha e thus been left t their own excitations The train of thought cathected by ome aim be- comes bl und r certain co dit ns to attract the attention of con ciousness and by the mediation of con ciousness t then recei es *hyper-cathexis* We shall be obliged presently to lucidat our assumptions as t the nature and function of con ci usness

A train f thought thus incited in the *Pcs* may eithe disappear spontaneously or it may contin e. The *former eventuality* we co eive as f llows t diffuses its energy through all the association paths emanating from it, and throws the entire chain of thou hts into tate

their source in ur unconscious and eve ctive wishes. These may gain trol f the excita tion in the circle of thoughts thus l ft t tself establish co n ct on between t and the un conscious wish, and *t ansfer* to it the en rgy inherent in the unconscious wish. Hencef rth

the preceding portions of the dream process probably follow a slow fluctuating course As for the riddle of the superabundant dream content compressed into the briefest moment of time we have been able to contribute the explanation that the dream seizes upon ready made formations of the psychic life We have found that it is true that dreams are distorted and mutilated by the memory but that this fact presents no difficulties as it is only the last manifest portion of a process of distortion which has been going on from the very beginning of the dream work In the embittered controversy which has seemed irreconcilable whether the psychic life is asleep at night or can make the same use of all its faculties as during the day we have been able to conclude that both sides are right but that neither is entirely so In the dream thoughts we found evidence of a highly complicated intellectual activity operating with almost all the resources of the psychic apparatus yet it cannot be denied that these dream thoughts have originated during the day and it is indispensable to assume that there is a sleeping state of the psychic life Thus even the doctrine of partial sleep received its due but we have found the characteristic feature of the sleeping state not in the disintegration of the psychic system of connections but in the special attitude adopted by the psychic system which is dominant during the day—the attitude of the wish to sleep The deflection from the outer world retains its significance for our view too though not the only factor at work it helps to make possible the regressive course of the dream representation The abandonment of voluntary guidance of the flow of ideas is incontestable but psychic life does not thereby become aimless for we have seen that upon relinquishment of the voluntary directing ideas involuntary ones take charge On the other hand we have not only recognized the loose associative connection of the dream but have brought a far greater area within the scope of this kind of connection than could have been suspected we have however found it merely an enforced substitute for another a correct and significant type of association To be sure we too have called the dream absurd but examples have shown us how wise the dream is when it simulates absurdity As regards the functions that have been attributed to the dream we are able to accept them all That the dream relieves the mind like a safety valve and that as Robert has put it all kinds of harmful material are rendered harmless by representation in the dream not only coincides exactly with our own theory of the twofold wish fulfilment in the dream but in its very wording becomes more intelligible for us than it is for Robert himself The free indulgence of the psyche in the play of its faculties is reproduced in our theory as the non interference of the preconscious activity with the dream The *return of the embryonal standpoint of psychic life in the dream* and Havelock Ellis s remark that the dream is *an archaic world of vast emotions and imperfect thoughts* appear to us as happy anticipations of our own exposition which asserts that *primitive* modes of operations that are suppressed during the day play a part in the formation of dreams We can fully identify ourselves with Sully s statement that our dreams bring back again our earlier and successively developed personalities our old ways of regarding things with impulses and modes of reaction which ruled us long ago and for us as for Delage the *suppressed* material becomes the mainspring of the dream

We have fully accepted the role that Scherner ascribes to the dream phantasy and his own interpretations but we have been obliged to transpose them as it were to another part of the problem It is not the dream that creates the phantasy but the activity of unconscious phantasy that plays the leading part in the formation of the dream thoughts We remain indebted to Scherner for directing us to the source of the dream thoughts but almost everything that he ascribes to the dream work is attributable to the activity of the unconscious during the day which instigates dreams no less than neurotic symptoms The dream work we had to separate from this activity as something quite different and far more closely controlled Finally we have by no means renounced the relation of the dream to psychic disturbances but have given it on new ground, a more solid foundation

Held together by the new features in our theory as by a superior unity we find the most varied and most contradictory conclusions of other writers fitting into our structure many of them are given a different turn but only a few of them are wholly rejected But our own structure is still unfinished For apart from the many obscure questions in which we have involved ourselves by our advance into the dark regions of psychology we are now it would seem embarrassed by a new contradiction On the one hand we have made it appear that the

or they form compromises for which we should never forgive our thought but which we frequently sanction in our action

These are some of the most conspicuous abnormal processes to which the dream thoughts which have previously been rationally formed are subjected in the course of the dream work. As the main feature of these processes we may see that the greatest importance is attached to rendering the cathecting energy mobile and *capable of discharge* the content and the intrinsic significance of the psychic elements to which these cathexes adhere become matters of secondary importance One might perhaps assume that condensation and compromise formation are effected only in the service of regression when the occasion arises for changing

fessor reveals the same processes of displacement and ... as ... the rest.

We cannot therefore avoid the conclusion that two kinds of essentially different psychic processes participate in dream formation one forms perfectly correct and fitting dream thoughts equivalent to the results of normal thinking while the other deals with these thoughts in a most confusing and ... it seems incorrect way The latter process we have already set apart in chapter VI as the dream work proper What can we say now as to the derivation of this psychic process

It would be impossible to answer this question here if we had not penetrated a considerable way into the psychology of the neuroses and especially of hysteria From this however we learn that the same ... correct psychic processes—as well as others not enumerated—control the production of hysterical symptoms. In hysteria too we find at first a series of perfectly correct and fitting thoughts, equivalent to our conscious ... es of whose existence in this form we can however learn nothing ... which we can only subsequently reconstruct. If they have forced their way anywhere to perception we discover from the analysis of the symptom formed that these normal thoughts have been subjected to abnormal treatment and *that by means of condensation and compromise formation through superficial associations which cover ... contradictions and eventually along the path of regression they have been conveyed to the symptom* In view of the complete identity

between the peculiarities of the dream work and those of the psychic activity which issues in psychoneurotic symptoms we shall feel justified in transferring to the dream the conclusions urged upon us by hysteria

From the theory of hysteria we borrow the proposition that *such an abnormal psychic elaboration of a normal train of thought takes place only when the latter has been used for the transference of an unconscious wish which dates from the infantile life and is in a state of repression* Complying with this proposition we have built up the theory of the dream on the assumption that the actuating dream wish invariably originates in the unconscious which as we have ourselves admitted cannot be

term so freely we shall be obliged to make a further addition to our psychological scaffolding

was constructed after the plan of a reflex apparatus motility in the first place as the path to changes within the body was the channel of discharge at its disposal. We then discussed the psychic results of experiences of gratification and were able at this point to introduce a second assumption namely that the accumulation of excitation—by processes that do not concern us here—is felt as pain and sets the apparatus in operation in order to bring about again a state of gratification, in *which the diminution of excitation is perceived* as pleasure Such a current in the apparatus issuing from pain and striving for pleasure we call

tion of pleasure and pain The first occurrence of wishing may well have taken the form of a hallucinatory cathexis of the memory of gratification But this hallucination unless it could be maintained to the point of exhaustion proved incapable of bringing about a cessation of the need, and consequently of securing the pleasure connected with gratification

Thus there was required a second activity—in our terminology the activity of a second system—which would not allow the memory

the neglected or suppressed train of thought is in a position to maintain itself although this reinforcement gives it no claim to access to consciousness We may say then that the hitherto preconscious train of thought *has been drawn into the unconscious*

Other constellations leading to dream formation might be as follows The preconscious train of thought might have been connected from the beginning with the unconscious wish and for that reason might have met with rejection by the dominating aim h

d by the *Pcs* All three cases have the same result there is established in the preconscious a train of thought which having been abandoned by the preconscious cathexis has acquired cathexis from the unconscious wish

From this point onward the train of thought is subjected to a series of transformations which we no longer recognize as normal psychic processes and which give a result that we find strange a psychopathological formation Let us now emphasize and bring together these transformations

1 The intensities of the individual ideas become capable of discharge in their entirety and pass from one idea to another so that individual ideas are formed which are endowed with great intensity Through the repeated occurrence of this process the intensity of an entire train of thought may ultimately be concentrated in a single conceptual unit This is the fact of *compression* or *condensation* with which we become acquainted when investigating the dream work It is condensation that is mainly responsible for the strange impression produced by dreams for we know of nothing analogous to it in the normal psychic life that is accessible to consciousness We get here too ideas which are of great psychic significance as nodal points or as end results of whole chains of thought but this value is not expressed by any character *actually manifest* for our internal perception what is represented in it is not in any way made more intensive In the process of condensation the whole set of psychic connections becomes transformed into the *intensity* of the idea content The situation is the same as when in the case of a book I italicize or print in heavy type any word to which I attach outstanding value for the understanding of the text In speech I should pronounce the same word loudly and deliberately and with emphasis The first simile points immediately to one of the examples which were given of the dream work (*trimethylamine* in the dream of Irma s injection) Historians of art call our attention to the fact that the most ancient sculptures known to history follow a similar principle in expressing the rank of the persons represented by the size of the statues. The king is made two or three times as tall as his retinue or his vanquished enemies But a work of art of the Roman period makes use of more subtle means to accomplish the same end The figure of the Emperor is placed in the centre erect and in his full height and special care is bestowed on the modelling of this figure his enemies are seen cowering at his feet but he is no longer made to seem a giant among dwarfs At the same time in the bowing of the subordinate to his superior even in our own day we have an echo of this ancient principle of representation

The direction followed by the condensations of the dream is prescribed on the one hand by the true preconscious relations of the dream thoughts and on the other hand by the attraction of the visual memories in the unconscious The success of the condensation work produces those intensities which are required for penetration to the perception system

2 By the free transference of intensities and in the service of the condensation *intermediary ideas*—compromises as it were—are formed (cf the numerous examples) This also is something unheard of in the normal movement of our ideas where what is of most importance is the selection and the retention of the right conceptual material On the other hand composite and compromise formations occur with extraordinary frequency when we are trying to find verbal expression for preconscious thoughts these are considered slips of the tongue

3 The ideas which transfer their intensities to one another are *very loosely connected* and are joined together by such forms of association as are disdained by our serious thinking and left to be exploited solely by wit In particular assonances and punning associations are treated as equal in value to any other associations

4 Contradictory thoughts do not try to eliminate one another but continue side by side and often combine to form condensation products *as though no contradiction existed*

inhib any outflow f e c tat n fr m it, and hence also the utflow comparable to a moto inn rvat on n eded f r the dev l pment of pain And thu setting ut f om tw differe t tarting-po t e from regard f r the pain pri ciple and f om the principle f the least expe ditu e of innervat o we r l d to the hypoth is that cathexi throu h the sec nd ystem s at the sam tim an inh b tio f the d harge of citation Let u howeve k p a l se hold on the fact—fo thi is th key to th theory of repres n—*th t the second sys* *k t d when it s po-*

inin

th seco d sy tem i.e would immedi tel be gi e up by irt e f the pain principle The inh b tion f pain however need n t be om pl t it must be perm tted to begin ince thi es m h ti of th

th *condary pro ess* I can als show t n oth r point fo what purpo the d sys-tem is bliged t corr ct the primary p oces Th primary process stri es for dis ha ge of th excitat on m ord to establ h with the qua tity f excit ti thus c ll cted *a id t ty of p c ptio* the sec dary proce s ha ban doned this tenti n, and has dopted i tead th aim f an *dert ty of thought* All thinkin is merely d tou f om the mem ry of gratifi cat (tak a purpos e dea) t th den tical cath xis f the sam m m ry which is t be re ched once mo e by the path of mot r xperien s. Tho ght must onc rn tself with th c nnectin paths between dea with ut al l m tself t be misled b th intensit B t t b s that c de sat o f deas and int rmediat r ompromise form t on a e b ta les t th ttai ment of th de t t which is med t by ub tit ting one dea f ther they sw rve w y from th path hich w ld ha e led onwa d from th first dea h p oced res th ref re caref ll ded in ou secondary thinki g It will

dency of the thinki g process must always be to free it elf *more* and more from exclusive regulat on by the pa n principle and to restrict the dev lopment of affect throu h the wo k of thou ht to the ery minimum which remains effecti e as a s nal This refinement in func t o in is to be a hie ed by a fresh hyper-ca thexi eff cted w th the help of consciou ness But we are aware that this refinement is el d m successful even in normal psychic lif and that our thinking always remains liable to fal ficat on by the intervent on of the pain princ ple

This however is not the breach n the func

into the power of the prim ry psychic process by whi h f rmula we may now describe the op-erations resulting in dreams and the symptoms f hysteria This inadequacy results from the converging of two factors in our developme t e *of which pertains olely to the psychic ap-*paratus nd has exerc sed a determini g influ e e on the elation of the two systems while th other perates fl ctuatin ly and ntroduces mot e f ces of organic origin nto the psychic life Both originate in the infa tile life and a e a pre p tate f the alt ration which our psychic and som t c organism has undergone si our infant le years

When I termed o e of the psychic processes in the psychi apparatus th *primary* process I did o not only in cons deratio of ts status and fun t on but was al o abl to take account of the temporal relation hip actually invol ed So fa as we know a psy h c apparatus po ess ing only the primary p ces does not exi t and is to that ext t a theoretical ficti b t this at least is a fact that the primary proc s ses are present in the apparatu f om the begin ning while the eco dary p cesses o ly take hape gradually during the course of life in *hib t g and ove laying the* primary whil t gaining mplete control over them perhaps nly in the prim of life Owing to this belated arri al f th sec dary proces es the esse ce of ou being stin f un on ci u wish impulses remains somethin whi h cann t be gra ped or nhib ted by the p econscious nd ts part is o ce a d for all restricted t indicat ing the most pp priate paths for th wi h impulse riginating in the u c n cious These un onsci u w hes represe t f all subsequ t psych stri ings a c mpul n t which they must bmit themsel es alth gh they m y

cathexis to force its way to perception and thence to bind the psychic forces but would lead the excitation emanating from the need stimulus by a detour which by means of voluntary motility would ultimately so change the outer world as to permit the real perception of the gratifying object Thus far we have already elaborated the scheme of the psychic apparatus these two systems are the germ of what we set up in the fully developed apparatus as the *Ucs* and *Pcs*

To change the outer world appropriately by means of motility requires the accumulation of a large total of experiences in the memory systems as well as a manifold consolidation of the relations which are evoked in this memory material by various directing ideas We will now proceed further with our assumptions The activity of the second system groping in many directions tentatively sending forth cathexes and retracting them needs on the one hand full command over all memory material but on the other hand it would be a superfluous expenditure of energy were it to send along the individual thought paths large quantities of cathexis which would then flow away to no purpose and thus diminish the quantity needed for changing the outer world Out of a regard for purposiveness therefore I postulate that the second system succeeds in maintaining the greater part of the energic cathexes in a state of rest and in using only a small portion for its operations of displacement The mechanics of these processes is entirely unknown to me anyone who seriously wishes to follow up these ideas must address himself to the physical analogies and find some way of getting a picture of the sequence of motions which ensues on the excitation of the neurones Here I do no more than hold fast to the idea that the activity of the first ψ system aims at *the free outflow of the quantities of excitation* and that the second system by means of the cathexes emanating from it effects an *inhibition* of this outflow a transformation into dormant cathexis probably with a rise of potential I therefore assume that the course taken by any excitation under the control of the second system is bound to quite different mechanical conditions from those which obtain under the control of the first system After the second system has completed its work of experimental thought it removes the inhibition and damming up of the excitations and allows them to flow off into motility

An interesting train of thought now presents itself if we consider the relations of this inhibition of discharge by the second system to the process of regulation by the pain principle Let us now seek out the counterpart of the primary experience of gratification namely the *objective experience of fear* Let a perception stimulus act on the primitive apparatus and be the source of p n

Y

p

from the

cept this

peated (perhaps as a movement of flight) until the percept has again disappeared But in this case no tendency will remain to recathect the perception of the source of pain by hallucination or otherwise On the contrary there will be a tendency in the primary apparatus to turn away again from this painful memory image immediately if it is in any way awakened since the overflow of its excitation into perception would of course evoke (or more precisely begin to evoke) pain This turning away from a recollection which is merely a repetition of the former flight from perception is also facilitated by the fact that unlike the perception the recollection has not enough quality to arouse consciousness and thereby to attract fresh cathexis This effortless and regular turning away of the psychic process from the memory of anything that had once been painful gives us the prototype and the first example of *psychic repression* We all know how much of this turning away from the painful the tactics of the ostrich may still be shown as present even in the normal psychic life of adults

In obedience to the pain principle therefore the first ψ system is quite incapable of introducing anything unpleasant into the thought nexus The system cannot do anything but wish If this were to remain so the activity of thought of the second system which needs to have at its disposal all the memories stored up by experience would be obstructed But two paths are now open either the work of the second system frees itself completely from the pain principle and continues its course paying no heed to the pain attached to given memories or it contrives to cathect the memory of the pain in such a manner as to preclude the liberation of pain We can reject the first possibility as the pain principle also proves to act as a regulator of the cycle of excitation in the second system we are therefore thrown back upon the second possibility namely that this system cathects a memory in such a manner as to

w_h invariably originates in the unconscious I have already go e a step beyond the demon strable Nor will I inquire further into the na t re of the diff rence between the play of psy chic f rces in dream format on and in the for matio f hyst rical symptoms sinc there is missi here the eeded fuller knowledge of one of the tw things t be compared. But there is an ther po t which I regard as important and I will c nfess at once that t was only on ac count of this point that I entered upon all the discussio conc rning the two psychic systems th r modes of operation and the fact of re pres on. It d es ot greatly matt r whethe I ha e co cei ed the psych logical relations at 1su with approximate correctness or as is eas ly pos ble in such a difficult matter wrongly and mperfectly However our ews may chan e abo t the interpretation of the psych c cen rship or the c rrect and the abnormal elab-

effic cy or capacities The objection that no conclu io s ca be drawn about the dreams of healthy persons from my own dreams and from th se of my neurotic pat ents may be rejected without comment If then from the nature of the given phenomena we inf r the natur of their m t ve forces we find that the psychic mechanism utilized by the neuroses is not new ly-created by a mo b d disturbance that la s hold of the psychic life, but lies in readiness in the normal structure of our psychic appa ratus The two psychic systems the frontier censorship between them the inhib tion and ove la n of the one acti ity by the other the relations of both to consciousness—or whatever may take place of these co cepts on a juster interpretat on of the actual relations—all these belong to the normal structure of our psychic instrume t and the dream hows us one of the paths which lead to a knowled e of this struc ture If we wish to be conte t with a min mum of perfectly assured add t ons to our knowledge we shall say that th dream afford proof that *the suppressed material cont nues to exist even in the no mal person a d rema ns capable of p y chic a tivity* Dreams are one of the manifesta tions of this suppressed material theor t cally this i true in all cases and in tangible experi e ce t has been found tru in at lea t a great

served in the form tio of hysterical s mp- toms Now the dream s not a pathological phenomenon t does ot presuppose any dis- turbance f our psychic equilibrium d it does t lea e behind t any weakening of our

H re as elsewhere there re gaps in the tre me f the subject hich I have del berately left bec se fill them up would th one hand, require

pres on a d cut off from nternal pe cept on *by th mut al neutrali t on of cont d ctory attitudes* finds ways and means under the swa of compromise-formati ns of obtrud g itself on consciousness during the night

ship even hen they bando the progres path t

Flecter si q super A heront m b

At any rate *the interp et t on of dreams is the* via regia *to a knowledge of the unconsc ous element in our psych c l fe*

By the analys s of dreams we obtain some insight into the ompo tion of this most ma ellous and most mysterio of instruments t s true that this only takes us a little way but t gi es u a st rt which enabl s us sett n out from the angle of other (p pe ly patho- lo ical) format ons to penetrate furthe in ur di joinin of th instrum t For disea e— at all events that which i r ghtly called fu c t onal—does n t n es aril pres ppose the destruct n f this pparatus r th establi h

If I ca no fluence the gods, I will up Acheron.—ED

perhaps endeavour to divert them and to guide them to superior aims In consequence of this retardation an extensive region of the memory material remains in fact inaccessible to preconscious cathexis

Now among these wish impulses originating in the infantile life indestructible and incapable of inhibition there are some the fulfilments of which have come to be in contradiction with the purposive ideas of our secondary thinking The fulfilment of these wishes would no longer produce an affect of pleasure but one of pain *and it is just this conversion of affect that constitutes the essence of what we call* repression In what manner and by what motive forces such a conversion can take place constitutes the problem of repression which we need here only to touch upon in passing It will suffice to note the fact that such a conversion of affect occurs in the course of development (one need only think of the emergence of disgust originally absent in infantile life) and that it is connected with the activity of the secondary system The memories from which the unconscious wish evokes a liberation of affect have never been accessible to the *Pcs* and for that reason this liberation cannot be inhibited It is precisely on account of this generation of affect that these ideas are not now accessible even by way of the preconscious thoughts to which they have transferred the energy of the wishes connected with them On the contrary the pain principle comes into play and causes the *Pcs* to turn away from these transference thoughts These latter are left to themselves are *repressed* and thus the existence of a store of infantile memories withdrawn from the beginning from the *Pcs* becomes the preliminary condition of repression

In the most favourable case the generation of pain terminates so soon as the cathexis is withdrawn from the transference thoughts in the *Pcs* and this result shows that the intervention of the pain principle is appropriate It is otherwise however if the repressed unconscious wish receives an organic reinforcement which it can put at the service of its transference thoughts and by which it can enable them to attempt to break through with their excitation even if the cathexis of the *Pcs* has been taken away from them A defensive struggle then ensues inasmuch as the *Pcs* reinforces the opposite to the repressed thoughts (counter cathexis) and the eventual outcome is that the transference thoughts (the carriers of the unconscious wish) break through in some form of compromise through symptom formation But from the moment that the repressed thoughts are powerfully cathected [illegible]

[illegible] motor discharge or if the way is clear at hallucinatory revival of the desired identity of perception We have already found empirically that the *incorrect* processes described are en[illegible]

[illegible] of the facts These *incorrect* processes are the *primary* processes of the psychic apparatus they occur wherever ideas abandoned by the preconscious cathexis are left to themselves and can become filled with the uninhibited energy which flows from the unconscious and strives for discharge There are further facts which go to show that the processes described as incorrect are not really falsifications of our normal procedure or defective thinking but the modes of operation of the psychic apparatus when freed from inhibition Thus we see that the process of the conveyance of the preconscious excitation to motility occurs in accordance with the same procedure and that in the linkage of preconscious ideas with words we may easily find manifested the same displacements and confusions (which we ascribe to inattention) Finally a proof of the increased work made necessary by the inhibition of these primary modes of procedure might be found in the fact that we achieve a *comical effect* a surplus to be discharged through *laughter if we allow these modes of thought to come to consciousness*

The theory of the psychoneuroses asserts with absolute certainty that it can only be sexual wish impulses from the infantile life which have undergone repression (affect conversion) during the developmental period of childhood which are capable of renewal at later periods of development (whether as a result of our sexual constitution which has of course grown out of an original bi sexuality or in consequence of unfavourable influences in our sexual life) and which therefore supply the motive power for all psychoneurotic symptom formation It is only by the introduction of these sexual forces that the gaps still demonstrable in the theory of repression can be filled Here I will leave it undecided whether the postulate of the sexual and infantile holds good for the theory of dreams as well I am not completing the latter because in assuming that the dream

consciousness is the nd spens ble qual ty of the psych c f his re pect f r the utterances of the philos phers is tul gr at en u h he may pe haps a um that he and they do not deal with th same thi and d not pursue th same cience. Fo el n telligent bservatio of the psychic lif of a eurotic, a single analysis of dream m t fo ce upon him the unshak able ctio that the most complicated and th most accurate perat ns of thou ht to which the n m f psychic occurrences can sur ly n t be refused may take place without rousing con c u ess. Th ph s cian t is true does not l arn of these unco sciou pr cesses until they ha e produced an effect on con ci u ness which admits of communication r obser vat n. B t this ffect o con ci usne may show psychic character which differs com pl t ly f m th u c nscious p ces so that int rnal per epti n cannot poss bly co n ze in th first a substitut for the seco d The phys cian must reserve himself the right to pe etrat by a *pr cess of d duct on* f om the effect o con cious es to the unco scious psy chic proc ss h learns in this way that the ef fect on onsciousness is nly remote psychic prod ct f the unco sci us pro ess and that the latt has n t becom c nscious a su h, and has, mo eo e existed and operat d without in any w y betraying tself to nsciousness

A ret rn f m the o er-estimat n f the property f c nsciousnes is the dispensable preliminary to any g nuine ins ht into the se f psych events As Lipps h said the un onsc us mu t be a cept d s the general

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liminary un ons us tag whereas the unco sci us can st p at this tage and yet claim to be c d red a full psy hi functi Th un c nscious is th true psychi reality *in its nner natur t just as m ch unk own t us as the al ty f th ernal world a d it is just as imperfectly commu cated to us by the data of conscious ess as is the external world by the reports of our se se-o gans*

We get rid of a eries of dream problems which have claimed much attent on from earlier writ ers on the subject when the old antithes s be twee conscious life and dream life is discarded, and the unco scious psychic ass gned t its prop er place Thus many of the achievements whi h are a matter for wonder in a dream are now no lon er to be attributed to dreamin but to unconsc o s thi kin which is acti e also dur in the day If the dream se ms to make play with a symbol cal repre entatio of the body as Scherner has sa d we know that this i the work f certain unconscious phantas es which are pr bably under the sway of sexual impulses and find expression not only in dreams but also in hyst rical ph b s and other symptoms If the dream o tinues and completes mental wo k begun durin th day and even brings valuable new deas to li ht we ha e only to strip off the dream-disguise f m thi as the co tribution of the dream wo k and a mark of the assistance f dark powers in the depths of the psyche (cf the dev l in Tartini s sonata dream) Th intellectual a hie ement as uch belongs to the am psychic forces as are r sponsible f all such achievements duri g the day We are prob bly much to i clined to over-estimat the consc ous characte even of int lle t al and art stic producti n. From the eport of c rtain wr t rs who ha e been hi hly

form of inspirations and off red itself to th i awareness in an alm t compl ted tate. In ther cases wh re there a co certed effort of all th psychi forces there is nothin trange in the fact that conscious acti ty too lends it aid But it s the much abused privi leg f c nsc ous activity to hide from us all oth r activ ties wherever it partic pates

It hardly ems w rth while to tak up the hist rical s gnificanc of d eams as a separate theme. Wh re f in tanc a leader has been impelled by a dream to engage in a bold und taki the s ccess of which has had th ff ct of changin hi tory a ew probl m ri es only so long s th dream is regarded as a myste ri power and contra ted w th the m re familia psychi f es The p oblem disappe rs as soon as w regard the dream as *form f e p son* f r impulses t whi h res ta c was tta hed durin th day whilst t might

I m happy to be ble to po to tho ho has drawn f om the dy f dre m the same nclu on as regards he rela be wee sc ousnes nd the unconsc ous.

I Prel ys "The bl m ha is th psych m fes tl requ res prel m nary sam na io as he her consciousness nd psyche re den l B i rus t rel minary ues h ch sw red the nega by he dre m hi h h th the cep t he psyche tend beyond tha f conscious-nes uch as he gra tation l f rc f ta te ds beyond its sphere f l m os ty (*Phil d M t k* p

I is tru h hich can be fficiently empha zed tha he concepts f consciousness and f the psyche re no co-e tensi (p 3 6)

ment of new cleavages in its interior it can be explained *dynamically* by the strengthening and weakening of the components of the play of forces so many of the activities of which are covered up in normal functionin It might be shown el ewhere how the fact that the appa ratus is a combination of two instances also permits of a refinement of its normal function ing which would have been impossible to a single system

F *The Unconscious and Consciousness Reality*

If we look more closely we may observe that the psychological considerations examined in the foregoing chapter require us to assume not the existence of two systems near the motor end of the psychic apparatus but *two kinds of processes or courses taken by excitation* But this does not disturb us for we must always be ready to drop our auxiliary ideas when we think we are in a position to replace them by something which comes closer to the unknown reality Let us now try to correct certain views which may have taken a misconceived form as long as we regarded the two systems in the crudest and most obvious sense as two locali ties within the psychic apparatus—views which have left a precipitate in the terms *repression* and *penetration* Thus when we say that an unconscious thou ht strives for translation in to the preconscious in order subsequently to penetrate through to consciousness we do not mean that a second idea has to be formed in a new locality like a paraphrase as it were whilst the original persists by its side and sim ilarly when we speak of penetration into con sciousness we wish carefully to detach from this notion any idea of a change of locality When we say that a preconscious idea is re pressed and subsequently absorbed by the un conscious we might be tempted by these images borrowed from the idea of a struggle for a particular territory to assume that an arrangement is really broken up in the one psy chic locality and replaced by a new one in the other locality For these comparisons we will substitute a description which would seem to correspond more closely to the real state of affairs we will say that an energic cathexis is shifted to or withdrawn from a certain arra e ment so that the psychic formation falls under the domination of a given instance or is with drawn from it Here again we replace a topo graphical mode of representation by a dynamic one it is not the psychic formation that ap pears to us as the mobile element but its in nervation

Nevertheless I think it expedient and justi fiable to continue to use the illustrative idea of the two systems We shall avoid any abuse of this mode of representation if we remember that ideas thoughts and psychic formations in general must not in any case be localized in or ganic elements of the nervous sy tem but so to speak *between them* where resistances and as sociation tracks form the correlate correspond ing to them Everything that can become an object of internal perception is *virtual* like the image in the telescope produced by the cro in of li ht rays But we are justified in thinkin of the systems—which have nothin psychic in themselves and which never become acces ible to our psychic perception—as somethin simi lar to the lenses of the telescope which project the ima e If we continue this comparison we might say that the censorship between the two systems corresponds to the refraction of rays on passing into a new medium

Thus far we have developed our psychology on our own responsibility it is now time to turn and look at the doctrines prevailin in modern psychology and to examine the rela tion of these to our theories The problem of the unconscious in psychology is accordin to the forcible statement of Lipps le s *a* psycho lo ical problem than *the* problem of psychology As long as psychology dispo ed of this problem by the verbal explanation that the *psychic* is the *conscious* and that *unconscious psychic occurrences* are an obvious contradiction there was no possibility of a physician s observations of abnormal mental states being turned to any psychological account The physician and the philosopher can meet only when both acknowl edge that *unconscious psych c processes* is *the appropriate and justified expression for an es tablisl ed fact* The physician cannot but reject, with a shrug of his shoulders the assertion that

Th dre m t th ly ph m th t p

E yd y Life)

Th pt d t l b t d mod fi t wh t w s g d th t th se t l cha t t of p id w t ect th l f th es d f b l d S e *Th U o w s P* h 4 8 b l w t *D B g ß d s L bew t d P y k l t* f Lect d l d t th Th d I ter t nal Psycho l g l C t M h 897

consciousness is the indispensable quality of the psyche. If his respect for the utterances of the philosophers is still great enough, he may perhaps assume that he and they do not deal with the same thing and do not pursue the same science. For a single intelligent observation of the psychic life of a neurotic, a single analysis of a dream must force upon him the unshakable conviction that the most complicated and the most accurate operations of thought, to which the name of psychic occurrences can surely not be refused, may take place without arousing consciousness. The physician, it is true, does not learn of these unconscious processes until they have produced an effect on consciousness which admits of communication or observation. But this effect on consciousness may show a psychic character which differs from the unconscious process, so that internal perception cannot possibly recognize in the first a substitute for the second. The physician must reserve himself the right to penetrate, *by a process of deduction, from the* effect on consciousness to the unconscious psychic process; he learns in this way that the effect on consciousness is only a remote psychic product of the unconscious process and that the latter has not become conscious as such, and has moreover existed and operated without in any way betraying itself to consciousness.

A return from the over-estimation of the property of consciousness is the indispensable preliminary to any genuine insight into the course of psychic events. As Lipps has said, the unconscious must be accepted as the general basis of the psychic life. *The unconscious is the* larger circle which includes the smaller circle of the conscious; everything conscious has a preliminary unconscious stage, whereas the unconscious can stop at this stage, and yet claim to be considered a full psychic function. The unconscious is the true psychic reality; *in its inner nature it is just as much unknown to us as the reality of the external world, and it is just as imperfectly communicated to us by the data of consciousness as is the external world by the reports of our sense-organs.*

We get rid of a series of dream problems which have claimed much attention from earlier writers on the subject when the old antithesis be

no longer to be attributed to dream ... but to unconscious thinking which is active also during the day. If the dream seems to make play with a symbolical representation of the body, as Scherner has said, we know that this is the work of certain unconscious phantasies which are probably under the sway of sexual impulses, and find expression not only in dreams but also in hysterical phobias and other symptoms. If the dream continues and completes mental work begun during the day and even brings valuable new ideas to light, we have only to *strip off the dream-disguise from this, as the* ... k

belongs to the same psychic forces as are responsible for all such achievements during the day. We are probably much too inclined to

learn rather that the most essential and *original part of their creations came to them* in the form of inspirations and offered itself to their awareness in an almost completed state. In other cases where there is a concerted effort of all the psychic forces there is nothing *strange in the fact that conscious activity* too lends its aid. But it is the much abused privilege of conscious activity to hide from us all other activities wherever it participates.

It hardly seems worth while to take up the historical significance of dreams as a separate theme. Where for instance a leader has been impelled by a dream to engage in a bold undertaking the success of which has had the effect of changing history, a new problem arises only so long as the dream is regarded as a mysterious power and contrasted with other more familiar psychic forces. The problem disappears as soon as we regard the dream *as a form of expression* for impulses to which a resistance was attached during the day whilst at night

[1] I am happy to be able to point to an author who has drawn from the study of dreams the same conclusions as regards the relation between conscious activity and unconscious processes.

Du Prel says: "The problem as to what is the psyche manifestly requires a preliminary inquiry as to whether the consciousness and the psyche are identical. But this preliminary question is answered in the negative by the dream, which shows that the concept of the psyche extends beyond that of consciousness, much as the gravitation of a star extends beyond its sphere of luminosity" (*Phil. d. Myst.*, p. 47).

"It is a truth which cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the concepts of consciousness and of the psyche are not co-extensive" (p. 306).

ment of new cleavages in its interior it can be explained *dynamically* by the strengthening and weakening of the components of the play of forces so many of the activities of which are covered up in normal functioning It might be shown elsewhere how the fact that the apparatus is a combination of two instances also permits of a refinement of its normal functioning which would have been impossible to a single system

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Nevertheless I think it expedient and justifiable to continue to use the illustrative idea of the two systems We shall avoid any abuse of this mode of representation if we remember that ideas thoughts and psychic formations in general must not in any case be localized in organic elements of the nervous system but so to speak *between them* where resistances and association tracks form the correlate corresponding to them Everything that can become an object of internal perception is *virtual* like the image in the telescope produced by the crossing of light rays But we are justified in thinking of the systems—which have nothing psychic in themselves and which never become accessible to our psychic perception—as something similar to the lenses of the telescope which project the image If we continue this comparison we might say that the censorship between the two systems corresponds to the refraction of rays on passing into a new medium

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[illegible]

[illegible] 1897 [illegible]

of th *Cs* system By perce vi g new quaht es, it furnishes a new co tributi n for the guid ance and suitable distribut o of the mobil cathexis-quantities By means of perceptions f pleasure and pain t influences the course of th c thexes within the psych c apparatus which oth rwise operates unconsciously and by

qu l t which may eve oppose the first and perfect th f ncti nal capacity of the apparatus by placing t in a positio c ntrary to its orig inal des gn, bjecting e en that whi h induces pain t cathexis and to elaboratio We learn from neuro-psych l gy that an important part in the functi nal acti ty of the apparatus is as ribed t these regulat ons by the qualitative excitati of the s nse-organs The automatic rule of the primary pain principle together with the limitat on of functional capa ty bound up with t, s broken by the sens ry regulat ons which are them l es ga automatism We find that repress on which, th gh originally exped t everth less finally bri gs about a harmf l la k f inh b tion and of psychic trol ertakes memories m h mo eas ly than it does pe cepti ns beca se in the former there o additio al cathexis from the exci tation f the psychic se s -organs. Whilst an dea which is to be warded off may fail t be come co sci us because it has succumbed to repress t may on oth oc as ons come to be repressed simply becau e t has been with drawn f m conscious pe eptio on ther grounds These re clues which w make use f therapy in order to undo accompl hed repress ons

The al of the hyper-cathexis which is produced by th egulating influen of th C se se-organs the m b le quant ty is dem onstrated a t leol gical o text by noth

In order to e dow them with qual ty they are as ociated in man with verbal memories the qual tat e residues of which suffice to draw upon them the attention of consciousness, wh ch in turn endows thought with a new mo-b le cathexis.

It is only on a d section of hysterical men tal processes that the ma fold nature of the problems of con ciousness becomes apparent. One then receives the mpress on that the tran s tion from the precon c ous to the consci us cathe s is associated with a ce sorsh p s mi lar to that between *Ucs* and *Pcs* Th s censor ship too be ins to act o ly when a certain qua t tati e l m t is reached so that thought form tions which are not ery i tense escape it. All po ble cases of detention from con sciousness and of penet tion into conscious-ness under certa n restrictions are inclu led w thin the range of psychoneurotic phenomena all po t to the int mate and twofold connection between the ce sorship and consciousne I shall co lude these psychological con d ra t ns with the record of two s ch occurrences

On the occa on of a consultation a few ears ago the patient was an intelligent looking girl with a simple unaffected manner She was strangely attired for whereas a woman s dress is usually ca ef lly thought out to the last pleat o e of he stockings was hanging down and two of the buttons of her blouse were un done She complained of pains in one of her legs and exposed her calf w thout being asked t d s Her chief c mplaint however was as f llow She had a feelin in her body *as tho gh someth g we e stuck g i o it wh ch mov d to and f o and shook her th o gh and thro gh* This sometimes seemed to make her whole body st ff On hearing th my colleague in con l tation looked at me the trouble was qu te ob-vi us to him T both of us t seemed pecul ar that this suggested nothi g to the pat ent s mothe though sh herself must repe tedly ha e been n the t tion d cribed by her child. A for th gi l he had n dea of the mport of he word r she w uld never ha e all wed them to pass h l ps Here the censor hip had been hoodwinked so successfully th t under the mask of an innocent complaint a phantasy wa admitted t co cious ess wh ch oth rwise would have remained in the precon sc ous

A oth exampl I began th psycho-alytic treatment of a boy fourtee wh was sufferi g from *t convulsi f* hyst rical omit ing headach etc by assuring him that after

they were able to draw reinforcement from deep lying sources of excitation But the great respect with which the ancient peoples regarded dreams is ba ed on a just piece of psychological divination It is a homage *paid to the unsub* dued and indestructible element in the human soul to the *demonic* pov er which furnishes the dream wish and which we have found again *in our unconscious*

It is not without purpose that I use the ex pression *in our unconscious* for what we so call *does not coincide with the unconscious of the* philosophers nor with the unconscious of Lipps As they use the term it merely means the opposite of the conscious That there exist not only conscious but also unconscious psy chic processes is the opinion at issue which is so hotly contested and so energetically defend ed Lipps enunciates the more comprehensive doctrine that everything psychic exists as un conscious but that some of it may exist al o as conscious But it is not to prove *this* doc trine that we have adduced the phenomena of dreams and hysterical symptom formation the observation of normal life alone suffices to es *tablish its correctness beyond a doubt* The nov el fact that we have learned from the analysis of psycho pathological formations and indeed from the first member of the group from dreams is that the unconscious—and hence all that is psychic—occurs as a function of two separate systems and that as such it occurs even in normal psychic *life There are conse* quently *two kinds of unconscious* which have not as yet been distinguished by psychologists Both are unconscious in the psychological sense but in our sense the first which we call *Ucs* is likewise *incapable of consciousness* whereas the second we call *Pcs* becau e its ex *citations* after the observance of certain rules are capable of reaching consciousness perhaps not before they have again undergone censor ship but nevertheless regardless of the *Ucs* sys tem The fact that in order to attain conscious ness the excitations must pass through an access to voluntary motility and has control of the emission of a mobile cathectic energy a portion of which is familiar to us as attention

We must also steer clear of the distinction between the *super conscious* and the *subcon scious* which has found such favour in the more recent literature on the psychoneuro es for just such a distinction seems to emphasize the equiv alence of what is psychic and what is conscio s.

What role is now left in our representation of things to the phenomenon of consciousness once so all powerful and over shadowing all else? None other than *that of a sense-organ for the perception of psychic qualities* Accord ing to the fundamental idea of our schematic attempt we can regard conscious perception only as the function proper to a special system for which the abbreviated designation *Cs* com mends itself This system we conceive *to be* similar in its mechanical characteristics to the perception system *P* and hence excitabl by qualities and incapable of retaining the trace of changes i e devoid of memory The psychic apparatus which with the sense-organ of the *P* systems is turned to the outer world is it elf the outer world for the sen e-organ of *Cs* whose teleological justification depends on this relationship We are here once more con fronted with the principle of the succession of instances which seems to dominate the struc ture of the apparatus The material of excita tion flows to the sense organ *Cs* from two sides *first from the P system* whose excitation qual itatively conditioned probably undergoes a new elaboration until it attains conscious percep tion and secondly from the interior of th apparatus itself whose quantitative processes are perceived as a qualitative series of pleasures and pains once they have reached conscious ness after undergoing certain changes

The philosophers who became aware that accurate and highly complicated thou ht struc tures are possible even without the co-operation of consciousness thus found it difficult to as cribe any function to consciousness it appeared to them a superfluous mirroring of the com pleted psychic process The analogy of our *Cs* system with the perception systems relieves us of this embarrassment We see that perception through our sense organs results in directing an attention cathexis to the paths along which the incoming sensory excitation diffuses it elf

by analogy in spatial terms We described the relations of the two systems to each other and to *consciousness* by saying that the system *Pcs* is like a screen between the system *Ucs* and consciousness The system *Pcs* not only bars access to consciousness but also controls the

Cf (p 79 bo e) th d e m (Σὰ Τύρος) of Alex ande the Great at th g of Tyre.

Cf h my m k th *P c d gs f th S ty f P y h I R ch* L i wh h t e des pt dy m d y t m t m g f the mb gu t s w d *U co us* di t guished from th r

action. Indeed, the reason why they frequently do not encounter any psychic obstacle on their path is because the unconscious is certain of their meeting with resistances later. In any case it is instructive to learn something of the much-tilled soil from which our virtues proudly arise. For the complexity of human character, dynamically moved in all directions, very rarely accommodates itself to the arbitrament of a simple alternative, as our antiquated moral philosophy would have it.

And what of the value of dreams in regard to our knowledge of the future? That, of course, is quite out of the question. One would like to substitute the words: *in regard to our knowledge of the past*. For in every sense a dream has its origin in the past. The ancient belief that dreams reveal the future is not indeed entirely devoid of truth. By representing a wish as fulfilled the dream certainly leads us into the future; but this future, which the dreamer accepts as his present, has been shaped in the likeness of the past by the indestructible wish.

closing his eyes he would see pictures or that ideas would occur to him which he was to communicate to me He replied by describing pictures The last impression he had received before coming to me was revived visually in his memory He had been playing a game of checkers with his uncle and now he saw the checkerboard before him He commented on various positions that were favourable or un favourable on moves that were not safe to make He then saw a dagger lying on the check er board—an object belonging to his father but which his phantasy laid on the checker board Then a sickle was lying on the board a scythe was added and finally he saw the image of an old peasant mowing the grass in front of his father s house far away A few days later I discovered the meaning of this series of pictures Disagreeable family circumstances had made the boy excited and nervous Here was a case of a harsh irascible father who had lived unhappily with the boy s mother and whose educational methods consisted of threats he had divorced his gentle and deli cate wife and remarried one day he brought home a young woman as the boy s new mother The illness of the fourteen year old boy de veloped a few days later It was the suppressed rage against his father that had combined these images into intelligible allusions The material was furnished by a mytholo ical reminiscence The sickle was that with which Zeus castrated his father the scythe and the image of the peasant represented Kronos the violent old man who devours his children and upon whom Zeus wreaks his vengeance in so unfilial a man ner The father s marriage gave the boy an op portunity of returning the reproaches and threats which the child had once heard his father utter because he *played* with his genitals (the draught board the prohibited moves the dagger with which one could kill) We have here long impressed memories and their uncon cious derivatives which *under the guise of meaningless pictures* have slipped into con sciousness by the devious paths opened to them

If I were asked what is the theoretical value of the study of dreams I should reply that it lies in the additions to psychological knowledge and the beginnings of an understanding of the neuroses which we thereby obtain Who can foresee the importance a thorough knowledge of the structure and functions of the psychic apparatus may attain when even our present state of knowledge permits of successful thera peutic intervention in the curable forms of psy choneuroses? But it may be asked what of the practical value of this study in regard to a knowledge of the psyche and discovery of the hidden peculiarities of individual charac ter? Have not the unconscious impulses r vealed by dreams the value of real forces in the psychic life? Is the ethical significa ce of the uppressed wishes to be lightly disregarded, since just as they now create dreams they may some day create other things?

I do not feel justified in answerin these questions I have not followed up this aspect of the problem of dreams In any ca e how ever I believe that the Roman Emperor was in the wrong in ordering one of hi ubjects to be executed becau e the latter had dreamt that he had killed the Emperor He should first of all have endeavoured to discover the significa ce of the man s dreams most probably it was not what it seemed to be And even if a dream of a different content had actually had this trea sonable meanin it would still have been well to recall the words of Plato—that the virtuous man contents himself with dreamin of that which the wicked man does in actual life I am therefore of the opinion that dreams should be acquitted of evil Whether any *reality* is to be attributed to the unconscious wishes I cannot say Reality must of course be denied to all transitory and intermediate thou hts If we had before us the unconscious wishes brought to their final and truest expression we should still do well to remember that *psychic re lity* is a special form of existence which mu t not be confounded with *material reality* It eem therefore unnece sary that people hould re fuse to accept the responsibility for the im morality of their dreams With an appreciation of the mode of functioning of the psychic ap paratus and an insight into the relations be tween conscious and unconscious all that is ethically offensive in our dream life and the life of phantasy for the most part disappears.

What a dream has told us of our relations to the present (reality) we will then seek also in our consciousness and we must not be surprised if we discover that the monster we saw under the magnifying glass of the analysis is a tiny little infusorian (H Sachs)

For all practical purposes in judging human character a man s actions and conscious ex pressions of thought are in most cases sufficient. Actions above all de erve to be placed in the front rank for many impulses which penetrate into consciousness are neutrali ed by real forces in the psychic life before they find issue in

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On Narcissism: an Introduction[1]

I

The word *narcissism* is taken from clinical terminology and was chosen by P. Näcke in 1899 to denote the attitude of a person who treats his own body in the same way as otherwise the body of a sexual object is treated; that is to say, he experiences sexual pleasure in gazing at, caressing and fondling his body, till complete gratification ensues upon these activities. Developed to this degree, narcissism has the significance of a perversion, which has absorbed the whole sexual life of the subject; consequently in dealing with it we may expect to meet with phenomena similar to those for which we look in the study of all perversions.

Now those engaged in psycho-analytic observation were struck by the fact that isolated features of the narcissist attitude are found

a pla in th egular s xual devel pme t of human be n s Difficulti s in psycho nal t c wo k upo u ot cs led to the sam uppos ti for t seemed as though th s ki d of cis t att tude in th m was on of th f ctors limiting th usc ptibil ty to infl ence Nar ci sm in this se se would ot be a perversion, b t the libidinal c mplement to the ego m of the instinct of self pr ervati me sure of which may j tifiably be ttributed to every livi creature

A pre ing m t f ccupying oursel es with th pt f prim ry and ormal na issism rose when the attempt w made t bri g our knowledge of dem ti pra cox (Kraepelin) o schiz ph (Bleul r) into line with the hypoth po which the lib do th ry is b sed S ch patient wh m I propo e t t rm *par phrem* display tw fu dam tal characteri t c they uffer f m m gal mania and they ha e withdrawn their int rest from the external wo ld (people and th ngs) In consequence of this latter change in them they are inaccessible to the influence of psycho-analysis and cannot be cured by our endeavours But this turning away of the paraphrenic from the outer world needs to be more precisely characterized A patient s suffering from hysteria or obsessional neurosis has also as far as the influence of his illness goes abandoned his relation to reality But analysis shows that he has by no means broken off his erotic relations to persons and things He still retains them in phantasy i e he has the one hand substituted for actual objects imaginary objects founded on memories or has blended the two

It is otherwise with the paraphrenic. He seems really to have withdrawn his libido from persons and things in the outer world without replacing them by others in his phantasy When this does happen the process seems to be a secondary one part of an effort towards recovery designed to lead the libido back towards object.

The question arises What is the fate of the libido when withdrawn from external objects in schizophrenia? The megalomania characteristic of the e c d ti s affords a clue here It has d btl ss come i t being t the expense of the object libido The libido withdrawn from the outer world has been directed on to the ego giving rise to a state which we may call *narcissism* But the megalomania itself is no ew phe ome the c ntrary it as we kn w an exaggeration a d plain manifestation of a c dition which had already existed previously This leads us to the conclusion that the narcissism which arises when libidinal cathexes are called in away from external objects must be conceived of as a secondary form

[1] First published in *Jahrbuch*, Bd. VI, 1914 Reprinted in *S mmlung*, 4th Series
[In a later paper Professor Freud has corrected the slip and added the name of Havelock Ellis.—Ed.]
Ot Rank *Er B* *n h rz mus*

WEISS KARL Ein Pollutionstraum *Internat Zeitsch f Ps A* VI p 343
WEYGANDT W Beitr z Psychologie des Traumes *Philos Studien* Vol 20 1902 pp 456 486
WIGGAM A A Contribution to the Data of Dream Psychology *Pedagogical Seminary* June 1909
WINTERSTEIN ALFR v Zum Thema 'Lenkbare Traume' *Zentralbl f Ps A* II 1911 1 12, p 290
WULFF M Ein interessanter Zusammenhang von Traum Symbolhandlung und Krankheitssymptom *Internat Ztschr f arztl Ps A* I 1913 No 6

the cop n of the whole structure and they can be repl ced a d d carded w tho t damaging it. Th same thing is happening i ou day in the science of physics the fundam ntal notio s of whi h as reg rds matt centres f force at tracti n etc are sca cely les d batable than the c rrespo ding ideas in psycho-analysis.

The alue of the concepts *ego-l bido* and *bj t-l bi o* is that the are deri ed from the tudy of the essential characteristics f neu rotic and psychotic processe The differentia t o of the lib do into that which is proper to the ego and that which attaches itself to b-jects is a necessary exten on f an original hypothesis whi h d scriminated between ego- n tincts and sexual in ti cts At any rate anal is of the pure t ansf ence n uroses (hysteria and the obsessi nal eurosis) compelled me so t di criminate and I only know that all at tempts t ccount for these phenomena by ther means ha e been c mpl tely unsucces ful.

In the complete ab e f any theory of the instincts whi h would help us to find ou be r ings w ma be permitted, o rather it is in cumbent upon us in th first place to wo k out an hypothes to its logical co lu ion until t e the fails r becomes confirmed. The e are va ous points in f ou of the hypothes of a prim rdial differentia on between sexual in tincts and oth inst ncts ego-in ti cts be-sides the usefulness f such an assumption in the analysis of th transference ne oses. I ad mit that this latte consid ration alone would t be d cis e f r t might be a question of an indiff e t energy operatin n the m d whi h w c verted nto libido only by the ct of object-cathexis But in the first place this differe tiati of concepts correspo ds t the dist cti n between hunge a d love so wid ly curre t And i th seco d pl c the e are b logical co s d rat on n ts fa The individual does actu lly carry a d bl ex istence one designed t serve his wn pur poses and an th r a link in a ham in which he serves ainst t any rat witho t any v lition of hi own. The d dual hims lf re gards sexuality as f his wn ends while from anoth r point f ew h is only an p-pend ge t his germ pia m, t whi h he l nds hi erg taking i return hi toll f pleasure —th m rtal h le f a (po bly) imm rtal s bstance—like th inherit f an e tailed property wh nly the temporary hold r of an estate which surv ves him The d ff re t tion of th sexual in t cts from th ego-in stincts w uld simply reflect this double func tion of the indi dual Thirdly we must recollect that all our pro is onal id as in psychology will some day be based on an organ c substructure Th s makes it probable that special ubstances and special chem cal processes control the op-erat on of sexual ty and provide for the con tinuat n of the individual l e in that of the species We take this probab li y into account when we sub t tute pecial forces in the mind for special ch m cal sub ta ces.

Just because I try in general to keep apart from psych logy e erythin that is no strictly within its scope even b logical thou ht I wi h at th s poi t expres ly to dm t that the hypothesis of separate ego-in ti cts and sexual instincts (that is to say the l b d theory) rests scarcely at all upon a psychological basis but is es enti lly supported upon the facts of bi ology So I shall also be consiste t enough to drop this hypothesis if psycho analytic work it lf hould sugge t as more valuable another h poth s s about the instincts So far this has n t happened It may then be that—when we penetrate deepest and furthest—sexual en ergy the libido will be found to be only the product of a differen iation in the energy at work generally i the m d But such a state-ment is of no importance It has reference to matt rs so remote from the prol lems f our observat n a d so empty of a ailab e knowl edg that to d spute it is as idle as to affirm t it is pos bl that this primordial identity has as little to do with ou analytical i terests as the primord al kin h p of all human races has t do with the p oof of kin hip with a testato requ red by the Probate Court All these speculations lead nowhere ince we can n t wa for a other science to present us with a theory of the in tincts ready made it is f r m re to th purpose that we hould try to see what li ht may be thrown upon this bas c problem of b ology by a synthesis of psycho-l gical phenomena Let us be fully aware of the pos bi ity of rror but do t l t us be de t rred f om carrying i ts logical co clus on th h pothesis w f rst dopted of an ant thesis bet een ego-instincts and sexual in tincts (an hypothes s to which we were mpelled by analy s f the transfe ence neuroses) and so from seeing whether t turns out to be co tent and fruitful and whether t may be appl ed to oth r aff ctions al o e.g to schizophrenia

Of course it would be a ery diff f it w re ready th la

superimposed upon a primary one that is ob scured by manifold influences

Let me expressly state that I am not attempt ing here to explain or penetrate further into the problem of schizophrenia but am merely putting together what has been said elsewhere in order that I may ju tify this introduction of the concept of narcissism

This development of the libido theory—in my opinion a legitimate development—receives reinforcement from a third quarter namely from the observations we make and the concep tions we form of the mental life of primitive peoples and of children In the former we find characteristics which if they occurred singly might be put down to megalomania an over estimation of the power of wishes and mental processes the *omnipotence of thoughts* a be lief in the magical virtue of words and a method of dealing with the outer world—the art of *magic*—which appears to be a logical ap plication of these grandiose premises In the child of our own day whose development is much more obscure to us we expect a perfectly analogous attitude towards the external world Thus we form a conception of an original libidi nal cathexis of the ego part of which cathexis is later yielded up to objects but which funda mentally persists and is related to the object cathexes much as the body of a protoplasmic animalcule is related to the pseudopodia which it puts out In our researches taking as they did neurotic symptoms for their starting point this part of the disposition of the libido neces sarily remained hidden from us at the out et We were struck only by the emanations from this libido—the object cathexes which can be put forth and drawn back a ain We perceive also broadly speaking a certain reciprocity be tween ego libido and object libido The more that is absorbed by the one the more impover ished does the other become The highest form of development of which object libido is capa ble is seen in the state of being in love when the subject seems to yield up his whole per sonality in favor of object cathexis while we have the opposite condition in the paranoiac s phantasy (or self perception) of the *end of the world* Finally with reference to the dif ferentiation of the energies operating in the mind we infer that at first in the narcissistic state they exist side by side and that our analy sis is not a fine enou h instrument to dis tinguish them only where there is object-cathexis is it possible to di criminate a sexual energy—the libido—from an energy pertaining to the ego instincts

Before going any further I must touch on two questions which lead us to the heart of the difficulties of our subject In the first place what is the relation of the narcissism of which we are now speaking to auto eroti m which we have described as an early state of the libi do? And secondly if we concede to the ego a primary cathexis of libido why is there any necessity for further distinguishing a sexual libido from a non sexual energy pertaining to the ego instincts? Would not the assumption of a uniform mental energy save us all the diffi culties of differentiating the energy of the ego instincts from e o libido and ego libido from object libido? On the first point I would com ment as follows it is impossible to uppose that a unity comparable to the ego can exist in the individual from the very start the ego has to develop But the auto-erotic instincts are primordial so there must be something added to auto erotism—some new operation in the mind—in order that narcissism may come into being

To be required to give a definite answer to the second question must occasion perceptible uneasiness in every psycho analyst One dis likes the thought of abandoning observation for barren theoretical discussions but all the same we must not shirk an attempt at explanation. Conceptions such as that of an ego libido an energy pertainin to the ego instincts and so on are certainly ne ther very easy to grasp nor is their content sufficiently rich a speculative theory of the e relations of which we are speak ing would in the first place require as its basis a sharply defined concept But I am of the opinion that that is just the difference between a speculative theory and a science founded upon const uctions arrived at empirically The latter will not begrudge to speculation its privilege of a smooth logically unassailable structure but will itself be gladly content with nebulous scarcely imaginable conceptions which it hopes to apprehend more clearly in the course of its d velopment or which it is even prepared to replace by othe s For these ideas are not the basis of the science upon which everything rests that on the contrary is observation alone They are not the foundation stone but

Cf the pond g t s th bj t my *T t m d T b* (9 3)

Cf F *St g tl D l pm t f the S s of R l ty*

Th e e tw me h m th *d f th* u ld de in e se th wh l l b d l cath dra d ff to the l d b t wh l th the it all fl ws b ck t th o

his jaw-tooth's chink hole Here libido and ego-interest share the same fate and have once more become indistinguishable from each other The familiar egoism of the sick person covers them both. We find it so natural because we are certain that in the same situation we should behave in just the same way The way in which the readiness to love however great is banished by bodily ailment and suddenly replaced by complete indifference is a theme which has been sufficiently exploited by comic writers

The condition of *sleep* like illness implies a narcissistic withdrawal of the libido away from its attachments back to the subject's own person, or more precisely to the single desire for sleep The egoism of dreams fits in very well in this connection. In both states we have if nothing else examples of changes in the distribution of the libido which are consequent upon change in the ego

Hypochondria like organic disease manifests itself in distressing and painful bodily sensations and also concurs with organic disease in its effect upon the distribution of the libido The hypochondriac withdraws both interest and libido—the latter specially markedly —from the object of the outer world and concentrates both upon the organ which engages his attention. A difference between hypochondria and organic disease now becomes evident in the latter the distressing sensations are based upon demonstrable organic changes in the former this is not so But it would be entirely in keeping with our general conception of the processes of neurosis if we decided to say that hypochondria must be right organic ch... Now m

re not lacking in the other neuroses I have said on a former occasion that I am inclined to class hypochondria with neurasthenia and anxiety neurosis as a third 'actual' neurosis Probably it would not be going too far to put it in this way that in the other neuroses too there is regularly present some small admixture of hypochondria Perhaps we have the best example of this in the anxiety neurosis and in the hysteria superimposed upon it. Now the familiar prototype of an organ sensitive to pain somehow changed and yet not diseased in the ordinary sense is that of the genital organ in a state of excitation. It becomes congested with blood swollen moist and is the seat of manifold sensations If we apply to that activity of a given bodily area which consists in conveying sexually exciting stimuli to the mind the term *erotogenicity* and if we reflect that the conclusions of our theory of sexuality have long accustomed us to the notion that certain other areas of the body—the *erotogenic* zones —may act as substitutes for the genitals and behave analogously to them we then have only one step further to venture here We can make up our minds to regard erotogenicity as a property common to all organs and are then justified in speaking of an increase or decrease in the degree of it in a given part of the body It is possible that for every such change in the erotogenicity of the organs there is a parallel change in the libidinal cathexis in the ego In such factors may lie the explanation of what is at the bottom of hypochondria and what it is that can have upon the distribution of the libido the same effect as actual organic disease

We see that if we follow out this line of thought, we encounter the problem not only of hypochondria but of the other *actual neuroses* —neurasthenia and anxiety neurosis. Let us therefore stop at this point. It is not within the scope of a purely psychological inquiry to penetrate so far behind the frontiers of physiological research. Let us only mention that from this point of view we may surmise that the relation of hypochondria to paraphrenia is similar to that of the other actual neuroses to hysteria and the obsessional neurosis which is as much as to say that it is dependent on the ego-libido as the others are on the object libido and that hypochondriacal anxiety emanating from the ego-libido is the counterpart to neurotic anxiety Further since we are already familiar with the idea that the mechanism of disease and symptom formation in the transference neuroses the passage from introversion to regression, is to be connected with damming up of the object libido we may come to closer quarters with the conception of damming-up of the ego-libido also and may bring this conception into relation with the problems of hypochondria and paraphrenia.

Of course curiosity will here suggest the question why such damming up of libido in the ego should be experienced as "painful. There I shall content myself with the answer that *pain* is in general the expression of in

Cf Types of Neurotic Nosogenesis *Collected Papers* Vol II.

maintained by C G Jun and so I have been obliged to enter upon this last disquisition which I would ladly have been spared I should have preferred without any discussion of the premises to follow out the course embarked upon in the analysis of the Schreber case But Jun s as ertion is to say the least of it premature The grounds he gives for it are scanty At the outset he quotes me as saying that I my elf have been obli ed owing to the difficulties of the Schreber analysis to extend the conception of the libido i e to give up its exual content and to identify libido with psychic *interest* in general Ferenczi in an exhaustive critici m of Jung s work has already said all that is necessary in correction of this erroneous interpretation I can only corroborate this critic and repeat that I have never thus retracted the libido theory Another argument of Jung s namely that we must not assume that the loss of the normal function of appreciating reality can be brought about only by the withdrawal of the libido is no argument but a dictum It begs the question it anticipates the decision and waives discussion for whether and how this is po sible is just what has to be investigated In his next large work Jung just misses the solution which I had long since indicated At the same time there is this to be taken into consideration a point to which Freud refers in his work on the Schreber case that the introversion of the *libido sexualis* leads to a cathexis *of the ego* and that possibly *it is* this that produces the effect of a loss of reality It is indeed a tempting possibility to explain the psychology of the loss of reality *in* this fashion But Jung discusses this possibility very little further A few pages later he dismisses it with the remark that from this conditioning factor would result not dementia praecox but the psychology of an ascetic anchorite How little this inept comparison can help us to a conclusion may be learnt from the reflection that an anchorite who tries to erase every trace of sexual interest (but only in the popular sense of the word *sexual)* does not even necessarily di play any patho enic disposition of the libido He may have turned away his interest from human beings entirely and yet may have sublimated it to a heightened interest in the divine in nature or in the animal kin dom without his libido havin undergone introversion to his phantasies or regression to his e o This comparison would eem to rule out in advance the pos ibility of differentiating between interest emanatin fro erotic or that from other ources Further when we remember that the re earches of the Swiss school however meritorious have elucidated only two features in the picture of dementia praecox—the existence of complexes common to healthy and neurotic persons alike, and the similarity of the phantasy formations of that disea e to popular myths—but have not been able to throw any further li ht on the patho enic mechanism we may repudiate Jung s assertion that the libido theory has broken down in the attempt to understand dementia praecox and is therefore rendered invalid *for the other neuroses also*

II

*It seems to me that certain peculiar difficul*ties lie in the way of a direct study of narcissism Our chief means of access to an under*standing of this condition* will probably remain the analysis of paraphrenics As the transference neuroses have enabled us to trace the libidinal *instinctual* impulses so dementia praecox and paranoia will give us insi ht into the psychology of the e o Once more in order to arrive at what is normal and apparently so simple we shall have to study the pathological with its distortions and exag erations At the same time there are other sources from which we may derive a knowled e of narcissism which I will now mention in their order—namely the study of organic disease of hypochondria and of love between the sexes

In estimating the influence of organic di ease upon the distribution of the libido I follow a su gestion of S Ferenczi s which he made to me in conversation It is universally known and seems to us a matter of course that a person sufferin organic pain and di comf

i t from his love objects so long as he suffers he ceases to love The banality of this fact is no reason why we should be deterred from translating it into terms of the libido-theory We should then say the sick man withdraws his libidinal cathexes back upon his own ego and sends them forth again when he recovers Concentrated is his soul says W Busch of the poet suffering from toothache in

Il dl g d Symb l der Lib d
Z t cl ft \ I I 9 3
I such D l ll g d p y k alyt ch n
Th e

come i dependent of these and even then we ha e a dic tio f that original depend ce *in the f ct* that th se persons wh ha e to do with the feedi g care nd protect o of the child become his earliest sexual obj cts that t say in the first in tance the m ther r ... me and ... called ... tence ... en re vealed by psycho-anal ... n. We ha found, e pecially in persons who e lib d inal devel pme t has suffered ome d stu b- ance as in perverts nd homosexuals that in th cho ce of th ir love-object they ha e tak n a the r model n t the mother but the r own sel es They are pl inly seekin themsel es as a l -obj ct and their type of bject-cho ce m y be termed *arcissist c* This observation p des us with our stro gest moti e for re gard th hypothesis of narcissism as a nec ess ry e

f rms to the ... type we rather a ume that both kinds of object-ch re ope to ea h indi dual th ugh he m y h w a p ferenc for one or th the W say that the h man be ng has riginally two exual bjects h m lf and the woman wh te d him and the eby we postu late primary na ism in every e wh ch may in the long run manifest tself as domi n ting his object-cho e

Further the compari on of man d woman hows that th re e f dam nt l diff ces betw en the two in re pect f the type f bj ct-ch alth gh thes diff rences e f rse t ni rsal C mpl te object love f th an ch type is p pe ly peaking charact risti f th man It di plays th

bl t impos n hm t f the eg espect f lib d in f f th love-ob ect A differ t se is f ll wed in th type m t f e qu tl met with in w men whi h p b bly th pu t and true t fem t pe W th the d vel pment f p berty the maturin of th fem xual rgans wh ch up t'll th n ha been in a condition of latency seems t

bring about an n en fication of the ori nal narcissi m and this is unfa ourable to the de lopment of a true object love with its ac company ng sexual o er-estimation *there ari es in the woma* a certain self-suff ciency (espe cially when the e is a ripening i to bea t) which compensates her for the social res ric t ons upon her *object-cho ce* Strictly peaking such women lo e o ly themsel es with an in ten ty comparable to that of the ma s love for them Nor does their need l e in the d rec tio of loving but of being lo ed a d that man finds fa our with them who fulfils this c dit n. The importa ce of this type of w man for the erot c *life of mank nd* must be recogni ed as very great Such women ha e the greatest fascination for men not onl for aesth t c reasons since as a rule they are the most beautiful but also because of cert in in teresting psychol gical constellations. It seems very evident that o e person s narc m has a gre t *attraction for those others* ho have ren unced part of th own na cis m and are seeking after object lo e the charm of a child lies to a gr at extent in his narcissism h s self suffi ency and inacces b lity ju t as does th charm f c rtain animals which seem ot to con ern thems l es abo t us u h s c ts and the larg beasts of prey In Literature deed ven the great crim nal a d the h mori t c mpel ur intere t by the na issistic elf importa e w th wh h they manage to keep at rm s l ngth everyth r wh h would di min h the mpo tance of the r ego It is as if we nv d them their po er of retain a bl f l state of mind—an unassailable lib do- pos tio wh h we oursel es h e s ce aban d ed The gr t charm of the narcis istic w *ma* has *however its re erse side* a l rge part of the dissat faction f the lover of his d bts of the w man s love of his complaints of he ... tic n t re ha e the r root i this in ... ... between the types of *object ho ce*

P haps it is not supe fluou to gi e an ass ra ce that in this d scription of th fem mine f rm f e tic lif no te dency to depreci te woman has any part Apart from the fact th t tendent o ... is lien to m I als kn w that thes diff rent lin of develop- me t corre po d t the d ff ent at on of funct ns in a highly mpl cated b logical conn ction f rthe I am read to adm t that th re are cou tless women wh l e acc d g t th ma culin type a d who devel p the ove -est m ti f th exual object o cha ct ri tic f that type

creased tension and thus a *quantity* of the material event is here as elsewhere transformed into the *quality* of pain in the mind nevertheless it may be not the absolute amount of the physical process which is decisive for the development of pain but rather a certain function of this absolute amount At this point we may even venture to touch on the question whence does that necessity arise that urges our mental life to pass on beyond the limits of narcissism and to attach the libido to objects? The answer which would follow from our line of thought would once more be that we are so impelled when the cathexis of the ego with libido exceeds a certain degree A strong egoism is a protection against disease but in the last resort we must begin to love in order that we may not fall ill and must fall ill if in consequence of frustration we cannot love Somewhat after this fashion does Heine conceive of the psychogenesis of the Creation

Krankhe t ist wohl der let te Grund
Des gan en Schopferd angs ge esen
E schaffend konnte ich genesen
Erschaffend wurde ich gesund

We have recognized our mental apparatus above all as a device for mastering excitations which would otherwise be felt as unpleasant or would have pathogenic effects The working over of stimuli in the mind accomplishes wonders for the internal discharge of excitations which are incapable of direct discharge outwards or for which such a discharge is for the moment undesirable Now it is in the first instance a matter of indifference whether the objects of this internal process of working over are real or imaginary The difference does not appear till later when the turning of the libido towards unreal objects (introversion) has led to a damming up The megalomania of paraphrenics permits a similar internal working over of the libido which has returned to the ego to be made perhaps it is only when this process fails that the damming up of the libido in the ego becomes patho enic and starts the process of recovery which impresses us as being the disease itself

I shall try here to penetrate a little further into the mechanism of paraphrenia and to put together those conceptions which today seem to me worthy of consideration The difference between paraphrenic affections and the transference neuroses appears to me to lie in the circumstance that in the former the libido that is liberated by frustration does not remain attached to objects in phantasy but returns to the ego the megalomania then represents the mastery of this volume of libido and thus corresponds with the introversion on to the phantasy-creations that is found in the transference neuroses the hypochondria of paraphrenia which is homologous to the anxiety of the transference neuroses arises from a failure of this effort in the mental apparatus We know that the anxiety of the neuroses can be relieved by further mental working over e g by conversion reaction formation or defence-formation (phobia) The corresponding process in paraphrenics is the effort towards recovery to which the striking phenomena of the disease are due Since frequently if not usually an only partial detachment of the libido from objects accompanies paraphrenia we can distinguish in the clinical picture three groups of phenomena (1) those representin such remains as there may be of a normal state or of neurosis (phenomena of a residual nature) (2) those representing the morbid process (the detachment of the libido from its objects and, further megalomania hypochondria affective disturbance and every kind of regression) (3) those representing an attempt at recovery In (3) the libido is once more attached to objects after the manner of an hysteria (in dementia praecox or paraphrenia proper) or of an obsessional neurosis (in paranoia) This fresh libidinal cathexis takes place from another level and under other conditions than the primary one The difference between the transference neurosis arising in this way and the corresponding formations where the ego is normal would afford us the deepest insight into the structure of our mental apparatus

A third way in which we may study narcissism is by observing the behaviour of human beings in love with its manifold differentiations in man and woman In much the same way as the object libido at first concealed from us the ego libido so in considering the object choice of the child (and the adolescent) we first noticed that the sources from which he takes his sexual objects are his experiences of gratification The first auto-erotic sexual gratifications are experienced in connection with vital functions in the service of self preservation The sexual instincts are at the outset supported upon the ego instincts only later do they be

D e t b ll m b ght b ut
C e l g —f cr l g
I so c ld l l th p b i g
C e l g l o ld w k ll t

tion of neurosis and also of character and which he conceives of as having its origin, not in a narcissistic and therefore still libidinal, trend, but in a social valuation. Psycho-analytic research has, from the very beginning, recognized the existence and significance of the 'masculine protest' but has always regarded it, in opposition to Adler, as narcissistic in nature and derived from the castration complex. It appertains to the formation of character in the genesis of which it enters along with many other factors and it is completely inadequate to explain the problems of the neuroses in which Adler will take account of nothing but the manner in which they serve the interests of the ego. I find it quite impossible to base the genesis of neurosis upon so narrow a foundation as the castration complex, however pre-eminent a part this may play in men amongst the resistances to the cure of a neurosis. Lastly, I know also of cases of neurosis in which the masculine protest or in our sense the castration complex, plays no pathogenic part, and does not appear at all.

Observation of normal adults shows that their former megalomania has been subdued and that the mental characteristics from which we inferred their infantile narcissism have vanished. What has become of the ego-libido? Are we to assume that the whole of it has passed over into object-cathexes? Such a possibility is plainly contrary to the whole trend of our argument; but in the psychology of repression we may find a clue to another *answer to the question.*

We have learnt that libidinal impulses are fated to undergo pathogenic repression if they come into conflict with the subject's cultural and ethical ideas. By this we do not ever mean that the individual in question has a merely intellectual knowledge of the existence of these ideas; we always mean that he recognizes them as constituting a standard for himself and acknowledges the claims they make on him. Repression, as we have said, proceeds from the ego; we might say with greater precision, from the self-respect of the ego. The very impressions, experiences, impulses and desires that one man indulges or at least elaborates consciously will be rejected with the utmost indignation by another, or stifled even before they enter consciousness. The difference between the two, however—and here we have the conditioning factor in repression—can easily be expressed in terms of the libido-theory. We may say that the one man has set up an *ideal* in himself by which he measures his actual ego, while the other is without this formation of an ideal. From the point of view of the ego this formation of an ideal would be the condition of repression.

To this ideal ego is now directed the self-love which the real ego enjoyed in childhood. The narcissism seems to be now displaced on to this new ideal ego, which, like the infantile ego, deems itself the possessor of all perfections. As always where the libido is concerned, here again man has shown himself incapable of giving up a gratification he has once enjoyed. He is not willing to forego his narcissistic per-

[illegible]

wrested from him in the new form of an ego-ideal. That which he projects ahead of him as his ideal is merely his substitute for the lost narcissism of his childhood—the time when he was his own ideal.

This suggests that we should examine the relation between this forming of ideals and sublimation. Sublimation is a process that concerns the object-libido and consists in the instinct's directing itself towards an aim other than, and remote from, that of sexual gratification; in this process the accent falls upon the deflection from the sexual aim. Idealization is a process that concerns the *object*; by it that object, without any alteration in its nature, is aggrandized and exalted in the mind. I[illegible]

is a process that concerns the instinct and idealization one that concerns the object, the two concepts are to be distinguished one from the other.

The formation of the ego-ideal is often confounded with sublimation, to the detriment of clear comprehension. A man who has exchanged his narcissism for the worship of a high ego-ideal has not *necessarily* on that account succeeded in sublimating his libidinal instincts. It is true that the ego-ideal requires such sublimation, but it cannot enforce it; sublimation remains a special process which may be prompted by the ideal but the execution of which is entirely independent of any such incitement. It is just in neurotics that we find the highest degrees of tension between the development of their ego-ideal and the measure

Even for women whose attitude towards the man remains cool and narcissistic there is a way which leads to complete object love In the child to whom they give birth a part of their own body comes to them as an object other than themselves upon which they can lavish out of their narcissism complete object love Other women again do not need to wait for a child in order to take the step in development from (secondary) narcissism to object love Before puberty they have had feelings of a likeness to men and have developed to some extent on masculine lines after this tendency has been cut short when feminine maturity is reached they still retain the capacity of longing for a masculine ideal which is really a survival of the boyish nature that they themselves once owned

We may conclude these suggestions with a short survey of the paths leading to object choice

A person may love

(1) According to the narcissistic type
- (*a*) What he is himself (actually himself)
- (*b*) What he once was
- (*c*) What he would like to be
- (*d*) Someone who was once part of himself

(2) According to the anaclitic type
- (*a*) The woman who tends
- (*b*) The man who protects

and those substitutes which succeed them one after another The justification for inserting case (*c*) of the first type has yet to be demonstrated later on in our discussion

The significance of narcissistic object choice for homosexuality in men must be appraised in another connection

The primary narcissism of the child assumed by us which forms one of the hypotheses in our theories of the libido is less easy to grasp by direct observation than to confirm by deduction from another consideration If we look at the attitude of fond parents towards their children we cannot but perceive it as a revival and reproduction of their own long since abandoned narcissism Their feeling as is well known is characterized by over estimation that sure indication of a narcissistic feature in object choice which we have already appreciated Thus they are impelled to ascribe to the child all manner of perfections which sober observation would not confirm to gloss over and forget all his shortcomings—a tendency with which indeed the denial of childish sexuality is connected Moreover they are inclined to suspend in the child s favour the operation of all those cultural acquirements which their own narcissism has been forced to respect, and to renew in his person the claims for privileges which were long ago given up by themselves The child shall have things better than his parents he shall not be subject to the necessities which they have recognized as dominating life Illness death renunciation of enjoyment, restrictions on his own will are not to touch him the laws of nature like those of society are to be abrogated in his favour he is really to be the centre and heart of creation His Majesty the Baby as once we fancied ourselves to be He is to fulfil those dreams and wishes of his parents which they never carried out to become a great man and a hero in his father s stead or to marry a prince as a tardy compensation to the mother At the weakest point of all in the narcissistic position the immortality of the ego which is so relentlessly assailed by reality security is achieved by fleeing to the child Parental love which is so touching and at bottom so childish is nothing but parental narcissism born again and transformed though it be into object love it reveals its former character infallibly

III

The disturbances to which the original narcissism of the child is exposed the reactions with which he seeks to protect himself from them the paths into which he is thereby forced—these are themes which I shall leave on one side as an important field for work which still awaits exploration the most important of these matters however can be isolated from the rest and as the *castration complex* (in the boy anxiety concerning the penis in the girl envy of the penis) be treated in connection with the effect of early sexual intimidation Elsewhere psycho analytic research leads us to vicissitudes undergone by the libidinal instincts in which they are isolated from and in opposition to the ego instincts but where the castration complex is in question our researches permit us to infer the existence of an epoch and a mental state in which the two groups of instincts are acting in harmony with each other inseparably blent as narcissistic interests It is from this state of things that A Adler has derived his conception of the *masculine protest* which he has exalted almost to the position of the sole motive power concerned in the forma

strated that self-observation—in the sense of the paranoiac's delusion of being watched—plays a part in dream-formation. This part is not invariable; probably I overlooked it because it does not appear in my own dreams to any great extent; in persons who are gifted philosophically and therefore accustomed to introspection, it may become very clear.

We may here recall our discovery that dream-formation takes place under the sway of a censorship which compels distortion of the dream-thoughts. We did not picture this censorship as a special force, an entity, but we chose the term to denote a particular aspect of the repressive tendencies which control the ego, namely, their attitude towards the dream-thoughts. Penetrating further into the structure of the ego, we may recognize the dream-censor again in the ego-ideal and in the dynamic utterances of conscience. If this censor is to some extent on the alert even during sleep, we can understand that the necessary condition of its activity—self-observation and self-criticism—should contribute to the dream content some such thoughts as these: "Now he is too sleepy to think"; "now he is waking up."[1]

At this point we may enter upon a discussion of the self-regarding attitude in normal persons and in neurotics.

First of all, the feeling of self-regard appears to us a measure of the ego; what various components go to make up that measure is irrelevant. Everything we possess or achieve, every remnant of the primitive feeling of omnipotence that experience has corroborated, helps to exalt the self-regard.

Applying our distinction between sexual and ego-instincts, we must recognize that the self-regard has a very intimate connection with the narcissistic libido. Here we are supported by two fundamental facts: that in paraphrenics the self-regard is exalted, while in the transference neuroses it is abased; and that where the erotic life is concerned, not being loved lowers the self-regarding feelings, while being loved raises them. We have stated that to be loved is the aim and the satisfaction in a narcissistic object-choice.

Further, it is easy to observe that libidinal object-cathexis does not raise the self-regard. The effect of the dependence upon the loved object is to lower that feeling: the lover is humble. He who loves has, so to speak, forfeited a part of his narcissism, which can only be replaced by his being loved. In all these respects the self-regarding feelings seem to remain in a relation to the narcissistic element in the erotic life.

The realization of impotence, of one's own inability to love in consequence of mental or physical disorder, has an exceedingly lowering effect upon the self-regard. Here, as I judge, we shall find one of the sources of the feelings of inferiority of which patients suffering from the transference neuroses so readily complain to us. The main source of these feelings is, however, the impoverishment of the ego, due to the withdrawal from it of extraordinarily large libidinal cathexes—due, that is to say, to the injury sustained by the ego through the sexual trends which are no longer subject to control.

A. Adler is right in maintaining that a person's realization of organic inferiorities in himself acts as a spur upon an active mental life and produces by way of over-compensation a higher degree of ability. But it would be altogether an exaggeration if, following this lead of Adler's, we tried to prove that every f[illegible]

instances of excellent achievements springing from superior organic endowment. In the aetiology of neurosis, organic inferiority and imperfect development play an insignificant part, much the same as that played by actual perceptual material in the formation of dreams. The neurosis makes use of such inferiorities as pretext, just as it does of all other suitable factors. So surely as we credit the assertion of one neurotic patient that it was inevitable that she should fall ill, since she is ugly, deformed, or lacking in charm and so no one could love her, the very next neurotic will convince us of our error, for she remains the victim of her neurosis and her aversion to sexuality, although she seems to be desirable, and indeed more desired than the average woman. The majority of hysterical women are among the attractive and even beautiful representatives of their sex, while, on the other hand, the frequency of ugliness, organic maladies and defects in the lower classes of society does not increase the incidence of neurotic illness amongst them.

The relations existing between self-regard and erotism (libidinal object-cathexes) may be

[1] I cannot here determine whether the differentiation of the censorial function from the rest of the ego is capable of forming the basis of the philosophic distinction between consciousness and self-consciousness.

of their sublimation of primitive libidinal instincts and in general it is far harder to convince the idealist of the inexpediency of the hiding place found by his libido than the plain man whose demands in this respect are only moderate Further the formation of an ego ideal and sublimation are quite differently related to the causation of neurosis As we have learnt the formation of the ideal increases the demands of the ego and is the most powerful factor favouring repression sublimation is a way out a way by which the claims of the ego can be met without involving repression

It would not surprise us if we were to find a special institution in the mind which performs the task of seeing that narcissistic gratification is secured from the ego ideal and that with this end in view it constantly watches the real ego and measures it by that ideal If such an institution does exist it cannot possibly be something which we have not yet discovered we only need to recognize it and we may say that what we call our *conscience* has the required characteristics Recognition of this institution enables us to understand the so called *delusions of observation* or more correctly of *being watched* which are such striking symptoms in the paranoid diseases and may perhaps also occur as an isolated form of illness or intercalated in a transference neurosis Patients of this sort complain that all their thoughts are known and their actions watched and overlooked they are informed of the functioning of this mental institution by voices which characteristically speak to them in the third person (Now she is thinking of that again now he is going out) This complaint is justified—it describes the truth a power of this kind watching discovering and criticizing all our intentions does really exist indeed it exists with every one of us in normal life The delusion of being watched presents it in a regressive form thereby revealing the genesis of this function and the reason why the patient is in revolt against it

For that which prompted the person to form an ego ideal over which his conscience keeps guard was the influence of parental criticism (conveyed to him by the medium of the voice) reinforced as time went on by those who trained and taught the child and by all the other persons of his environment—an indefinite host too numerous to reckon (fellow men public opinion)

Large quantities of libido which is essentially homosexual are in this way drawn into the formation of the narcissistic ego ideal and find outlet and gratification in maintaining it. The institution of conscience was at bottom an embodiment first of parental criticism and subsequently of that of society a similar process takes place when a tendency towards repression develops out of a command or prohibition imposed in the first instance from without The voices as well as the indefinite number of speakers are brought into the foreground again by the disease and so the evolution of conscience is regressively reproduced But the revolt against this *censorial institution* springs from the person s desire (in accordance with the fundamental character of his illness) to liberate himself from all these influences, beginning with that of his parents and from his withdrawal of homosexual libido from those influences His conscience then encounters him in a regressive form as a hostile influence from without

The lament of the paranoiac shows also that at bottom the self criticism of conscience is identical with and based upon self observation. That activity of the mind which took over the function of conscience has also enlisted itself in the service of introspection which furnishes philosophy with the material for its intellectual operations This must have something to do with the characteristic tendency of paranoiacs to form speculative systems

It will certainly be of importance to us if we can see in other fields evidence of the activity of this critically watching faculty which becomes heightened into conscience and philosophic introspection I would refer here to what Herbert Silberer has called the functional phenomenon one of the few indisputably valuable additions to the theory of dreams Silberer as is well known has shown that in the states between sleeping and waking we can directly observe the translation of thoughts into visual images but that in these circumstances we frequently have a presentation not of a thought content but of the actual state of the mind (readiness fatigue etc) of the person who is struggling with sleep Similarly Silberer has shown that often the end of a dream or some section of the dream-content signifies merely the dreamer s own perception of his sleeping and waking He has thus demon

trated that self-observation—in the sense of the paran ac s delu on f be g watched—plays part in dream format on This part is ot in an ble pr bably I overlooked it be ca se t does not appear n my own dreams to a y great ext nt in per ons who are gifted philosoph cally and th ref re accustomed to intro pect on, t may become very clear

We may here r call our disc ery that dream form tio takes place under th sway of a cens rship whi h compels di tortion of the dream tho ghts. We did t pict re thi cen s rship as a spe i l f ce an ent ty but we ch the term t des gnate a particular aspect of the r pres te dencie whi h control the ego namely the r attitude towa ds the dream thou ht Pen tr ting further into the struct re of the eg we may recognize the *d c m-censor* aga in the ego- deal d in the dyn mi tterances of c nsc ence If this ce sor is to ome ext t on the al rt even during leep we can und rstand that the necessary c nditi n of ts ctivity—self-observat o and elf criticism—should co tribute to the dream nte t som s ch thought a thes w h s too sl py to think n w he is waki g up[m]

At this po t we may e t r upon a discuss on f th self egardi g attit de in n rmal persons and in eur t cs

F rst of all th fe ling of self regard appears t us a meas e f th ego what various c m

th self ega d

Apply g r d tinct on between e ual and o- t ts we m t r ognize that th self eg d ha a ery intimate co ecti with th ci t c l b d H re we supported by tw fu dam tal f ts that in paraphren cs th self rega d is xalt d whil in the tr ns- f re eu se it ab sed d that wh re th ot life is c c rned n t being l ed l e th elf rega di g feel gs while be g l d aises them We h e stated th t to be l ed th m d the satisfact n in a nar ci ist bje t-ch ce

F rther t s ea y t b erve that lib dinal bj t-cath xi doe t raise the lf egard Th ff t f the depend upo th l ved bj t s t l w th t feeling the lover s humble. He who loves has so to speak for feited a part of his narcissism which can only be replaced by his be ng lo ed In all these respects the elf regarding feelings seem to remain in a relation to the narciss tic element in the erotic l fe

The realization of impotence of one s own inability to love in co sequence of mental or physical d sorder has an exceed ngly lowering effect upon the elf regard Here as I judge we shall fi d o e of the sources of the feelings of inferiority of which pat e ts suffering from the transference neuroses so read ly complain to us The main source of these feelings is however the impoveri hment of the ego due to the withdrawal from it of extraordinarily large l b dinal cathexes—d e that is to say to the injury susta ned by the ego throu h the exual trends which are no longer subj ct to c ntrol

A. Adl r is right in ma ntain ng that a per son s real zat o of o ganic inferiorities in hims lf acts as a spu upo an acti e mental

le d of Adlers we tr ed to prove that e ty fi e achievement w s c dit o ed by an riginal organic nferiority t all artists re hand capped with b d eye ght no d d all orators originally stamm r And the e re ple ty of i ta ces of exc lle t a hieveme ts springing f om peri organic endowment In the aeti ology f ne ros s organic inferiority nd im pe fect development play an i s gnifica t part, m ch the sam as that played by actual per ceptual materi l in the format on of d eams The urosis makes use of such infer orit es as a pr text, just as it does of all othe u table fact rs S ur ly as we cred t the assertion of o neu t c patient that it was inev table that h sh uld fall ill i ce she is ugly deformed r lacking harm and o no co ld love he the very next eu t c will convince u of ou f he remains the ctim of her neuro nd h a ers to sexuality although h seems to be d rable and indeed more des ed than th e age w man. The majority f hysterical women are m ng the attract e and ev bea t ful r p se tati es of their sex while on th othe hand the freq ency of ugliness ganic infirm t es and d f cts in th lowe classes f soci ty d es not inc ease the i d e of neurotic llne s am g t th m

Th relat ns xi t g betwe self regard and e tism (libidinal bj ct-cathe es) may be

I ca not here d rmine hethe the d ff re f the cen al f from the res f the go is cap bl f l rm g th basis f the ph losoph d s- tincti be w co sci usness nd self-consciou ess.

expressed in the following formula two cases must be distinguished—in the first the erotic cathexes are *ego syntonic in accordance with the ego tendencies* in the second on the contrary those cathexes have suffered repression In the former case (where the path taken by the libido is acceptable to the ego) love takes its place among all the other activities of the ego Love in itself in the form of longing and deprivation lowers the self regard whereas to be loved to have love returned and to possess the beloved object exalts it again When the libido is repressed the erotic cathexis is felt as a severe depletion of the ego the satisfaction of love is impossible and the re enrichment of the ego can be effected only by a withdrawal of the libido from its objects The return of the libido from the object to the ego and its transformation into narcissism represents as it were the restoration of a happy love and conversely an actual happy love corresponds to the primal condition in which object libido and ego libido cannot be distinguished

Perhaps the importance of the subject and the difficulty in surveying it may be my excuse for adding a few remarks that are rather loosely strung together

The development of the ego consists in a departure from the primary narcissism and results in a vigorous attempt to recover it This departure is brought about by means of the displacement of libido to an ego ideal imposed from without while gratification is derived from the attainment of this ideal

At the same time the ego has put forth its libidinal object cathexes It becomes impoverished in consequence both of these cathexes and of the formation of the ego ideal and it enriches itself again both by gratification of its object love and by fulfilling its ideal

Part of the self regard is primary—the residue of childish narcissism another part arises out of such omnipotence as experience corroborates (the fulfilment of the ego ideal) whilst a third part proceeds from gratification of object libido

The ego ideal has imposed severe conditions upon the gratification of libido through objects for by means of its censorship it rejects some of them as incompatible with itself Where no such ideal has been formed the sexual trend in question makes its appearance unchanged in the personality in the form of a perversion As in childhood to be his own ideal once more where sexual tendencies are concerned is the happiness that man strives to attain

The state of being in love consists in a flowing over of ego libido to the object This state has the power to remove repressions and to restore perversions It exalts the sexual object to the position of sexual ideal Since in cases where the love is of the anaclitic or object type this state results from the fulfilment of infantile conditions of love we may say that whatever fulfils this condition of love becomes idealized

The sexual ideal may enter into an interesting auxiliary relation to the ego ideal Where narcissistic gratification encounters actual hindrances the sexual ideal may be used as a substitutive gratification In such a case a person loves (in conformity with the narcissistic type of object choice) someone whom he once was and no longer is or else someone who possesses excellences which he never had at all (cf above (*c*)) The parallel formula to that given above runs thus whoever possesses an excellence which the ego lacks for the attainment of its ideal becomes loved This expedient is of special importance for the neurotic whose ego is depleted by his excessive object-cathexes and who on that acount is unable to attain to his ego ideal He then seeks a way back to narcissism from his prodigal expenditure of libido upon objects by choosing a sexual ideal after the narcissistic type which shall possess the excellences to which he cannot attain This is the cure by love which he generally prefers to cure by analysis Indeed he cannot believe in any other curative mechanism he usually brings expectations of this sort with him to the treatment and then directs them towards the person of the physician The patient s incapacity for love an incapacity resulting from his extensive repressions naturally stands in the way of such a method of cure When by means of the treatment he has been partially freed from his repressions we are frequently met by the unintended result that he withdraws from further treatment in order to choose a love object hoping that life with the beloved person will complete his recovery We might be satisfied with this result if it did not bring with it all the dangers of an overwhelming dependence upon this helper in his need

The ego ideal is of great importance for the understanding of group psychology Besides its individual side this ideal has a social side it is also the common ideal of a family a class or a nation It not only binds the narcissistic libido but also a considerable amount of the person s homosexual libido which in this way becomes turned back into the ego The dis

satisfaction due to the non fulfilment of this ideal liberates homosexual libido which is transformed into sense of guilt (dread of the community) Originally this was a fear of punishment by the parents or more correctly the dread of losing their love later the parents are replaced by an indefinite number of fellow men. This helps us to understand why it is that paranoia is frequently caused by a wound of the ego by a frustration of the gratification desired within the sphere of the ego-ideal and also to understand the coincidence of ideal formation and sublimation in the ego-ideal as well as the demolition of sublimations and possible transformation of ideals in paraphrenic disorders

Instincts and Their Vicissitudes[1]

The view is often defended that sciences should be built up on clear and sharply defined basal concepts In actual fact no science not even the most exact begins with such definitions The true beginning of scientific activity consists rather in describing phenomena and then in proceeding to group classify and correlate them Even at the sta e of description it is not possible to avoid applying certain abstract ideas to the material in hand ideas derived from various sources and certainly not the fruit of the new experience only Still more indispensable are such ideas—which will later become the basal concepts of the science—as the material is further elaborated They must at first necessarily possess some measure of uncertainty there can be no question of any clear delimitation of their content So long as they remain in this condition we come to an understanding about their meaning by repeated references to the material of observation from which we seem to have deduced our abstract ideas but which is in point of fact subject to them Thus strictly speaking they are in the nature of conventions although everything depends on their being chosen in no arbitrary manner but determined by the important relations they have to the empirical material—relations that we seem to divine before we can clearly recognize and demonstrate them It is only after more searching investigation of the field in question that we are able to formulate with increased clarity the scientific concepts underlying it and progressively so to modify these concepts that they become widely applicable and at the same time consistent logically Then indeed it may be time to immure them in definitions The progress of science however demands a certain elasticity even in these definitions The science of physics furnishes an excellent illustration of the way in which even those basal concepts that are firmly established in the form of definitions are constantly being altered in their content

A conventional but still rather obscure basal concept of this kind which is nevertheless indispensable to us in psychology is that of an *instinct* Let us try to ascertain what is comprised in this conception by approach g r from different angles

First from the side of physiology This has given us the concept of *stimuli* and the scheme of the reflex arc according to which a stimulus applied *from the outer world* to living tissue (nervous substance) is discharged by action *towards the outer world* The action answers the purpose of withdrawing the substance affected from the operation of the stimulus removing it out of ran e of the stimulus

Now what is the relation between *instinct* and *stimulus?* There is nothing to prevent our including the concept of *instinct* under that of *stimulus* and saying that an instinct is a stimulus to the mind But we are immediately set on our guard against treating instinct and mental stimulus as one and the same thin Obviously besides those of instinctual origin there are other stimuli to the mind which behave far more like physiological stimuli For example a strong light striking upon the eye is not a stimulus of instinctual origin it is one however when the mucous membrane of the oesophagus becomes parched or when a gnawing makes itself felt in the stomach

We have now obtained material necessary for discriminating between stimuli of instinctual origin and the other (physiological) stimuli which operate on our minds First a stimulus of instinctual origin does not arise in the outside world but from within the organism itself For this reason it has a different mental effect and different actions are necessary in order to remove it Further all that is essential in an external stimulus is contained in the assumption that it acts as a single impact so that it can be discharged by a single appropriate action—a typical instance being that of motor flight from the source of stimulation Of course these impacts may be repeated and their force may be cumulative but that makes no difference to our notion of the process and to the conditions necessary in order that the stimulus may be dispelled An instinct on the other hand never acts as a momentary impact but always as a constant force As it makes its

[1] *C ll ct d P per* IV first p bl h d *Z t h ft* Vol III (19 5) rep ted *S mml g* 4th S es

A m g f th t th se t m l p ocesses co t t t th g b f the needs described as *th t d hu ger*

attack not from without but from within the
... it follows that ... can avail

... ed by the introduct on of instincts

Let us imagine ourselves ...
an almost entirely helpless living organism as yet unorientated in the world and with stimuli impinging on its nervous tissue. This organism will soon become capable of making a first discrimination and a first orientation. On the one hand, it will detect certain stimuli which can be avoided by an action of the muscles (flight)—these it ascribes to an outside world; on the other hand it will also be aware of stimuli against which such action is of no avail and whose urgency is in no way diminished by ...—these stimuli are the tokens of an inner world, the proof of instinctual needs. The apperceptive substance of the living organism will thus have found in the efficacy of its muscular activity a means for discriminating between outer and inner.

We thus find our first conception of the essential nature of an instinct by considering its main characteristics, its origin in sources of stimulation within the organism and its appearance as a constant force, and thence we deduce one of its further distinguishing features, namely that no actions of flight avail against it. Now in making these remarks we cannot fail to be struck by a fact which compels us to further admission. We do not merely accept as basal concepts certain conventions which we apply to the material we have ac...

tulates it remains for us expressly to lay stress upon. It is of biological nature and makes use of the concept of purpose (one might say of adaptation of the means to the end) and runs as follows: the nervous system is an apparatus having the function of abolishing ...

Let us for the present not take exception to the indefiniteness of this idea and let us grant that the task of the nervous system is—broadly speaking—to master stimuli. We see then how greatly the simple physiological reflex scheme ... and, being the most appropriate ... is thenceforward transmitted as an hereditary disposition. Those instinctual stimuli which emanate from within the organism cannot be dealt with by this mechanism. Consequently they make far higher demands upon the nervous system and compel it to complicated and inter-dependent activities which effect such changes in the outer world as enable it to offer satisfaction to the internal source of stimulation; above all, instinctual stimuli oblige the nervous system to renounce its ideal intention of warding off stimuli, for they maintain an incessant and unavoidable afflux of stimulation. So we may probably conclude that instincts and not external stimuli are the true motive forces in the progress that has raised the nervous system, with all its incomparable efficiency, to its present high level of development. Of course there is nothing to prevent our assuming that the instincts themselves are, at least in part, the precipitates of different forms of external stimulation, which in the course of phylogenesis have effected modifications in the organism.

Then when we find further that the activity of even the most highly developed mental apparatus is subject to the pleasure-principle, i.e. is automatically regulated by feelings belonging to the pleasure-pain series, we can hardly reject the further postulate that these feelings reflect the manner in which the process of mastering stimuli takes place. This is certainly so in the sense that "painful" feelings are connected with an increase and pleasurable feelings with a decrease in stimulation. Let us, however, be careful to preserve this assumption in its present highly indefinite form, until we succeed, if that is possible, in discovering what sort of relation exists between pleasure and pain on the one hand, and fluctuations in the quantities of stimuli affecting mental life on the other. It is certain that many kinds of these relations are possible, some of them by no means simple.

If now we apply ourselves to considering mental life from a biological point of view, an instinct appears to us as a borderland concept between the mental and the physical, being both the mental representative of the stimuli emanating from within the organism and penetrating to the mind, and at the same time a

measure of the demand made upon the energy of the latter in consequence of its connection with the body

We are now in a position to discuss certain terms used in reference to the concept of an instinct for example its impetus its aim its object and its source

By the *impetus* of an instinct we understand its motor element the amount of force or the measure of the demand upon energy which it represents The characteristic of impulsion is common to all instincts is in fact the very essence of them Every instinct is a form of activity if we speak loosely of passive instincts we can only mean those whose aim is passive

The *aim* of an instinct is in every instance satisfaction which can only be obtained by abolishing the condition of stimulation in the source of the instinct But although this remains invariably the final goal of every instinct there may yet be different ways leading to the same goal so that an instinct may be found to have various nearer or intermediate aims capable of combination or interchange Experience permits us also to speak of instincts which are *inhibited in respect of their aim* in cases where a certain advance has been permitted in the direction of satisfaction and then an inhibition or deflection has occurred We may suppose that even in such cases a partial satisfaction is achieved

The *object* of an instinct is that in or through which it can achieve its aim It is the most variable thing about an instinct and is not originally connected with it but becomes attached to it only in consequence of being peculiarly fitted to provide satisfaction The object is not necessarily an extraneous one it may be part of the subject s own body It may be changed any number of times in the course of the vicissitudes the instinct undergoes during life a highly important part is played by this capacity for displacement in the instinct It may happen that the same object may serve for the satisfaction of several instincts simultaneously a phenomenon which Adler calls a *confluence* of instincts A particularly close attachment of the instinct to its object is distinguished by the term *fixation* this frequently occurs in very early stages of the instinct s development and so puts an end to its mobility through the vigorous resistance it sets up against detachment

By the *source* of an instinct is meant that somatic process in an organ or part of the body from which there results a stimulus represented in mental life by an instinct We do not know whether this process is regularly of a chemical nature or whether it may also correspond with the release of other e g mechanical forces The study of the sources of instinct is outside the scope of psychology although its source in the body is what gives the instinct its distinct and essential character yet in mental life we know it merely by its aims A more exact knowledge of the sources of instincts is not strictly necessary for purposes of psychological investigation often the source may be with certainty inferred from the aims

Are we to suppose that the different instincts which operate upon the mind but of which the origin is somatic are also distinguished by different qualities and act in the mental life in a manner qualitatively different? This supposition does not seem to be justified we are much more likely to find the simpler assumption sufficient—namely that the instincts are all qualitatively alike and owe the effect they produce only to the quantities of excitation accompanying them or perhaps further to certain functions of this quantity The difference in the mental effects produced by the different instincts may be traced to the difference in their sources In any event it is only in a later connection that we shall be able to make plain what the problem of the quality of instincts signifies

Now what instincts and how many should be postulated? There is obviously a great opportunity here for arbitrary choice No objection can be made to anyone s employing the concept of an instinct of play or of destruction or that of a social instinct when the subject demands it and the limitations of psychological analysis allow of it Nevertheless we should not neglect to ask whether such instinctual motives which are in one direction so highly specialized do not admit of further analysis in respect of their sources so that only those primal instincts which are not to be resolved further could really lay claim to the name

I have proposed that two groups of such primal instincts should be distinguished the *self preservative* or *ego* instincts and the *sexual* instincts But this proposition has not the weight of a necessary postulate such as for instance our assumption about the biological *purpose* in the mental apparatus (see above) it is merely an auxiliary construction to be retained only so long as it proves useful and it will make little difference to the results of

our work of description and classification f we replace it by an ther The occas o for t r se in *the course of* the e olut o of psycho analysis, which w s first mployed upo the psych *neuro s* actually upon the group des g nated *t ansference neuro es* (hysteri and ob es o al *neuro s*) through them it became plain that at th r ot of all such affections the lies a conflict between the claims f sexuality and tho of th ego It is always pos sible that an exh usti e study of the other ... fesre ll of the n c s stic

ew formula m y be no h e we m w in any a gument which s ems likely to be prejudi cial to the contra t between sexual and ego-in t cts

I m alt gethe d ubtful wh ther w k po ... d e

f m om oth branch of knowledge and tran ferred t psy hology The contribution of b ology thi point cert inly doe n t run unt t th distincti betw n s xual a d go- tincts B l gy teaches th t s xuality is ot a level with the other fun t on f the d d l, f ts *p rp* s g beyo d the ind d l the co t t being the p duct o of w indi duals and the pr s rvat on f the spe It shows further th t the r lat ex ting bet een the g d sexu lity may be ed f in two w ys pp tly equally well ju t fied in the o th ind dual re ga ded as f prim importa ce s xuality as f his cti t es and s xual at fact on a f h eds whil in th th r the d d l rganism s look d upo s tra t ry and ... pp d g to the qu mm rtal g rm plasm b queath d t him by the race Th as umpti that the s xual f t d ff rs f m th bodily pr c s es in rtu f special h m al pro se I u derst d al pos tulat of the Ehrlich sch l f b l gical re sea h

Sin e a study f the tinct from th sid f cious es p ese ts lmo t upe ble d ffi lt es psych analyti in t tion of m t l di t ba ce rem the p c pal s e of ou kn wl d Th dev l pment of this line of in estigat on however has necessarily produced hitherto information of a more or less defi te nature only i regard to the sexual instincts for it is this group in particular which can be observed in isolation as it were in the psycho u oses With the exten ion of psycho analys s to other neu otic affections we may be sure that we hall f nd a basis for our knowl dge of the ego nst ncts also though it w uld be optim st c to expect equally fa our able co dit o s for observation in this further field of res arch

An attempt to formulate the general char acter st cs of the exual in tincts would run as foll ws they are umerous emanate from ma fold o g c sources act in the first in stance i dependently of o e another and only at a l te tage achieve a mo e or le s complete synthes s The a m wh ch each strives to atta n is *o ga pleasure* only when the synthes s is c mplete do they ente the ser ce of the func t on f rep od ction becoming the eby gener lly recognizable as sexual i sti cts At their first ppearance they support themselves upon the inst ncts of elf pre ervatio from which they only gradually detach themsel es in the r cho c of object l o they follow paths ind cated by th ego-n tincts Som of them re main thro ghout life as ociat d w th these lat ter d f m h them w th l b d nal components wh ch w th normal fu ct oni g eas ly e c pe n tice a d ar clea l ecognizable only when d ea e i present. Th y ha e th s d st ct ve characterist c—that they ha e i a h gh d gree th apac ty to act vicariou ly for on a other and that they can r ad'ly cha ge the r objects. I cons q nce f the last me tioned p oper ties they are capable of acti ties widely re-m ed f m the r orig al modes of atta ning th m (subl mat on)

Our qu ry int the va ous vic s tudes wh h inst cts und g th process of de velopme t and n the c urse f life m t be fi ed to th exual insti cts fo th se the m l m li to u Ob rv t on sh w us th t *tin t m y und g* th f llow g viciss tudes

R *rsal into its oppos te*
T rn g r und upon the subject
Rep ess o
S blim ti

Sinc I do not t d to tre t of s blim tion here d r pre s eq res a pec al hapter t t lf t nly em ins for u to d crib d di cu s the tw fi t point B r ing mind th t the e a te d n s which are

opposed to the instincts pursuing a straight forward course we may regard these vicissitudes as modes of defence against the instincts

The *reversal* of an instinct *into its opposite* may on closer scrutiny be resolved into two different processes a change from active to passive and a reversal of the content The two processes being essentially distinct must be treated separately

Examples of the first process are met with in the two pairs of opposites sadism masochism and scoptophilia exhibitionism The reversal here concerns only the aims of the instincts The passive aim (to be tortured or looked at) has been substituted for the active aim (to torture to look at) Reversal of content is found in the single instance of the change of love into hate

The *turning round* of an instinct *upon the subject* is suggested to us by the reflection that masochism is actually sadism turned round upon the subject s own ego and that exhibitionism includes the love of gazing at the subject s own body Further analytic observation leaves us in no doubt that the masochist also enjoys the *act* of torturing when this is being applied to himself and the exhibitionist the exposing of someone in being exposed himself So the essence of the process is the change of the object while the aim remains unchanged

We cannot fail to note however that in these examples turning round upon the subject s self and transformation from active to passive coincide or occur in one process To elucidate the relation between the two processes a more thorough investigation must be undertaken

With the pair of opposites sadism masochism the process may be represented as follows

(*a*) Sadism consists in the exercise of violence or power upon some other person as its object

(*b*) This object is abandoned and replaced by the subject s self To ether with the turning round upon the self the change from an active to a passive aim in the instinct is also brou ht about

(*c*) Again another person is sou ht as object this person in consequence of the altera tion which has taken place in the aim of the instinct has to take over the original role of the subject

Ca e (*c*) is the condition commonly termed *masochism* Satisfaction follows in this case also by way of the original sadism the passive ego placin itself in phantasy back in its former situation which however has now been given up to another subject out ide the elf Whether there is besides this a more direct masochistic satisfaction is highly doubtful A primary masochism not derived in the manner I have described from sadism does not appear to be met with That it is not superfluous to make the assumption of stage (*b*) is quite clear when we observe the behaviour of the sadistic impulse in cases of obsessional neurosis In these we have the turning upon the subject s self without the attitude of passivity towards another the reversal has only reached the second stage Self torment and elf punishment have arisen from the desire to torture but not masochism The active voice is changed not into the passive but into the reflexive middle voice.

The conception of sadism is made more complicated by the circumstance that this instinct side by side with its general aim (or perhaps rather within it) seems to press towards a quite special aim the infliction of pain in addition to subjection and mastery of the object. Now psycho analysis would seem to show that the infliction of pain plays no part in the original aims sought by the instinct the sadistic child takes no notice of whether or not it inflicts pain nor is it part of its purpose to do so But when once the transformation into masochism has taken place the experience of pain is very well adapted to serve as a passive masochistic aim for we have every reason to believe that sensations of pain like other unpleasant sensations extend into sexual excitation and produce a condition which is pleasurable for the sake of which the subject will even willingly experience the unpleasantne s of pain Where once the suffering of pain has been experienced as a masochistic aim it can be carried back into the sadistic situation and result in a sadistic aim of *inflicting pain* which will then be masochistically enjoyed by the subject while inflicting pain upon others, through his identification of himself with the suffering object Of course in either ca e it is not the pain itself which is enjoyed but the accompanying sexual excitement and this is especially easy for the sadist The enjoyment of pain would thus be a primary masochisti aim which however can then also become the aim of the originally adistic instinct

In order to complete my exposition I wou d add that pity cannot be described as a result

Add t I V t 9 4 I I t w ks (cf The Ec m P bl m f M och m 934 C ll ted P p II) rel ti g t p bl m f t ct al I f I ha p essed th ppo lt w

of the reversal of the sadistic in tinct but eces ta es the conceptio f a *react on forma tior* gams' that in tinct (fo the diff rence see below)

Ra her dinerent and simpler results are af forded by the investigation of ano her pair of *opposites* namely those instincts whose aim is sexual gazin (coptophilia) a d self-display (the *voyeur* and *exhibit onist* tendencies as they are called in the la guage of the perver ions) Here again we may postulate the same ... ta ce (*a*) copto- ... rds an ex ... of the ob- ject and a ... the ... ilic insti ct towards a part f the subject own person therewith a transformation to passiv ty and the setting up of new aim—that of being looked at (*c*) the institution of a new subject to whom one displays neself m rder to be loo ed at. Here too t is hardly poss ble to d ubt that the acti e aim appears *before the* pa ive, that s optophilia precedes exhibit ism. But there is an important divergence from what happens in the case of sadism in that we can ecognize in the scoptophilic in tinct a yet ea lier stage than that described as (*a*) That is t say that at the beginning of its ctivity the scoptophilic instinct is uto-eroti t has indeed an object but that object is the subject s own body It is only later that the in stinct c mes (by way of compari on) to ex ha ge this object f th analogous one f the body f an the (ta e (*a*)) Now this prelimi ary age is interesting because t the urc f both the ituations represented in the resulting pair of oppos es accordin to which lement in the riginal ituation is re versed. The following might serve as schem f the coptophilic instinct

S bject look in his wn sexual rgan = bject own sexual rgan being looked t by h m lf

β bject look ing t an extraneous bject (cti scoptophilia) — γ S bject wn sexual rga being looked t by another perso (exhib tionism)

... stage th child eff rts t gain co trol f his limbs

W th regard to both these instincts just ex amined as examples, it must be said that transformation of them by a reversal from acti e to ... h sub- ... direction, even when the transformation is very exten ive The onl correct descript on of the scoptophilic instinct would be that all pha es of ts development the a to-erotic prel minary phase as well as i final acti e or pas i e form, co-exist alongs de one another and the *truth* of this tateme t becomes manifest if we base our opinion not upon the *actions* which are prompted by the in tinct but upon the mech anism of ts satisfaction. Perhaps yet another way of conceiving and representing the matter may be justified. We m y plit up th life of each i tinct into a series of *thrusts* distinct from one another in the t me f the r occur rence b t *each homogeneous within its own* period whose relat on to one another is com parable t that of success e eruptions of lava. W can then perhaps picture to oursel es that the earliest and most primitive instinct-eruption pers ts in an unchanged form and under goes no development at ll The n xt *thrust* would then f m the outset have undergone a change of form being turned fo instance, from acti e to pass e and it wou d then with this new characteri tic be superimposed upon the *earlier* layer and so *on.* So that, *if we* tak a survey of th instinctual tend ncy from its beginning up to any gi en topping point the su ces ion of thrusts which we ha e described would prese t the picture of a definite development f the instinct

The fact that at that later period of devel opm t, the instinct in its primary form may be observed ide by sid with its (pa ive) oppos te deserves t be distinguished by the highly pp opriate nam troduced by Bleuler *ambivalence*

These cons d rati ns regarding the developmental hi tory f an ins inct and the perma nent characte f the intermediate tage in it h uld make in tinct-development mo e com prehensible t us. Experience h ws that the degree f demonstrable ambi alence varies greatly in indi iduals groups and races. M ked mb alence of a in tinct in human bein t the present day may be rega ded as n archa c inheritance for we ha e rea on to suppose that the part pla ed in the life f the instinct by the acti e impulses in th ir original

Cf. precedi g footnote

form was greater in primitive times than it is on an average today

We have become accustomed to call the early phase of the development of the ego during which its sexual instincts find auto erotic satis faction *narcissism* without having so far en tered into any discussion of the relation be tween auto erotism and narcissism It follows that in considering the preliminary phase of the scoptophilic instinct when the subject s own body is the object of the scoptophilia we mu t place it under the heading of narcissism it is a narcissistic formation From this phase the active scoptophilic instinct which has left nar cissism behind is developed while the passive scoptophilic instinct on the contrary holds fast to the narcissistic object Similarly the trans formation from sadism to masochism betokens a reversion to the narcissistic object while in both cases the narcissistic (active) subject is exchanged by identification for another ex traneous ego Taking into consideration the preliminary narcissistic stage of sadism con structed by us we approach the more general view that those vicissitudes which consist in the instinct being turned round upon the sub ject s own ego and undergoing reversal from activity to passivity are dependent upon the narcissistic organization of the ego and bear the stamp of that phase Perhaps they represent attempts at defence which at higher sta es of the development of the ego are effected by other means

At this point we may remember that so far we have discussed only two pairs of instincts and their opposites sadism m1 o h — 1

1e other components of the later sexual function are at present too inac cessible to analysis for us to be able to discuss them in a similar way In general we can assert of them that their activities are auto erotic i e their object becomes negligible in compari on with the organ which is their source and as a rule the two coincide The object of the scopto philic in tinct although it also in the first in stance is a part of the subject s own body

ern and L Jekels the form and function of the organ determine the activity or passivity of the instinct s aim

The transformation of the *content* of an instinct into its opposite is ob rved in a s t instance only—the changing of *love* *into* *h* *e* It is particularly common to find both these directed simultaneously towards the same ob ject and this phenomenon of their co-exis ence furnishes the most important example of am bivalence of feeling

The case of love and hate acquires a special interest from the circumstance that it resists classification in our scheme of the in tincts It is impossible to doubt the existence of a most intimate relation between these two con trary feelings and sexual life but one is na u rally unwilling to conceive of love as bei g a kind of special component instinct of sexuality in the same way as are the others just di cussed One would prefer to regard loving rather as the expression of the whole sexual current of feel ing but this idea does not clear up our difficul ties and we are at a loss how to conceive of an essential opposite to this striving

Loving admits of not merely one but of three antitheses First there is the antithesis of loving—hating econdly there is loving—be ing loved and in addition to these loving and hating to ether are the opposite of the condi tion of neutrality or indifference The second of these two antitheses loving—being loved cor responds exactly to the transformation from active to passive and may be traced to a primal situation in the same way as the scoptophilic instinct This situation is that of *loving one self* which for us is the characteristic of nar cissism Then according to whether the elf as object or subject is exchanged for an extra e ous one there results the active aim of loving or the passive one of being loved the latter re maining nearly related to narcissism

Perhaps we shall come to a better under standing of the manifold opposites of lovin if we reflect that our mental life as a who e is governed by *three polarities* namely the fol lowing antitheses

Subject (ego)—Object (external wo ld)
Ple sure—Pa n
Act ve—Pas ve

The antithesis of ego—non-ego (outer) ie subject—object is as we have already said thrust upon the individual being at an early stage by the experience that it can abolish ex

1 u recuy pre supposes n object other than itself even thou h that object be part of the subject s own body In the auto erotic instincts the part played by the organic source is so decisive that according to a plausible supposition of P Fed

Z *t* *k* *ft* V I I (9 3)

ternal stimuli by means of muscular action but is defenceless against those stimuli that originate in instinct. This antithesis remains sovereign above all in our intellectual activity and provides research with a fundamental situation which no amount of effort can alter. The polarity ... depends upon a feeling

the ego to the outer world is passive in so far as it receives stimuli from it, active when it reacts to these. Its instincts compel it to a quite special degree of activity towards the outside world, so that, if we wished to emphasize the essence of the matter, we might say that the ego-subject is passive in respect of external stimuli, active in virtue of its own instincts. The antithesis of active—passive coalesces later with that of masculine—feminine, which, until this has taken place, has no psychological significance. The fusion of activity with masculinity and passivity with femininity confronts us indeed, as a biological fact, but it is by no means so invariably complete and exclusive as we are inclined to assume.

The three polarities within the mind are connected with one another in various highly significant ways. There is a certain primal psychic situation in which two of them coincide. Originally, at the very beginning of mental life, the ego's instincts are directed to itself and it is to some extent capable of deriving satisfaction for them on itself. This condition is known as *narcissism* and this potentiality for satisfaction is termed *auto-erotic*. The outside world is at this time, generally speaking, not cathected with any interest and is indifferent for purposes of satisfaction. At this period, therefore, the ego-subject coincides with what is pleasurable and the outside world with what is indifferent (or even painful, as being a source of stimulation). Let us for the moment define *loving* as the re-

Some of the sexual instincts are, as we know, capable of this auto-erotic satisfaction and so are adapted to be the channel for the development under the sway of the pleasure-principle which we shall describe later. The sexual instincts which from the outset require an object, and the needs of the ego-instincts which are never capable of auto-erotic satisfaction, of course ... this condition and ...

lation of the ego to its sources of pleasure, then the situation in which the ego loves itself only and is indifferent to the outside world illustrates the first of the polarities in which *loving* appeared.

In so far as it is auto-erotic, the ego has no need of the outside world, but in consequence of experiences undergone by the instincts of self-preservation, it tends to find objects there and doubtless it cannot but for a time perceive inner instinctual stimuli as painful. Under the sway of the pleasure-principle there now takes place a further development. The objects presenting themselves, in so far as they are sources of pleasure, are absorbed by the ego into itself, *introjected* (according to an expression coined by Ferenczi), while on the other hand, the ego thrusts forth upon the external world whatever within itself gives rise to pain (see below: the mechanism of projection).

Thus the original *reality-ego*, which distinguished outer and inner by means of a sound objective criterion, changes into a purified *pleasure-ego* which prizes above all else the quality of pleasure. For this pleasure-ego the outside world is divided into a part that is pleasurable, which it has incorporated into itself, and a remainder that is alien to it. A part of itself it has separated off, and this it projects into the external world and regards as hostile. According to this new arrangement the congruence of the two polarities

ego-subject with pleasure

outside world with pain (or earlier with neutrality) is once more established.

When the stage of primary narcissism is invaded by the object, the second contrary attitude to that of love, namely hate, attains to development.

As we have heard, the ego's objects are presented to it from the outside world in the first instance by the instincts of self-preservation, and it is undeniable also that hate originally betokens the relation of the ego to the alien external world with its afflux of stimuli. Neutrality may be classified as a special case of hate or rejection, after having made its appearance first as the forerunner of hate. Thus at the very beginning the external world, objects and that which was hated were one and the same thing. When later on an object manifests itself as a source of pleasure, it becomes loved, but also incorporated into the ego, so that for the purified pleasure-ego the object once again coincides with what is extraneous and hated.

Now however we note that just as the ...

tithesis love—indifference reflects the polarity ego—external world so the second antithesis love—hate reproduces the polarity pleasure—pain which is bound up with the former When the purely narcissistic stage gives place to the object stage pleasure and pain denote the relations of the ego to the object When the object becomes a source of pleasurable feelings a motor tendency is set up which strives to bring the object near to and incorporate it into the ego we then speak of the *attraction* exercised by the pleasure giving object and say that we *love* that object Conversely when the object is the source of painful feelings there is a tendency which endeavours to increase the distance between object and ego and to repeat in relation to the former the primordial attempt at flight from the external world with its flow of stimuli We feel a *repulsion* from the object and hate it this hate can then be intensified to the point of an aggressive tendency towards the object with the intention of destroying it

We might at a pinch say of an instinct that it loves the objects after which it strives for purposes of satisfaction but to say that it hates an object strikes us as odd so we become aware that the attitudes of love and hate can not be said to characterize the relations of instincts to their objects but are reserved for the relations of the ego as a whole to objects But if we consider a colloquial usage which is certainly full of meaning we see that there is yet another limitation to the significance of love and hate We do not say of those objects which serve the interests of self preservation that we love them rather we emphasize the fact that we need them and perhaps add an element of a different kind in our relation to them by words which denote a much lesser degree of love—for example *to be fond of to like to find agreeable*

So the word *love* becomes shifted ever further into the sphere of the pure pleasure relation existing between the ego and its object and finally attaches itself to sexual objects in the narrower sense and to those which satisfy the needs of sublimated sexual instincts The discrimination of the ego instincts from the sexual a discrimination which we have imposed upon our psychology is seen therefore to be in conformity with the spirit of our speech Since we do not customarily say that the single sexual component instinct loves its object but see the most appropriate case in which to apply the word *love* in the relation of the ego to its sexual object we learn from this fact that the applicability of the word in this relation begins only with the synthesis of all the component instincts under the primacy of the genitals and in the service of the function of reproduction

It is noteworthy that in the use of the word *hate* no such intimate relation to sexual pleasure and the sexual function appears on the contrary the painful character of the relation seems to be the sole decisive feature The ego hates abhors and pursues with intent to destroy all objects which are for it a source of painful feelings without taking into account whether they mean to it frustration of sexual satisfaction or of gratification of the needs of self preservation Indeed it may be asserted that the true prototypes of the hate relation are derived not from sexual life but from the struggle of the ego for self preservation and self maintenance

So we see that love and hate which present themselves to us as essentially antithetical, stand in no simple relation to each other They did not originate in a cleavage of any common primal element but sprang from different sources and underwent each its own development before the influence of the pleasure pain relation constituted them antitheses to each other At this point we are confronted with the task of putting together what we know of the genesis of love and hate

Love originates in the capacity of the ego to satisfy some of its instincts auto-erotically through the obtaining of *organ pleasure* It is primarily narcissistic is then transferred to those objects which have been incorporated in the ego now much extended and expresses the motor striving of the ego after these objects as sources of pleasure It is intimately connected with the activity of the later sexual instincts and when these have been completely synthetized coincides with the sexual trend as a whole. The preliminary stages of love reveal themselves as temporary sexual aims while the sexual instincts are passing through their complicated development First amongst these we recognize the phase of incorporating or devouring a type of love which is compatible with abolition of any separate existence on the part of the object and which may therefore be designated *ambivalent* At the higher stage of the pregenital sadistic anal organization the striving after the object appears in the form of an impulsion to mastery in which injury or annihilation of the object is a matter of indifference. This form and preliminary stage of love is hardly to be distinguished from hate in its be-

hav ur towards the bject. Only when the ge tal organizati n is established does l ve be

wo ld hence flows the stream of st m li. As an express on of the pain re ction ind ced by h

anal rganizati n, they impart the qualities of hate to the instinct s aim as well

The history of the rigin and relat ons of love makes us understand how it s that l ve so c nstantly man fe ts itself as amb valent accompanied by feelin s of hat agai st the same bj ct Th admixture of hate i love is to be t ac d in part t those p eliminary stages f love which ha e n t been holly o t grown a d in part is based upon react ons of avers on and rep diation on the part of the ego-instincts which, in the freq ent conflicts be tw e the inte ests of the ego and those of love can claim to be upported by real and ctual motives. In both cases therefore the admix ture of hate may be traced to the ource of self preservative instincts. When a love relat onsh p with a g en object is broken off it is not in frequently s cceeded by hate so that we re ce ve the imp ess on of a transformation of lo e into hate This descript ve characteriza tion is ampl fied by the view that when this happens the hate which s moti ated by con s derations of real ty is re nforced by a re gression f the love to the sadistic prel minary stage so that the hate acqu es an ero c char acter and the continuity of a love relation is e su ed

The third antithesis of lo e the transforma tio of loving into bein loved represents the peration of the polarity f active and pas ve and is to be judged in the same way as in scoptophilia a d sadism We may sum up by sayi g that the es ent al feature in the vicis situdes undergo e by i stincts is *thei s bjec tion to the nfl nces of th thr e g eat polari t s that govern m tal l fe* Of these th ee polarities we might describe that of act vity—passiv ty as th *b olog al* that of ego—exter nal world as the *r al* and finally that of pleas ure—pain as th *co om c* respecti ely

That possible viciss tud undergon by an instinct wh ch we call *p ession* will form the subject of a further inquiry

Repression[1]

One of the vicissitudes an instinctual impulse may undergo is to meet with resistances the aim of which is to make the impulse inoperative Under certain conditions which we shall presently investigate more closely the impulse then passes into the state of *repression* If it were a question of the operation of an external stimulus obviously flight would be the appropriate remedy with an instinct flight is of no avail for the ego cannot escape from itself Later on rejection based on judgment (*condemnation*) ...
against the
phase of
flight and
could not have been formulated before the time of psycho analytic research

It is not easy in theory to deduce the possibility of such a thing as repression Why should an instinctual impulse suffer such a fate? For this to happen obviously a necessary condition must be that attainment of its aim by the instinct should produce pain instead of pleasure But we cannot well imagine such a contingency There are no such instincts satisfaction of an instinct is always pleasurable We should have to assume certain peculiar circumstances some sort of process which changes the pleasure of atisfaction into pain

In order the better to define repression we may discuss some other situations in which instincts are concerned It may happen that an external stimulus becomes internal for example by eating into and destroying a bodily organ so that a new source of constant excitation and increase of tension is formed The stimulus thereby acquires a far reaching similarity to an instinct We know that a case of this sort is experienced by us as *physical pain* The aim of this pseudo instinct however is simply the cessation of the change in the organ and of the pain accompanying it There is no other direct pleasure to be attained by cessation of the pain Further pain is imperative the only things which can subdue it are the effect of some toxic agent in removing it and the influence of some mental distraction

The case of physical pain is too obscure to help us much in our purpose Let us suppose that an instinctual stimulus such as hunger remains unsatisfied It then becomes imperative and can be allayed by nothing but the appropriate action for satisfying it it keeps up a constant tension of need Anything like a repression seems in this case to be utterly out of the question

So repression is certainly not an essential result of the tension produced by lack of satisfaction of an impulse being raised to an unbearable degree The weapons of defence of which the organism avails itself to guard against that situation must be discussed in another connection

Let us instead confine ourselves to the clinical experience we meet with in the practice of psycho analysis We then see that the satisfaction of an instinct under repression is quite possible further that in every instance such a satisfaction is pleasurable in itself but is irreconcilable with other claims and purposes it therefore causes pleasure in one part of the mind and pain in another We ee then that it is a condition of repression that the element of avoiding pain shall have acquired more stren th than the pleasure of gratification Psycho analytic experience of the transference neuroses moreover forces us to the conclusion that repression is not a defence mechanism present from the very beginning and that i cannot occur until a sharp distinction has been established between what is conscious and what is unconscious that *the essence of repression lies simply in the function of rejecting and keeping something out of consciousness* This conception of repression would be supplemented by assuming that before the mental organization reaches this phase the other vicissitudes which may befall instincts e g reversal into the opposite or turning round upon the subject deal with the task of mastering the instinctual impulses

It seems to us now that in view of the very great extent to which repression and the unconscious are correlated we must defer probing more deeply into the nature of repression until we have learnt more about the structure of the various institutions in the mind—and about what differentiates consciousness from the un

[1] C ll ted P per IV first p bl h d Z t h ft Vol III (1915) r p t d i S mml g 4th S es

on ci us Till we ha e done this all w can is t put togeth in purely descriptive a hi som characterist cs of repressio noted a clinical practic e en thou h we run the k of ha ing t repeat unchan ed mu h that has been said elsewhere

Now w ha e rea on fo a suming a *primal epre sio* first pha of repres o which t n ts in a denial of try into on cio ness en on f the

remains ttached t t This is d e to certain pr perties f uncon ci us processes of which we hall speak lat

of this association these deas experi ce the me f te s that whi h underwe t primal repres o R pres n p ope th fore s ac tuall fter-expul ion. Moreo e it is a mistak to empha e only the *ejection* wh h operat from the s d f c ciou ess upon what is to be rep essed We have to co der

purpose if these fo es d d n t co-operat f th re were n t som thing prev ously rep es ed eady to m lat that whi h is rej cted from on ci usness

L d th fluence of st d f th ps choeuroses whi h brin before us the important ffects f repres ion we re lined t ov estimat th ir psy h l gical tent and to f rget too re dily that rep es does t hi d the nstinct-presentat on from co tin to ext t m the uncons s and f om ga zing tself f rth putt f rth deri ti es d instit t g n ect R ally r pres interf res ly with th lat f the in tinct presentati t o e ystem f the mind nam l t con s

Psy ho- nalys is bl t h w u m thin lse wh h importa t fo d rstand g th ff t f ep es on in th p ycho eu se It h w us f st that the t ct-pres t dev l ps m e un h ked and luxuriant f h f t withdrawn by ep es- from nsci infl en It ramifies lik fungu so to speak, in th dark, and takes extreme forms of expres ion wh ch when translated and revealed to the neur tic are bound not m rely to seem al en to him but to terrify him by the way n which they reflect an extraor di ry and d erous trength of *instinct*. This ll ory trength of inst nct is the result of an uninhib ted development of it in phantasy and of th d mming up con equent on lack of real at sfact n Th fact that this last re ult is bound up with repres ion po nts the direction in which we ha e to look for the true s nifi cance of the latter

In revert g to the contrary aspect however let us tate *defin ely that it is not even correct* to uppose that repres on withholds from con sci usness all th de ivati es of what was primally repressed If these derivati es are sufficiently far removed from the repres ed in tinct presentation wh the owing to the proces of dist rt on or by *reason of the number* of int rmediate as oc tio th y ha e free access to c n ciou ess It is as tho gh the re *s tance of con cio ness a ain t them was in* in erse proportio to th r remoteness from what was originally repres ed. Durin the *practice of the psycho-analytic method*, we continually require the pat ent to p oduce uch deri ati es of what has been repressed as i consequence e th r of th remoteness or of dist rtion ca pa s the ensorship of co cious ess I d ed th a oc t ons which we require him t gi e while refra *from a y con* sciou ly d rected train of thou ht or any criticism and from which we reco struct a c cious int rpretati f the repres ed in tinct prese t ti a e pre sely d ri at es of this kind We then ob erve that the patient can go on pinnin a whole chain of uch a ociations till he is b ht up in the mid t of th m against some thought form tio the l ti of which to what is repressed acts o intensely that h is c mpelled t repeat his att mpt t rep es u t c ympt m too m t ha f lfill d th d tion f rred to f they re deri ati es of th repressed which ha fi all by m ans f the form t wre ted f m ci u e s the righ of way prev u ly d ed it

We can lay down o general rule co cernin the degree f distortion and emoteness c e ary befo e the resi t ce f sciou s b o at d In thi matte delicat bal ci takes pla th play f whi h is hidd n f m us it mod f operation h w leads us to inf that t s qu t of a d fin te deg e of inten ty in the cathexis of th un nsci us—

beyond which it would break through for satisfaction Repression acts therefore in a *highly specific* manner in each instance every single derivative of the repressed may have its peculiar fate—a little more or a little less distortion alters the whole issue In this connection it becomes comprehensible that those objects to which men give their preference that is their ideals originate in the same perceptions and experiences as those objects of which they have most abhorrence and that the two originally differed from one another only by slight modifications Indeed as we found in the origin of the fetish it is possible for the original instinct presentation to be split into two one part undergoing repression while the remainder just on account of its intimate association with the other undergoes idealization

The same result as ensues from an increase or a decrease in the degree of distortion may also be achieved at the other end of the apparatus so to speak by a modification in the conditions producing *pleasure* and *pain* Special devices have been evolved with the object of bringing about such changes in the play of mental forces that what usually gives rise to pain may on this occasion result in pleasure and whenever such a device comes into operation the repression of an instinct presentation that is ordinarily repudiated is abrogated The only one of these devices which has till now been studied in any detail is that of joking Generally the lifting of the repression is only transitory the repression is immediately re established

Observations of this sort however suffice to draw our attention to some further characteristics of repression Not only is it as we have just explained *variable* and *specific* but it is also exceedingly *mobile* The process of repression is not to be regarded as something which takes place once for all the results of which are permanent as when some living thing has been killed and from that time onward is dead on the contrary repression demands a constant expenditure of energy and if this were discontinued the success of the repression would be jeopardized so that a fresh act of repression would be necessary We may imagine that what is repressed exercises a continuous straining in the direction of consciousness so that the balance has to be kept by means of a steady counter pressure A constant expenditure of energy therefore is entailed in maintaining a repression and economically its abrogation denotes a saving The mobility of the repression incidentally finds expression also in the mental characteristics of the condition of sleep which alone renders dream formation possible With a return to waking life the repressive cathexes which have been called in are once more put forth

Finally we must not forget that after all we have said very little about an instinctual impulse when we state it to be repressed Without prejudice to the repression such an impulse may find itself in widely different conditions it may be inactive i e cathected with only a low degree of mental energy or its degree of cathexis (and consequently its capacity for activity) may vary True its activity will not result in a direct abrogation of the repression but it will certainly set in motion all the processes which terminate in a breaking through into consciousness by circuitous routes With unrepressed derivatives of the unconscious the fate of a particular idea is often decided by the degree of its activity or cathexis It is an everyday occurrence that such a derivative can remain unrepressed so long as it represents only a small amount of energy although its content is of such a nature as to give rise to a conflict with conscious control But the quantitative factor is manifestly decisive for this conflict as soon as an idea which is fundamentally offensive exceeds a certain degree of strength the conflict takes on actuality and it is precisely activation of the idea that leads to its repression So that where repression is concerned an increase in energic cathexis operates in the same way as an approach to the unconscious while a decrease in that energy operates like distance from the unconscious or like distortion We understand that the repressing tendencies can find a substitute for repression in a weakening or lessening of whatever is distasteful to them

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W h uld be glad enough t be able to gi e som general ac ount of the utcome of both of these nd when we ha e take o r bearings a little we hall actu lly be able to do so In gene al, ep ess o of the ideational presenta t o f an instinct can surely only have the ff ct of causing it to anish from conscious- ess f t h d p e o sly b en in c nsc ousness o of h ldıng t b ck f it s about to ente t Th d ff rence fter all is not important t am unts to much the sam thi as the diffe ence betw en o d ring an und sirable guest out of my drawing room or o t f my front hall d refus g to l t him cross my threshold nce I ha e recognized him The fate of the qua titative f ct in the instinct pre entation may be o e of thre as we see by a cursory survey of the bservati s m de through psy cho-analy is e the the i tinct is altog ther f d or

anxi ty of the mental e gy bel nging to the *inst ncts* this being n w po s ble ci tud de e by an inst t

We call th f ct that th moti e a d pur pose of ep sion was imply th a d n of pai It f llow that the f te f the charg f aff ct belonging to th prese tati n is f r m e important than that of the ideat o al te t of t and is d cisive fo the pi on w form of the process f r pres n If p o does t s eed in preventing feeli gs of pain nxiety f m ing we m y say that t has failed even tho gh t m y have h eved ts aim s fa as th deati nal el ment is cern d Nat rally the c e of unsuccess f l repress will ha more laim on our int rest than that of repres which is eve

This m tapho applicable to the process f repres- n, m lso be ded to incl d f the ch ac ristics f repres on men ned ea li I need nly add th I have to pl ce se I keep co ta t gu d ve the doo h ch I ha f rb dden th gues to pass lest he should burst open (see bove)

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Finally we must not forget that after all we have said very little about an instinctual impulse when we state it to be repressed Without prejudice to the repression such an impulse may find itself in widely different conditions it may be inactive i e cathected with only a low degree of mental energy or its degree of cathexis (and consequently its capacity for activity) may vary True its activity will not result in a direct abrogation of the repression but it will certainly set in motion all the processes which terminate in a breaking through into consciousness by circuitous routes With unrepressed derivatives of the unconscious the fate of a particular idea is often decided by the degree of its activity or cathexis It is an everyday occurrence that such a derivative can remain unrepressed so long as it represents only a small amount of energy although its content is of such a nature as to give rise to a conflict with conscious control But the quantitative factor is manifestly decisive for this conflict as soon as an idea which is fundamentally offensive exceeds a certain degree of strength the conflict takes on actuality and it is precisely activation of the idea that leads to its repression So that where repression is concerned an increase in energic cathexis operates in the same way as an approach to the unconscious while a decrease in that energy operates like distance from the unconscious or like distortion We understand that the repressing tendencies can find a substitute for repression in a weakening or lessening of whatever is distasteful to them

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of the instinct which has become detached from the idea, and finds proportionate expression, according to its quantity, in processes which become observable to perception as affects. From this point on, in describing a case of repression, we must follow up the fate of the idea which undergoes repression separately from that of the instinctual energy attached to the idea.

We should be glad enough to be able to give some general account of the outcome of both these, and when we have taken our bearings a little we shall actually be able to do so. In general, repression of the ideational presentation of an instinct can surely only have the effect of causing it to vanish from consciousness if it had previously been in consciousness, or of holding it back if it is about to enter it. The difference, after all, is not important; it amounts to much the same thing as the difference between ordering an undesirable guest out of my drawing-room or out of my front hall, and refusing to let him cross my threshold once I have recognized him.[1] The further fate of the quantitative factor in the instinct-presentation may be one of three, as we see by a cursory survey of the observations made through psycho-analysis: either the instinct is altogether suppressed, so that no trace of it is found, or it appears in the guise of an affect of a particular qualitative tone, or it is transformed into anxiety. With the two last possibilities we are obliged to focus our attention upon the *transformation into affects and especially into anxiety* of the mental energy belonging to the instincts, this being a new possible vicissitude undergone by an instinct.

We recall the fact that the motive and purpose of repression was simply the avoidance of 'pain'. It follows that the fate of the charge of affect belonging to the presentation is far more important than that of the ideational content of it and is decisive for the opinion we form of the process of repression. If a repression does not succeed in preventing feelings of 'pain' or anxiety from arising, we may say that it has failed, even though it may have achieved its aim as far as the ideational element is concerned. Naturally the case of unsuccessful repression will have more claim on our interest than that of repression which is eventually successful; the latter will, for the most part, elude our study.

We now wish to gain some insight into the mechanism of the process of repression, and especially we want to know whether it has a single mechanism only or more than one and whether perhaps each of the psychoneuroses may be distinguished by a characteristic repression-mechanism peculiar to itself. At the outset of this inquiry, however, we encounter complications. The mechanism of a repression becomes accessible to us only when we deduce it from its final results. If we confine our observations to the results of its effect on the ideational part of the instinct-presentation, we discover that as a rule repression creates a *substitute-formation*. What, then, is the mechanism of such a substitute-formation, or must we distinguish several mechanisms here also? Further, we know that repression leaves symptoms in its train. May we then regard substitute-formation and symptom-formation as coincident processes and, if this is on the whole possible, does the mechanism of substitute-formation coincide with that of repression? So far as we know at present, it seems probable that the two are widely divergent, that it is not the repression itself which produces substitute-formations and symptoms, but that these latter constitute indications of a *return of the repressed* and owe their existence to quite other processes. It would also seem advisable to examine the mechanisms of substitute- and symptom-formation before those of repression.

Obviously there is no ground here for speculation to explore: on the contrary, the solution of the problem must be found by careful analysis of the results of repression observable in the individual neuroses. I must, however, suggest that we should postpone this task, too, until we have formed reliable conceptions of the relation of consciousness to the unconscious. Only in order that the present discussion may not be quite unfruitful, I will anticipate by saying (1) that the mechanism of repression does not in fact coincide with the mechanism or mechanisms of substitute-formation, (2) that there are many different mechanisms of substitute-formation, and (3) that the different mechanisms of repression have at least this one thing in common: a withdrawal of energic cathexis (or of libido, if it is a question of sexual instincts).

Further, confining myself to the three best known forms of psychoneurosis, I will show

[1] This metaphor, applicable to the process of repression, may also be extended to include one of the characteristics of repression mentioned earlier. I need only add that I have to place a sentinel to keep constant guard over the door which I have forbidden this guest to pass, lest he should burst it open (see above).

by means of some examples how the conceptions here introduced find application to the study of repression From *anxiety hysteria* I will choose an instance which has been subjected to thorough analysis—that of an animal phobia The instinctual impulse subjected to repression here is a libidinal attitude towards the father coupled with dread of him After repression this impulse vanishes out of consciousness the father does not appear in consciousness as an object for the libido As a substitute for him we find in a corresponding situation some animal which is more or less suited to be an object of dread The substitute formation of the ideational element has established itself by way of a displacement along the line of a series of associated ideas which is determined in some particular way The quantitative element has not vanished but has been transformed into anxiety The result is a fear of a wolf instead of a claim for love from the father Of course the categories here employed are not enough to supply a complete explanation even of the simplest case of psychoneurosis there are always other points of view to be taken into account

Such a repression as that which takes place in an animal phobia must be described as radically unsuccessful All that it has done is to remove the idea and set another in its place it has not succeeded at all in its aim of avoiding pain On this account too the work of the neurosis far from ceasing proceeds into a *second movement* so to speak which is designed to attain its immediate and more important aim There follows an attempt at flight the formation of the *phobia proper*—a number of things have to be *avoided* in order to prevent an outbreak of anxiety A more particular investigation would enable us to understand the mechanism by which the phobia achieves its aim

We are led to quite another view of the process of repression when we consider the picture of a true *conversion hysteria* Here the salient point is that it is possible to bring about a total disappearance of the charge of affect The patient then displays towards his symptoms what Charcot called *la belle indifférence des hystériques* At other times this suppression is not so completely successful a part of the sensation of distress attaches to the symptoms themselves or it has proved impossible entirely to prevent outbreaks of anxiety and this in its turn sets the mechanism of phobia formation working The ideational content of the instinct presentation is completely withdrawn from consciousness as a substitute-formation—and concurrently as a symptom—we have an excessive innervation (in typical cases, a somatic innervation) sometimes of a sensory sometimes of a motor character either as an excitation or as an inhibition The area of over innervation proves on closer observation to belong to the repressed instinct presentation itself and as if by a process of *condensation*, to have absorbed the whole cathexis Of course, these remarks do not cover the whole mechanism of a conversion hysteria the element of *regression* especially which will be appraised in another connection has to be taken into account

In so far as it is rendered possible only by means of extensive substitute formations the repression which takes place in hysteria may be pronounced entirely unsuccessful with reference to mastering the charge of affect however which is the real task of repression it generally betokens a complete success Again in conversion hysteria the process of repression terminates with the formation of the symptom and does not as in anxiety hysteria need to proceed to a *second movement*—or strictly speaking an unlimited number of *movements*

A totally different aspect of repression is shown in the third affection to which we are referring for purposes of this comparison in the *obsessional neurosis* Here we are at first in doubt what it is that we have to regard as the repressed instinct presentation—a libidinal or a hostile trend This uncertainty arises because the obsessional neurosis rests on the premise of a regression by means of which a sadistic trend has been substituted for a tender one It is this hostile impulse against a loved person which has undergone repression The effect at an early phase of the work of repression is quite different from that produced later At first the repression is completely successful the ideational content is rejected and the affect made to disappear As a substitute formation there arises an alteration in the ego an increased sensitiveness of conscience which can hardly be called a symptom Substitute and symptom formation do not coincide here Here too we learn something about the mechanism of repression Repression as it invariably does has brought about a withdrawal of libido but for this purpose it has made use of a *reaction-formation* by intensifying an antithesis So here the substitute formation has the same mechanism as the repression and at bottom

coincides with it while yet chronologically as well as in its content it is distinct from the symptom-formation. It is very probable that the whole process is made possible by the ambivalent relation into which the sadistic impulse destined for repression has been introduced.

But the repression at first successful does not hold; in the further course of things its failure becomes increasingly obvious. The ambivalence which has allowed repression to come into being by means of reaction-formation also constitutes the point at which the repressed succeeds in breaking through again. The vanished affect is transformed, without any diminution, into dread of the community, pangs of conscience, or self-reproaches; the rejected idea is replaced by a *displacement-substitute*, often by displacement on to something utterly trivial or indifferent. For the most part there is an unmistakable tendency to complete re-establishment of the repressed idea. Failure in repression of the quantitative factor brings into play by means of various taboos and prohibitions the same mechanism of flight as we have seen at work in the formation of hysterical phobias. The rejection of the idea from consciousness is however obstinately maintained, because it ensures abstention from action, preclusion of the motor expression of an impulse. So the final form of the work of repression in the obsessional neurosis is a sterile and never-ending struggle.

The short series of comparisons which have been presented here may easily convince us that more comprehensive investigations are necessary before we can hope to understand thoroughly the processes connected with repression and the formation of neurotic symptoms. The extraordinary intricacy of all the factors to be taken into consideration leaves us only one way open by which to present them. We must select first one and then another point of view, [illegible]

fail to be obscurities where we touch upon material not previously dealt with, but we may hope that the final synthesis of them all will lead to a good understanding of the subject.

The Unconscious[1]

PSYCHO ANALYSIS has taught us that the essence of the process of repression lies not in abrogating or annihilating the ideational presentation of an instinct but in withholding it from becoming conscious We then say of the idea that it is in a state of *unconsciousness* of being not apprehended by the conscious mind and we can produce convincing proofs to show that unconsciously it can also produce effects even of a kind that finally penetrate to consciousness Everything that is repressed must remain unconscious but at the very outset let us state that the repressed does not comprise the whole unconscious The unconscious has the greater compass the repressed is a part of the unconscious

How are we to arrive at a knowledge of the unconscious? It is of course only as something conscious that we know anything of it after it has undergone transformation or translation into something conscious The possibility of such translation is a matter of everyday experience in psycho analytic work In order to achieve this it is necessary that the person analysed should overcome certain resistances the very same as those which at some earlier time placed the material in question under repression by rejecting it from consciousness

I *Justification for the Conception of the Unconscious*

In many quarters our justification is disputed for assuming the existence of an unconscious system in the mind and for employing such an assumption for purposes of scientific work To this we can reply that our assumption of the existence of the unconscious is *necessary* and *legitimate* and that we possess manifold *proofs* of the existence of the unconscious It is necessary because the data of consciousness are exceedingly defective both in healthy and in sick persons mental acts are often in process which can be explained only by presupposing other acts of which consciousness yields no evidence These include not only the parapraxes and dreams of healthy persons and everything designated a *mental symptom* or an *obsession* in the sick our most intimate daily experience introduces us to sudden ideas of the source of which we are ignorant and to results of mentation arrived at we know not how All these conscious acts remain disconnected and unintelligible if we are determined to hold fast to the claim that every single mental act performed within us must be consciously experienced on the other hand they fall into a demonstrable connection if we interpolate the unconscious acts that we infer A gain in meaning and connection however is a perfectly justifiable motive one which may well carry us beyond the limitations of direct experience When after this it appears that the assumption of the unconscious helps us to construct a highly successful practical method by which we are enabled to exert a useful influence upon the course of conscious processes this success will have won us an incontrovertible proof of the existence of that which we assumed We become obliged then to take up the position that it is both untenable and presumptuous to claim that whatever goes on in the mind must be known to consciousness

We can go further and in support of an unconscious mental state allege that only a small content is embraced by consciousness at any given moment so that the greater part of what we call *conscious knowledge* must in any case exist for very considerable periods of time in a condition of latency that is to say of unconsciousness of not being apprehended by the mind When all our latent memories are taken into consideration it becomes totally incomprehensible how the existence of the unconscious can be gainsaid We then encounter the objection that these latent recollections can no longer be described as *mental processes* but that they correspond to residues of somatic processes from which something mental can once more proceed The obvious answer to this should be that a latent memory is on the contrary indubitably a residuum of a mental process But it is more important to make clear to our own minds that this objection is based on the identification—not it is true explicitly stated but regarded as axiomatic—of conscious and mental This identification is either a *petitio*

[1] *C ll ct d P p* IV first p bl hed *Z i h ft* t l III (9 5) ep t d *S mml g* 4th S E g l ps f th t gu m l y g l bj ts t —TR

assumption and begs the question whether all that is mental is also necessarily conscious or else it is a matter of convention, of nomenclature. In this latter case it is of course no more open to refutation than any other convention. The only question that remains is whether it proves so useful that we must needs adopt it. To this we may reply that the conventional identification of the mental with the conscious is thoroughly unpractical. It breaks up all mental continuity, plunges us into the insoluble difficulties of psychophysical parallelism, is open to the reproach that without any manifest grounds it overestimates the part played by consciousness, and finally it forces us prematurely to retire from the territory of psychological research without being able to offer us any compensation elsewhere.

At any rate it is clear that the question—whether the latent states of mental life, whose existence is undeniable, are to be conceived of as unconscious mental states or as physical ones—threatens to resolve itself into a war of words. We shall, therefore be better advised to give prominence to what we know with certainty of the nature of these debatable states. Now as far as their physical characteristics are concerned, they are totally inaccessible to us: no physiological conception nor chemical process can give us any notion of their nature. On the other hand, we know for certain that they have abundant points of contact with conscious mental processes; on being submitted to a certain method of operation they may be transformed into or replaced by conscious processes and all the categories which we employ to describe conscious mental acts, such as ideas, purposes, resolutions, and so forth, can be applied to them. Indeed, of many of these latent states we have to assert that the only point in which they differ from states which are conscious is just in the lack of consciousness of them. So we shall not hesitate to treat them as objects of psychological research, and that in the most intimate connection with conscious mental acts.

The stubborn denial of a mental quality to latent mental processes may be accounted for by the circumstance that most of the phenomena in question have not been objects of study outside psycho-analysis. Anyone who is ignorant of the facts of pathology, who regards the blunders of normal persons as accidental, and who is content with the old saw that dreams are froth need only ignore a few more problems of the psychology of consciousness in order to dispense with the assumption of an unconscious mental activity. As it happens, hypnotic experiments, and especially post-hypnotic suggestion, had demonstrated tangibly even before the time of psycho-analysis the existence and mode of operation of the unconscious in the mind.

The assumption of an unconscious is, moreover, in a further respect a perfectly *legitimate* one, inasmuch as in postulating it we do not depart a single step from our customary and accepted mode of thinking. By the medium of consciousness each one of us becomes aware only of his own states of mind; that another man possesses consciousness is a conclusion drawn by analogy from the utterances and actions we perceive him to make, and it is drawn in order that this behaviour of his may become intelligible to us. (It would probably be psychologically more correct to put it thus: that without any special reflection we impute to everyone else our own constitution and therefore also our consciousness, and that this identification is a necessary condition of understanding in us.) This conclusion—or identification—was formerly extended by the ego to other human beings, to animals, plants, inanimate matter and to the world at large, and proved useful as long as the correspondence with the individual ego was overwhelmingly great; but it became more untrustworthy in proportion as the gulf between the ego and the non-ego widened. Today our judgement is already in doubt on the question of consciousness in animals; we refuse to admit it in plants, and we relegate to mysticism the assumption of its existence in inanimate matter. But even where the original tendency to identification has withstood criticism—that is, when the non-ego is our fellow-man—the assumption of a consciousness in him rests upon an inference and cannot share the direct certainty we have of our own consciousness.

Now psycho-analysis demands nothing more than that we should apply this method of inference to ourselves also—a proceeding to which, it is true, we are not constitutionally disposed. If we do this, we must say that all the acts and manifestations which I notice in *myself* and do not know how to link up with the rest of my mental life must be judged as if they belonged to someone else and are to be explained by the mental life ascribed to that person. Further, experience shows that we understand very well how to interpret in others (i.e., how to fit into their mental context) those

same acts which we refuse to acknowledge as mentally conditioned in ourselves Some special hindrance evidently deflects our investigations from ourselves and interferes with our obtaining true knowledge of our elves

Now this method of inference applied to oneself in spite of inner opposition does not lead to the discovery of an unconscious but leads logically to the assumption of another second consciousness which is united in my elf with the consciousness I know But at this point criticism may fairly make certain comments In the first place a consciousness of which its own possessor knows nothing is something very different from that of another person and it is questionable whether such a consciousness lacking as it does its most important characteristic is worthy of any further discussion at all Those who have contested the assumption of an unconscious system in the mind will not be content to accept in its place an unconscious consciousness Secondly analysis shows that the individual latent mental proces es inferred by us enjoy a high degree of independence as though each had no connection with another and knew nothing about any other We must be prepared it would appear to assume the existence not only of a second consciousness in us but of a third and fourth also perhaps of an infinite series of states of consciousness each and all unknown to us and to one another In the third place—and this is the most weighty argument of all—we have to take into account that analytic investigation reveals some of these latent processes as having characteristics and peculiarities which seem alien to us or even incredible and running directly counter to the well known attributes of consciousness This justifies us in modifying our inference about ourselves and saying that what is proved is not a second consciousness in us but the existence of certain mental operations lacking in the quality of consciousness We shall also moreover be right

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o t v ew They may most accurately be described as cases of a splitting of the mental activities into two groups whereby a single consciousness takes up its position alternately with either the one or the other of these groups [illegible] ainst

In psycho analysis there is no choice for us but to declare mental processes to be in themselves unconscious and to compare the perception of them by consciousness with the perception of the outside world through the sense organs we even hope to extract some fresh knowled e from the comparison The psycho analytic assumption of unconscious mental activity appears to us on the one hand a further development of that primitive animism which caused our own consciousness to be reflected in all around us and on the other hand it seems to be an extension of the corrections begun by Kant in regard to our views on external perception Just as Kant warned us not to overlook the fact that our perception is subjectively conditioned and must not be regarded as identical with the phenomena perceived but never really discerned so psycho-analysis bids us not to set conscious perception in the place of the unconscious mental process which is its object The mental like the physical is not necessarily in reality just what it appears to us to be It is however satisfactory to find that the correction of inner perception does not present difficulties so great as that of outer perception—that the inner object is less hard to discern truly than is the outside world

II Different Significance of the Term Unconscious *the Topographical Aspect*

Before going any further let us note the important thou h inconvenient fact that unconsciousness is only one attribute of the mental and by no means suffices to describe its character There are mental acts of very varying values which yet have in common the character istic of being unconscious The unconscious comprises on the one hand processes which are merely latent temporarily unconscious but which differ in no other respect from conscious ones and on the other hand proces es such as those which have undergone repression which if they came into consciousness must stand out in the crudest contrast to the rest of the conscious mind It would put an end to all misunderstandings if from now on in describing the various kinds of mental acts we were to pay no attention to whether they were conscious or unconscious but when classifying and correlating them inquired only to which instincts and aims they were related how they were composed and to which of the systems in the mind that are superimposed one upon another they belonged This however is for various reasons impracticable and it follows that we cannot escape the imputation of ambiguity in that we use the words *conscious* and *unconscious* sometimes in a descriptive and sometimes in a systematic sense in which latter they

ig fy inclus.on in ome part cular system and posse on of certai characterist cs We might still attempt to a d o fus o by empl yi for the recognized mental s s em certai a b trarily chosen name which have no reference t consciousness. Only we s.o ld firs ha e to justify the princip es o which we d su h the systems and we ould not be able to gn re the question of consciou es see g that t forms the po nt f departure for all our in vestigations. P haps we may look for some a *sistance from th* proposal to employ t any rs in writing the abbrevia n *Cs* for co sciousness and the *Uc* for the unconscious when we are using the tw words in the systemat c sense

T deal with the po t ve a pects, we now a.sert n the findings of psycho-analysis that a mental act commonly goes throu.h tw phases between which is interposed kind f testin process (censorship) In the first pha.e the mental act is un n.cious and bel ngs to the sy tem *Ucs* if upo the scrutin of the censor hip t is rej cted t is not allowed to pas into the second phase t is then sa d t be *pres ed* and must remain unconsciou If however it pa ses this crutin it enters upon the second phase and th cef rth belongs t th econd syst m which we will call the C But the f ct that t belo s does not unequ vocally d t rmine ts relati to con.cio snes It s ot yet conscious b t t ert nly *capabl f ent ri g consci us ess* a c rding to J Breuer s xpres on that is t can ow with t special resi tan and given ertain o dit on be me the object of consci u es I id ration of this capacity t become con c o s w al.o call the sy tem C the *pr onsci us* If t hould turn t that rtain censorship also determine whether th p ec .sci us be mes nscious we hall d scrimina e m re harply between th syst ms *P* d C For the present l t t suffi us t bea in m d that th sy em *Pcs* hares the characterist cs f th *C and that th* rigo us ens rship exercises its offi t th point of trans tio f m the *U* t th *Pc* (C)

B cepting the ex tence f these (two o three) mental systems psycho-analysis has d parted tep f rther from the descripti e psy h l y f co ciousness and has taken t it self ew problem d new c tent Up till w t diff red f m academi (des ripti e) psych l y m nly by reaso of ts dynamic n ept on f m ntal processes w we ha e t a.d th t p f es t d ment l

topography also a d to d cate in respect of an gi en mental operat n w th. what sys em r bet ee what systems it runs i s c rse This a t mpt too has won it the name of *depth psychology* We hall be r tha i ma be further amp ed by yet ano her aspect of the subject

If we wish to treat seriou.l the no on of a topograph of mental acts we must direct our int rest to a oubt wh ch arises at th.s po t When ment l act (let us co fi e o rsel es here to an act of ideat on) is tran.ferred from the system *Ucs* i. to the s em *Cs* (or *Pcs*) are we to suppose that th.s tra. pos on in vol es a fresh reg tration comparable to a second record of the idea i qr tion s ua ed, moreover in a fresh local t i the mind and s d by s de wi h w.uch the original uncon c ous rec rd con nues to ex ? Or are w rather to bel eve that the transf rm on con ts in a cha ge in the stat of the dea in o g t e same m terial and occurrin. in the same lo.al ity This quest o may appear abstruse but it mu t be put f w wi h to f m a more defi e concept of mental topogra h of the depth dimen. on i the m d It i a d.ffic.t one be cause it goes beyond pure psych ogy nd touches on the relat on of th mental appara t to anat my We know that a rough c rre l tion of th s rt exist Research has a rded rr futabl proof that ment l acti ty is bound p w th the function of the bra n as with that of no ther organ. The discovery of the unequal mport ce f the ifferent parts of the bra d the di dual rela t part cular parts of the body and to llectual act ties t kes us s ep f rther—we do not kn w h w b a tep But e ery a tempt to deduc from these f t a local zation of m ntal processes every endea ou to think of ideas as st red up i. rve-cells a d f e c tations as pa i. alon erve fibre ha c mpletel mi.carried. The sam f te wo ld wait doctri wh ch at tempted to omize let us say the anat m cal po n of th system *Cs*—co cious men l ti ty— the cortex and t localize t.e un-

para us irrespecti e of the pos.ib e tua on in the body

I this espect, then o w k is untram

melled and may proceed according to its own requirements It will moreover be useful for us to remind ourselves that our hypotheses can in the first instance lay claim only to the value of illustrations The former of the two possibilities which we considered—namely that the conscious phase of an idea implies a fresh record of it which must be localized elsewhere—is doubtless the cruder but also the more convenient The second assumption—that of a merely functional change of state—is *a priori* more probable but it is less plastic less easy to handle With the first or topographical assumption is bound up that of a topographical separation of the systems *Cs* and *Ucs* and also the possibility that an idea may exist simultaneously in two parts of the mental apparatus—indeed that if it is not inhibited by the censorship it regularly advances from the one position to the other possibly without its first location or record being abandoned This may seem odd but it can be supported by observations from psycho analytic practise

If we communicate to a patient some idea which he has at one time repressed but which we have discovered in him our telling him makes at first no change in his mental condition Above all it does not remove the repression nor undo its effects as might perhaps be expected from the fact that the previously unconscious idea has now become conscious On the contrary all that we shall achieve at first will be a fresh rejection of the r[illegible]

[illegible] apparatus first he has the conscious memory of the auditory impression of the idea conveyed in what we told him and secondly and side by side with this he has—as we know for certain—the unconscious memory of his actual experience existing in him in its earlier form Now in reality there is no lifting of the repression until the conscious idea after overcoming the resistances has united with the unconscious memory trace Only through bringing the latter itself into consciousness is the effect achieved On superficial consideration this would seem to show that conscio[illegible]

[illegible] of the information given to the patient with his own repressed memory is only apparent To have listened to something and to have experienced something are psychologically two different things even though the content of each be the same.

So for the moment we are not able to decide between the two possibilities that we have discussed Perhaps later on we shall come upon certain factors which may turn the balance in favour of one or the other Perhaps we shall discover that our question as we formulated it was not sufficiently comprehensive and that the difference between a conscious and an unconscience idea has to be defined quite otherwise

III *Unconscious Emotions*

We limited the foregoing discussion to ideas and may now raise a new question the answer to which must contribute to the elucidation of our theoretical position We said that there were conscious and unconscious ideas but are there also unconscious instinctual impulses emotions and feelings or are such constructions in this instance devoid of any meaning?

I am indeed of opinion that the antithesis of conscious and unconscious does not hold for instincts An instinct can never be an object of consciousness—only the idea that represents the instinct Even in the unconscious moreover it can only be represented by the idea If the instinct did not attach itself to an idea or manifest itself as an affective state we could know nothing about it Though we do speak of an unconscious or a repressed instinctual impulse this is a looseness of phraseology which is quite harmless We can only mean an instinctual impulse the ideational presentation of which is unconscious for nothing else comes into consideration

We should expect the answer to the question about unconscious feelings emotions and affects to be just as easily given It is surely of the essence of an emotion that we should feel it i e that it should enter consciousness So for emotions feelings and affects to be unconscious would be quite out of the question B[illegible] in psycho analytic practise we are accustomed to speak of unconscious love hate anger etc and find it impossible to avoid even the strange conjunction *unconscious consciousness of guilt* or a paradoxical *unconscious anxiety* Is there more meaning in the use of these terms than there is in speaking of *unconscious instinct[illegible]*

The two cases are really not on all fours To begin with it may happen that an affect or an emotion is perceived but misconstrued By the repression of its proper presentation it is forced to become connected with another idea and is now interpreted by consciousness as the ex[illegible]

pres ion of this other idea. If we re tore the true connection we call the or ginal affect *un-conscious* although the affect was ne er u con conscious but its ideational p e entat on had under repre on In any e ent the use of h terms as *unconscio s affect and emotion* c nse e factor that an t v cis part as tati ely it s or it is tran f rmeu differe t charge of ffect abo e all into anxi y or t s suppressed i.e its development hind ed altogether (These poss bilities may erhaps be stud d even more easily in the neu chnique of the dream work than in the neu se) We know too that to uppress the development f affect is th true aim of repres on and that its wo k does not terminate if th aim is not achieved In every instance wh re repress on has succeeded in inhibit ng the development f an affect we apply the term *u conscious* t those aff cts that are restored when w undo the wo k of rep es n. So it cann t be den ed that th u e f the terms in q e t o is logical b t a comparison of the un cons us affe t w th the unc cious dea re veals the s gnificant diff rence that the unco

strictly speaki g with the mode f exp ession in question there re o unco scious aff ts in th sense in which th re are unc nsci us deas. But there may very well be n th system *Ucs* affect form t o s which, l k thers om int onsciousness. The wh l differe e arises f m the f ct that deas ar cathexes—ultimately f mem ry tra es—whil t aff ts and motio correspo d

It is f special interest t us to have estab l hed the f ct that repre ca su eed in inhib tin the tran format f nstin tual imp lse int aff ctiv xp ess Thi show us that the sy tem *Cs* n rmally c t ls ffectiv ty as well a ess t m t lity d thi en han es the mportance of rep o sin e t sh ws us that th latte i respons bl n t

merely when something is withheld from con sc ousness but also when affect ve development and the inaugurat on of mu cular acti y is prevented Con ersely too we may say that as long as the system *Cs* co trols activ ty and mot lity the mental cond t on of the person in question may be called *ormal* Nevertheless there is an unmistakable difference in the re-lation of the co trolling system to the two allied processes of discharge Wherea the control of the system *Cs* over vol ntary mo il ity is firmly rooted regularly w th tands the on laught of neurosis a d o ly breaks down in psychos s the control of the *Cs* over affecti e development is less firmly es abl hed. E en in normal l fe we can recogn e that a constant struggle for primacy over a ectivity goes on between the two systems *Cs* and *Pcs* that cer tain pheres of influence are marked off o e from an ther and that the forces at work tend to mingle

The importance of the system *Cs (Pcs)* for the a enues of affective and mot r d scharge enables us to understand also the r e which falls to subst tutive ideas in determ ing the form of a d ease It is possible for affective proceed d rectly from the sys-

has to wai

dea in the system *Cs* Affective development can then proceed from this conscious substi tute the nature of which d term nes the quali tative characte of the affect. We ha e asserted that und r repression a severance takes place between the aff ct and the idea to wh ch it bel ngs and that e ch then f lfils ts separate de tiny For purposes of description this i in cont o ertible in actual ty however the aff ct does not as a rule arise u til it has s cceeded in penetrat n int the *Cs* in attachment to ome ew s bst tut e idea

IV *T pography and Dynam cs of Repression*

So far we ha e gathered f m o r di cus o that repressio s essentially a process affect ing deas n the bord between the systems *Ucs* and *Pc (Cs)* and we ca now make a fresh attempt to descr be thi process m re m tely It must be a matter of withdrawal of cathexis but the question is in what sy tem

Cf the precedi pape on *R pr io* p 4

Affec ity m ifests itself esse tially i m t (i secre ry d circul ry) d scharge esul i i (in rn l) ltera ion f the bjec body th f renc h ou ld m l y i ct ns des gned to ffec changes in the out w rld

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The two cases are really not on all fours To begin with it may happen that an affect or an emotion is perceived but misconstrued By the repression of its proper presentation it is forced to become connected with another idea and is now interpreted by consciousness as the ex

at which the anxiety-affect which is now all the more uncontrollable may break out and be discharged. Clinical observation shows, for instance, that when a child suffers from an animal-phobia he experiences anxiety under two kinds of conditions: in the first place when the repressed love-impulse becomes intensified, and, in the second, when the child perceives the animal it is afraid of. The substitutive idea acts in the one instance as a conductor from the system *Ucs* to the system *Cs*; in the other instance, as an independent source for the release of anxiety. The extending control on the part of the system *Cs* usually manifests itself by a tendency for the substitutive idea to be aroused more easily as time goes on in the second rather than the first way. Perhaps the child ends by behaving as though he had no liking at all for his father but had become quite free from him, and as though the fear of the animal were the real fear. Only that this fear of the animal, fed as such fear is from the sources of unconscious instinct, proves obdurate and extravagant in the face of all influences brought to bear from the system *Cs*, and thereby betrays its origin in the system *Ucs*.

In the second phase of anxiety hysteria, therefore, the anti-cathexis from the system *Cs* has led to substitute-formation. Soon the same mechanism is applied in a fresh direction. The process of repression, as we know, is not yet terminated, and finds a further aim in the task of inhibiting the outbreak of anxiety started by the substitute. This happens in the following manner: all the associations in the neighbourhood of the substitutive idea become endowed with a peculiar intensity of cathexis, so that they may display a high degree of sensibility to excitation. Excitation at any point of this protective structure must, on account of its connection with the substitutive idea, give rise to a slight degree of development of anxiety which is then used as a signal to inhibit, by means of a fresh flight on the part of the cathexis, any further development of anxiety. The further the sensitive and vigilant anti-cathexis becomes extended round the substitute which is feared, the more exactly can the mechanism function which is designed to isolate the substitutive idea and to protect it from fresh excitation. Naturally these precautions guard only against excitations approaching the substitutive idea from without through perception, never against instinctual excitation which encounters the substitutive idea from the direction of its connection with the repressed idea. So they begin to operate only when the substitute has successfully taken over representation of what has been repressed, and they can never operate with complete security. With each increase of instinctual excitation the protecting rampart round the substitutive idea must be shifted a little further outwards. The whole construction, which is produced in an analogous fashion in the other neuroses, is termed a *phobia*. The avoidances, renunciations, and prohibitions by which we recognize anxiety-hysteria are the manifestations of flight from conscious cathexis of the substitutive idea. Surveying the whole process we may say that the third phase has repeated and amplified the work of the second. The system *Cs* now protects itself by an anti-cathexis of its surrounding associations against the activation of the substitutive idea, just as previously the system secured itself by cathexis of the substitutive idea against the emergence of the repressed idea. Substitute-formation by the way of displacement has thus proceeded in its course. We may also add the system *C*

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but ... the whole protective structure of the phobia corresponds to a salient of unconscious ... of this kind. Further we may lay stress on the interesting point of view that by the whole defence mechanism thus set in action a projection outwards of the menace from the instinct has been achieved. The ego behaves as if the danger of an outbreak of anxiety threatened it not from the direction of an instinct but from the direction of perception; this enables the ego to react against this external danger with the attempts at flight consisting of the avoidances characteristic of a phobia. In this process repression succeeds in one particular: the discharge of anxiety may be to some extent dammed up, but only at a heavy sacrifice of personal freedom. Attempts at flight from the claims of instinct are, however, in general useless, and the result of the flight by means of phobia remains still unsatisfactory.

A great deal of what we have recognized as true of anxiety hysteria holds good for the two other neuroses also, so that we can confine our discussion to the points of difference and the part played by the anti-cathexis. In conversion hysteria the instinctual cathexis of the repressed idea is transformed into the innervation necessary for the symptom. How far and in what circumstances the unconscious idea discharges

does the withdrawal take place and to which system does the cathexis withdrawn belong?

In the *Ucs* the repressed idea remains capable of action and must therefore have retained its cathexis So it must be something else which has been withdrawn Let us take the case of repression proper *(after expulsion)* as it affects an idea which is preconscious or even has already entered consciousness Repression can consist here only in the withdrawal from the idea of the (pre)conscious cathexis which belongs to the system *Pcs* The idea then remains without cathexis or receives cathexis from the *Ucs* or retains the unconscious cathexis which it previously had We have therefore withdrawal of the preconscious retention of the unconscious or substitution of an unconscious for a preconscious cathexis We notice moreover that we have unintentionally as it were based these reflections upon the assumption that the transition from the system *Ucs* to the system nearest to it is not effected through the making of a new record but through a change in its state an alteration in its cathexis The functional hypothesis has here easily routed the topographical

But this process of withdrawal of libido does not suffice to make comprehensible to us another characteristic of repression It is not clear why the idea which has retained its cathexis or has received cathexis from the *Ucs* should not in virtue of its cathexis renew the attempt to penetrate into the system *Pcs* The withdrawal of libido would then have to be repeated and the same performance would recur interminably but the result would not be repression In the same way the mechanism just discussed of withdrawal of preconscious cathexis would fail to explain the process of primal repression for here we have to consider an unconscious idea which as yet has received no cathexis from the *Pcs* and therefore cannot be deprived of it

What we are looking for therefore is another process which maintains the repression in the first case and in the second ensures its being established and continued and this other process we can only find in the assumption of an *anti cathexis* by means of which the system *Pcs* guards itself against the intrusion of the unconscious idea We shall see from clinical examples how such an anti cathexis established in the system *Pcs* manifests itself This it is which represents the continuous effort demanded by a primal repression but also guarantees its persistence The anti cathexis is the sole mechanism of primal repression in the case of repression proper (*after-expulsion*) there is in addition withdrawal of the preconscious cathexis It is quite possible that th cathexis withdrawn from the idea is the very one used for anti cathexis

We see how we have gradually been l[illegible]

[illegible] *economic* standpoint one from which we try to follow out th fate of given volumes of excitation and to achieve at least relatively some assessment of it It will be only right to give a special na e to the way of regarding thin s which is the final result of psycho analytic research. I propose that when we succeed in describ[illegible] a mental process [illegible] graph[illegible] *psych*[illegible] forehand that in the present state of our knowledge we shall succeed in this only a isolated points

Let us make a tentative effort to give a metapsychological description of the process of repression in the three transference neuroses which are familiar to us Here we may substitute for the term *cathexis* that of *libido* because as we know in this case it is the fa[illegible] of sexual impulses with which we are dealin[illegible]

In anxiety hysteria a preliminary phase of the process is frequently overlooked perhaps indeed is really omitted on careful observation however it can be clearly discerned It consists in anxiety appearin without the subject knowing what he is afraid of We must suppose tha there was present in the *Ucs* some love impulse which demanded to be translated into th system *Pcs* the preconscious cathexis however recoiled from it in the manner of an atte[illegible] at flight and the unconscious libidinal cathexis of the rejected idea was discharged in the form of anxiety Then at some repetition of th process a first step was taken in the direction of mastering this distressin development of anxiety The fugitive cathexis attached itself to a substitutive idea which on the one hand was connected by association with the rejected idea and on the other escaped repression by reason of its remoteness from that idea (displacement substitute) and which permitted of a rationali zation of the still uncontrollable outbreak o anxiety The substitutive idea now plays the part of an anti cathexis for the system *Cs (Pcs)* by securing that system against an emergence into consciousness of the repressed idea on the other hand it is or acts as if it were the po–

at which the anxiety-affect which is now all the more unc trollable may br ak out a d be discharged Clin cal observat on hows for in stan that wh n child suff rs from a a mal phobia he experiences anx t under two kinds f conditi n in the first place when the repressed lov mpulse bec me intensified and in the sec nd when the ch ld perceives the anim l t is afra d of The subst tut ve dea acts in the o e in tan e as a c nductor f om the sy tem *Ucs* t the system *Cs* in th other in stance as an indepe dent source fo the release f nxiety Th e t nd ng contr l o the part of the system *Cs* usually ma f ts itself by a t nd cy for the subst tutive idea to be roused mo easily s tim goes o in the seco d rather than the first way Perh ps the child ends by beha ng as though he had no l'ki g at all for his fathe but had become qu te free from h m and s tho gh the fear of the an mal were the real fe r Only that this fea of the an mal fed as such a fea s from the springs of consc us in t nct pro es bdurate and extra aga t in the f ce of all infl ences brought to bea from the system *Cs* and the by betrays its origin in the system *Ucs*

I th second phase of anxi ty hysteria th re fore th anti-cath xis f m the system *Cs* has led t sub titut f rmat n. Soo the same mechanism is pplied in fre h directi n. The process f repres as w know is ot yet term ted and fi d a f rth aim in the task of inhib ting the o tbre k of anxiety started by

So they begin to operate only when the sub ti tute has successfully taken over representation of what has been repressed and they can never operate w th compl te security With each in crease of i sti ctual e c t o the p tecting rampart ro nd the subs tuti idea must be shifted a l ttle further outwards. The whole construct on which is produced in analogous fash n in the o her neuroses is termed a *pho bia*. The a o da ces renunci tions an l prohi b ons by which we recogn ze a xiety hys ria are the manifestations of fl ght from consc ous cathexis f the substituti e idea Surveyi g the whol process w may say that the th rd phase has repeated and ampl fied the work of the sec nd The system *Cs* now protects itself by ons lea by

cathexis of the subst tuti e idea ag t the em rgence f the repressed idea S bstitute of d placement has thus

f

unconsc ous i uence of th s k nd Further we may lay stres o the int restin point of view that by the whol d fence mecha i m thu set in act a proj cti n outwards of the menace from the i tinct has been achieved The ego behaves a if the danger of an utbreak of anxiety threatened it not f om the direct on of a nstinct but from the direction of pe cep- t this

t e ct ti n. E t tion t any point of thi pr t ct ve stru t re must on a t of its c nne ti w th th bstit t e idea gi e n t l ght d gree f de lopment f anxiety whi h then sed as sign l to inhib t by mean of f esh flight on th part f the c th xi any furth dev lopm t of nxi ty The furth th ti e d vi lant anti th xi be mes xtended round th substi t te whi h feared th more exa tly c the m hanism f tio which is de med t is late the subst t tive d a and t pr t ct it f m f h citat o N t rally th p ecauti gua d o ly gain t cit ti ns ppro hi the b tit t dea f m with t th gh pe cep- t ever ga nst instinctual e t t whi h en ou t rs th bstituti e dea f m the dire tion of ts conn ction with the rep essed idea

be t some xtent damm d up but only at a h vy sa rifice f personal freed m Attempts at fl ght f m th laims f n t ct re how ev in gen al useless d the result f the fl ght by mea s of phobia remains still un satisf ctory

A great deal of what we have recognized as true of anxiety hysteria holds good fo the two other eu s also so that w can confine r di uss on to the point f d ffere ce and the part pl yed by the anti-cathexis I c ers hysteria the inst ct l cath f the r p ess d d a s transformed into the in rv t on ne es sary fo the ymptom How far d in what ci cumstances the unco c s dea di harges

its cathexis through this outlet towards inner vation so that it can relinquish its pressure towards the system *Cs*—these and similar ques tions had better be reserved for a special in vesti ation of hysteria In conversion hysteria the part played by the anti cathexis proceeding from the system *Cs (Pcs)* is clear and becomes manifest in the symptom formation It is the anti cathexis that decides upon what part of the instinct presentation the whole cathexis may be concentrated The part thus selected to form a symptom fulfils the condition of expressing the aim of the instinctual impulse no less than the defensive or punishing endeavour of the system *Cs* so it achieves hyper cathexis and is maintained from both directions like the sub stitutive idea in anxiety hysteria From this circumstance we may conclude without much more ado that the degree of expenditure in re pression put forth by the system *Cs* need not be commensurate with the energic cathexis of the symptom for the strength of the repression is measured by the anti-cathexis put forth and the symptom is supported not only by this anti cathexis but also by the instinctual cathexis from the system *Ucs* which is interwoven with it

With reference to the obsessional neurosis we need only add to the observations brou ht forward in the preceding paper that here the anti cathexis of the system *Cs* comes most no ticeably into the foreground It is this that brings about the first repression in the shape of a reaction form [illegible]
at [illegible]
ma [illegible]
wo [illegible] repression seems far less successful in anxiety hysteria and in the obsessional neurosis than in conversion hysteria it is because the anti cathexis is so prominent and all outlet is lacking

V *Special Characteristics of the System* Ucs

The differentiation we have drawn between the two systems within the mind receives fresh significance when we observe that processes in the one system *Ucs* show characteristics which are not again met with in the system immedi ately above it

The kernel of the system *Ucs* consists of in stinct presentations whose aim is to discharge their cathexis that is to say they are wish impulses These instinctual impulses are co ordinate with one another exist independently side by side and are exempt from mutual con tradiction When two wishes whose aims must appear to us incompatible become simultane ously active the two impulses do not detract one from the other or cancel each other but combine to form an intermediate aim a com promise

There is in this system no negation no dubiety no varying degree of certainty all this is only imported by the work of the cen sorship which exists between the *Ucs* and the *Pcs* Negation is at a higher level a substitute for repression In the *Ucs* there are only con tents more or less strongly cathected

Intensity of cathexis is mobile in a far greater degree in this than in the other systems By the process of displacement one idea may sur render to another the whole volume of its cathexis by that of condensation it may ap propriate the whole cathexis of several oth ideas I have proposed to regard these two processes as distinguishing marks of the so called *primary process* in the mind In the sys tem *Pcs* the *secondary process* holds sway where a primary process is allowed to take its cour e in connection with elements belon g to the system *Pcs* it appears comic and excites laughter

The processes of the system *Ucs* are time less i e they are not ordered temporally are not altered by the passage of time in fact bear no relation to time at all The time relation also is bound up with the work of the system *Cs*

The processes of the *Ucs* are just as little related to reality They are subject to the pleasure principle their fate depends only upon the degree of their strength and upon their con formity to regulation by pleasure and pain

Let us sum up *exemption from mutual con t adiction p imary process* (motility of ca thexis) *timelessness* and *substitution of psy chic for external reality*—these are the charac teristics which we may expect to find in proc esses belonging to the system *Ucs*

Unconscious processes can only be observed by us under the conditions of dreaming and of neurosis that is to say when the processes of the higher system *Pcs* revert to an earlier level by a certain process of degradation (regres sion) Independently they are unrecognizable indeed cannot exist for the system *Ucs* is at a very early stage overlaid by the system *Pcs* which has captured the means of access to con

Cf Sect VII f *Th* [illegible] *Dr* [illegible] wh h b sed p d d l ped by J Breue in *St d* [illegible] [illegible] re g f d ff t te t th men ta f th tabl p d g f the ystem *Ucs*

sciousness and to motility The mea s of di charge for the sy tem *Ucs* is by me ns of ph sical innervat on leading to development of affect but even this outlet i as we have seen lf h

gani ed as refle es.

he ed e ius

would take us so f r afield that I propose tnat we h uld once m re *call* a halt and *not* under take the compari on of the two till we ca do so in c nn ction with our discuss on of the highe s t m o ly the most pressing points of all hall be mentioned at this stage

Th pr cesses of the system *Pcs* d play *no* matt r hether they e already conscious or only capabl of bec min, conscio s, an inhibi tio f th tendency of cathected deas towards di charge Whe pr ess moves over f om one dea t an th *the first retains a part of* ts cathexis and ly small part undergoes displ c m t D placeme t and condensat on after the mode f th primary process are e cluded or very m h re tricted. This ci cum tance caused B ue to assume the ex tence of tw diff re t tages f cathect c energy in mental life n t which that en rgy is to cally *bound* and th the in wh h t move freely d presses t wards d charge I think that this discrimination presents th deepest ins ght we ha e ga ed up to the p esent into the na ture of n rv us ene gy and I d ot see how we re to evade su h on l on A meta psy h l gi al pres tation most urgentl calls f further di cu sio t this poi t though per haps that would still be too daring an und r taking

Furth t devol es upo th system *Pc* to mak c mmunicati po sible between the dif f rent deatio al co tents o that they can in fl en e e othe t give them a relati to tim t set p the rsh p or censor hips and t establish the inst tut n of *te t g e al ty* and th reality-principle C nscious mem ry too seem to depe d wh lly o the *Pcs* and should be lea ly d tingui hed f m the mem ry-trace in which the xperien s of th *U s* bec me fixed t pr bably corresponds with th m king of a special re rd— conc pt on whi h we tried t empl y as explaining the relation of nscious to unconscious ideas but wh h we have already di carded. In this c n nect o also we shall find the means to put an end to our uncertainty regard ng the name m wh h at present we vague

what we have brou

apport oning the various mental act v t es to on or other of the two systems. We are de scribing the state of affairs as it appears in the adult human be ng in whom the system *Ucs* in the strict sense functions only as a stage preliminary to the h her organizat on The co tent and connections of this sys em as the individual develops, the s gnificance it possesses in the case of an mals—these are po nts on whi h no con lus on can be deduced from our descript on they must be investigated nde pendently M reover in the human being we *mu t be prepared to find poss bl pathological* conditi ns under which the two systems lter or even exchange both their content and their characterist cs.

VI C mmun cat on betwee the Two Systems

It would certainly be wrong to imagi e that the *Ucs* remains at rest while the wh le work of th m d is performed by the *Pcs* that th *Ucs* is som thing finished with a vest gial or gan a residuum from the process of evolution wrong also to a sume that communica on be tween the two systems is c nfined to the act of repression the *Pcs* casting everythi g wh ch dist rbs it into the abyss of the *Ucs* On the contrary the *Ucs* is l ving and capabl of d velopm nt and mainta ns a number of other rel t ons to the *Pcs* amongst them that of co-operat on T sum up we mu t say that the *Ucs* is co t ed into its so-called *derivatives* is ac cess ble to the infl ence of life perpetually acts upon the *Pcs* a d ev n is on its part capable of influen e by the latter system

St dy f the deri at es of the *U s* w ll altogethe disappo t ur expectatio s of a s h mat cally cle d vis on of the one mental system f m the other Th s circum ta ce will certai ly give rise t d sati faction with o r re ults and will probably be used to ca t doubts upo the alue of r way of d ti gu h g the two gr ups f ment l p oc sses Ou a swer is howeve that w ha e no other m but that f translati int theory the r lt f ob servat n, and w hall de y that th e is a y obl gati on us t ch e t our very first att mpt, a th ory that commends itself by its

simplicity in which all is plain sailing We defend its complexities so long as we find that they fit in with the results of observation and we do not abandon our expectation of being guided in the end by those very complexities to recognition of a state of affairs that is at once simple in itself and at the same time answers to all the complications of reality

Among st the derivatives of the unconscious instinctual impulses the character of which we have just described there are some which unite in themselves opposite features On the one hand they are highly organized exempt from self contradictoriness have made use of every acquisition of the system *Cs* and would hardly be distinguished by our ordinary judgment from the formations of that system On the other hand they are unconscious and are incapable of becoming conscious Thus they belong according to their qualities to the system *Pcs* but in actual fact to the *Ucs* Their origin remains decisive for the fate they will undergo We may compare them with those human half breeds who taken all round resemble white men but betray their coloured descent by some striking feature or other on account of which they are excluded from society and enjoy none of the privileges of white people Of such a nature are the *phantasy formations* of normal persons as well as of neurotics which we have recognized as preliminary phases in the formation both of dreams and of symptoms and which in spite of their high degree of organization remain repressed and therefore cannot become conscious They draw near to consciousness and remain undisturbed so long as they do not become strongly cathected but as soon as a certain degree of this is exceeded they are thrust back Substitute formations are similar more highly organized derivatives of the *Ucs* but these succeed in breaking through into consciousness thanks to some favourable relation as for example when they coincide with a preconscious anti cathexis

When on another occasion we examine more closely the way in which entry into consciousness is conditioned we shall be able to find a solution for some of the difficulties arising here At this point it seems a good plan to contrast with the foregoing points of view which take their rise in consideration of the *Ucs* one which presents itself from the direction of consciousness Consciousness regards the whole sum of mental processes as belonging to the realm of the preconscious A very great part of this preconscious material originates in the unconscious has the characteristics of derivatives of the unconscious and is subject to a censorship before it can pass into consciousness Another part of the *Pcs* can become conscious without any censorship Here we light upon a contradiction of an earlier assumption from the point of view of repression we were obliged to place the censorship which is decisive for consciousness between the systems *Ucs* and *Pcs* Now it becomes probable to us that there is a censorship between the *Pcs* and the *Cs* But we shall do well not to regard this complication as a difficulty but to assume that to every transition from one system to that immediately above it (that is every advance to a higher stage of mental organization) there corresponds a new censorship As a corollary we shall have it is true to discard the assumption of a continuous laying down of new records

The reason for all these difficulties is that consciousness the only characteristic of mental processes directly available to us is in no way suited to serve as a criterion for the erection of systems Apart from the circumstance that what belongs to consciousness is not always in consciousness but can also be temporarily latent observation has shown that much which shares the attributes of the system *Pcs* does not become conscious and further we shall find that the entry into consciousness is circumscribed by certain dispositions of attention Hence consciousness stands in no simple relation either to the different systems or to the process of repression The truth is that it is not only what is repressed that remains alien to consciousness but also some of the impulses which dominate our ego and which therefore form the strongest functional antithesis to what is repressed In proportion as we try to win our way to a metapsychological view of mental life, we must learn to emancipate ourselves from our sense of the importance of that symptom which consists in *being conscious*

So long as we still cling to this we see our generalizations regularly invaded by exceptions We see that derivatives of the *Pcs* enter consciousness as substitute formations and as symptoms generally after undergoing great distortion in contrast to the *Ucs* although often many characteristics inviting repression have been retained We find that many preconscious formations remain unconscious though to judge by their nature we should suppose that they might very well become conscious Probably in their case the stronger attraction of

the *Ucs* asserts itself. We are led to look for the more important difference not between the conscious and the preconscious but between the preconscious and the unconscious. On the border of the *Pcs* the censorship thrusts back the *Ucs*, but its derivatives can circumvent this censorship, achieve a high degree of organization, and in the *Pcs* reach a certain intensity of cathexis; when however this is exceeded and they try to force themselves into consciousness, they are recognized as derivatives of the *Ucs* and are repressed afresh at the new frontier by the censorship between the *Cs* and the *Pcs*. Thus the former censorship is exercised against the *Ucs* itself, and the latter against its preconscious derivatives. We might suppose that in the course of individual development the censorship had been advanced a step.

In psycho-analytic treatment the existence of the second censorship, located between the systems *Pcs* and *Cs*, is proved beyond question. We require the patient to produce freely derivatives of the *Ucs*; we pledge him to overcome the objections of the censorship against these preconscious formations becoming conscious and, by overthrowing this censorship, we open up the way to abrogating the repression accomplished by the earlier one. To this let us add that the existence of the censorship between the *Pcs* and the *Cs* teaches us that becoming conscious is no mere act of perception, but is probably also a *hyper-cathexis*, a further advance in the mental organization.

Let us turn our attention to the communications existing between the unconscious and the other systems, not so much with a view to establishing anything fresh, as in order to avoid omitting the most prominent features. At the roots of instinctual activity the systems communicate with one another in the freest possible way: some of the processes here set in motion pass through the *Ucs* as through a preparatory stage and reach the highest mental development in the *Cs*, whilst some are retained as the *Ucs*. But the *Ucs* is also affected by experiences originating in outer perception. Normally all the paths from perception to the *Ucs* remain open; only those leading out from the *Ucs* are barred by repression.

It is very remarkable that the *Ucs* of one human being can react upon that of another without the *Cs* being implicated at all. This deserves closer investigation, especially with a view to finding out whether preconscious activity can be excluded as a factor in bringing this about; but for purposes of description the fact is incontestable.

The content of the system *Pcs* (or *Cs*) is derived partly from the instinctual life (through the medium of the *Ucs*) and partly from perception. It is doubtful how far the processes of this system can exert a direct influence on the *Ucs*; examination of pathological cases often reveals an almost incredible independence and lack of susceptibility to influence on the part of the *Ucs*. A complete divergence of their tendencies, a total dissociation of the two systems, is a general characteristic of disease. Yet psycho-analytic treatment is based upon influence by the *Cs* on the *Ucs*, and shows at any rate that this, though laborious, is not impossible. The derivatives of the *Ucs* which act as intermediaries between the two systems open the way, as we have already said, towards accomplishing this. But we may well suppose that spontaneously effected alteration in the *Ucs* from the side of the *Cs* is a difficult and slow process.

Co-operation between a preconscious and an unconscious impulse, even when the latter is subject to very strong repression, may be established, if the situation permits of the unconscious impulse operating in harmony with one of the controlling tendencies. The repression is removed for the occasion, the repressed activity being admitted as a reinforcement of the one intended by the ego. In respect of this single constellation, the unconscious becomes ego-syntonic, falls into line with the ego, without any change taking place in the repression otherwise. The effect of the *Ucs* in this co-operation is unmistakable: the reinforced tendencies reveal themselves as in some sense different from the normal—they make possible achievements of special perfection, and they manifest a resistance in the face of opposition similar to that of obsessional symptoms.

The content of the *Ucs* may be compared with a primitive population in the mental kingdom. If inherited mental formations exist in the human being—something analogous to instinct in animals—these constitute the nucleus of the *Ucs*. Later there is added to them that which is discarded as useless during childhood development, and this need not differ in its nature from what is inherited. A sharp and final division between the content of the two systems, as a rule, takes place only at puberty.

VII. Recognition of the Unconscious

So long as we derive our ideas of the *Ucs* only from our knowledge of dream-life and the

transference neuroses all that we can predicate of that system is probably represented in the foregoing remarks It is certainly not much and at some points it gives an impression of obscurity and confusion especially do we look in vain for the possibility of bringing the *Ucs* into any connection or classifying it under any heading with which we are already familiar Analysis of one of those affections called *nar cissistic psychoneuroses* alone promises to fur nish us with conceptions through which the enigmatic *Ucs* will be brought within our reach in a tangible fashion

Since the publication of a work by Abraham (1908)—attributed by its conscientious author to my instigation—we have been trying to de fine Kraepelin s *dementia praecox* (Bleuler s schizophrenia) on the basis of its relation to that pair of opposites consisting of the ego and its object In the transference neuroses (anxi ety and conversion hysteria and the obses sional neurosis) there was nothing to give special prominence to these opposites We knew indeed that frustration from the side of the object occasioned the outbreak of neurosis and that neurosis involved abandonment of the real object also that the libido withdrawn from the real object reverted first to an object in phantasy and then to one that had been repressed (introversion) But object cathexis in general is in such cases retained with great energy and more minute examination of the processes of repression has forced us to as sume that object cathexis persi ts in the sys tem *Ucs* in spite of—or rather in consequence of—the repression Indeed the capacity for transference of which we make use for thera peutic purposes in these affections presupposes unimpaired object cathexis

In schizophrenia on the other hand we have been obliged to assume that after the process of repression the withdrawn libido does not seek a new object but retreats into the ego that is to say that here the object cathexes are given up and a primitive objectless condition of narcissism is re established The incapacity of these patients for transference—so far as the process of disease extends—their consequent inaccessibility to therapeutic efforts the re pudiation of the outer world characteristic of them the manifestations of hyper cathexis of their ego the final outcome in complete apa thy—all these clinical features seem to accord excellently with the assumption that object cathexes are relinquished As re ards the re lation of the two psychical systems to each other all observers have been struck by the fact that in schizophrenia a great deal is con sciously expressed which in the transference neuroses can be demonstrated to exist in the *Ucs* only by means of psycho analysis But at the beginning we were not able to establish any intelligible connection between the ego-object relation and the relationships of consciousness.

In the following unexpected way we seem to arrive at what we are seeking In schizophre[illegible] we observe—especially in the earlier [illegible] which are so instructive—a number of changes in *speech* some of which deserve to be re garded from a particular point of view The patient often devotes peculiar care to his way [illegible] precious [illegible] of the sen[illegible] [illegible]rganization, making them so incomprehensible to us that the patient s remarks seem nonsen ical Often some relation to bodily organs or innervations is prominent in the content of these utterances. This may be correlated with another observa tion namely that in such symptoms of schizo phrenia as are comparable with the substitute formations of hysteria or the obsessional neurosis the relation between the substit[illegible] and the repressed material nevertheless di[illegible] plays peculiarities which would surprise us in these two forms of neurosis

Dr Viktor Tausk of Vienna has placed at my disposal some observations that he has made in the initial stages of schizophrenia which are particularly valuable in that the patient herself was anxious to explain her utterances further I will take two of his examples to il lustrate the thesis I wish to defend and I ha[illegible] no doubt that every observer could easily pro duce plenty of such material

One of Tausk s patients a girl who was brought to the clinic after a quarrel with her lover complained that *her eyes were not right they were twisted* This she herself explained by uttering in properly constructed sentences a series of reproaches against her lover She could not understand him at all he looked dif ferent every time he was a shammer an eye-twister he had twisted her eyes now they were not her eyes any more now she saw the world with different eyes

The patient s remarks about her first [illegible] comprehensible utterance have the value of an analysis for they contain the equivalent of the original words expressed in a generally com

A[illegible] g[illegible] erd[illegible] h[illegible] used i[illegible] Germa[illegible] t[illegible] mea[illegible] a[illegible] d[illegible] er —TR

prehensible form at the same time they explain the meaning and the genesis of speech formation in schizophrenia. In agreement with Tausk, I would here lay stress on the point that the relation to the bodily organ (the eye) has usurped the place of the whole content of the thought. The schizophrenic speech displays a hypochondriac trait: it has become *organ-speech*.

A second remark of the same patient runs: She was standing in church, suddenly she felt a jerk, she had to *change her position*, as though somebody put her into a position, as though she were *placed in a certain position*.

There follows the analysis by means of a fresh series of reproaches against her lover: he was common, he had made her common, too, though she was naturally refined. He had made her like himself by leading her to think that he was superior to her; now he had become like him, because she thought she would be better if she were like him. He had given a *false impression of his own position*; now she was just like him (identification) he had *changed her position*.[1]

The movement by which she *changed her position*, Tausk remarks, stood for the idea of *misrepresenting her position* and for the identification with the lover. Again I would call attention to the manner in which the whole train of thought is dominated by that element which has for its content a bodily innervation (or rather the sensation of it). An hysteric would, in the first case, have convulsively rolled her eyes and, in the second, have given actual jerks, instead of having the impulse to jerk or the sensation of being jerked; and in neither case would this have been accompanied by any conscious thoughts, nor would she afterwards have been able to express any such thoughts.

So far these two observations illustrate what we have called hypochondriac language or *organ-speech*. But they also point to something which seems to us more important, namely to another state of things of which we have innumerable instances (for example in the cases quoted in Bleuler's monograph) and which may be reduced to a definite formula. In schizophrenia *words* are subject to the same process as that which makes dream-images out of dream-thoughts—the one we have called the primary mental process. They undergo condensation, and, by means of displacement, transfer their cathexes to one another wholly or partly; the process may extend so far that a single word which on account of its manifold relations is especially suitable can come to represent a whole train of thought. The works of Bleuler, Jung, and their pupils have yielded abundant material precisely in support of this very proposition.[2]

[Illegible line]

schizophrenia and in hysteria and the obsessional neurosis—nice distinctions it is true yet producing a very strange effect. A patient whom I have at present under observation has let himself withdraw from all the interests of life on account of the unhealthy condition of the skin of his face. He declares that he has blackheads and that there are deep holes in his face which everyone notices. Analysis shows that he is working out his castration complex upon his skin. At first he busied himself with these blackheads without any misgivings, and it gave him great pleasure to squeeze them out, because, as he said, something spurted out when he did so. Then he began to think that there was a deep cavity wherever he had got rid of a blackhead and he reproached himself most vehemently with having ruined his skin for ever by constantly fiddling at it with his hand. Pressing out the content of the blackheads is clearly to him a substitute for onanism. The cavity which then appears in consequence of his guilty act is the female genital, i.e. stands for the fulfilment of the threat of castration (or the phantasy representing it) called forth by onanism. This substitute-formation has, in spite of its hypochondriacal character, considerable resemblance to an hysterical conversion; and yet we have the feeling that there must be something different in it, that we cannot believe such a substitute-formation possible in a case of hysteria, even before we can say in what the difference consists. A tiny little hole such as a pore of the skin will hardly be used by an hysteric as a symbol for the vagina, which otherwise he will compare with every imaginable object capable of enclosing a space. Besides, we should think that the multiplicity of these little cavities would prevent him from using them as a substitute for the female genital. The same applies to the case of a young patient re-

[1] Sich verstellen = to dissemble, disguise oneself.—Tr. Verstellen = to change the place of. As with *d. gestellt*, here again play on words: the concrete meaning of the word retaining its metaphorical sense.—Tr.

[2] The dream-work, too, occasionally treats words like things and then creates very similar schizophrenic utterances or neologisms.

ported by Tausk some years ago to the Vienna Psycho Analytical Society This patient behaved in other respects exactly as though suffering from an obsessional neurosis he took hours to dress and so on The striking feature of the case however was that he was able to tell the meaning of his inhibitions without any resistance For example in pulling on his stockings he was disturbed by the idea that he must draw apart the knitted stitches i e the holes and every hole was for him a symbol of the female genital aperture This again is a thing with which we cannot credit a patient suffering from obsessional neurosis a patient of this kind observed by R Reitler (one who suffered from the same lingering over putting on his stockings) after overcoming the resistances found the explanation that his foot symbolised the penis putting on the stocking stood for an onanistic act and that he had constantly to pull the stocking off and on partly in order to complete the representation of onanism and partly in order to undo the act

If we ask ourselves what it is that gives the character of strangeness to the substitute formation and the symptom in schizophrenia we come at last to understand that it is the predominance of the word relation over that of the thing There is only a very slight similarity between the squeezin out of a blackhead and an ejaculation from the penis still less similarity between the countless little pores of the skin and the vagina but in the former case there *is* in both instances a spurting out while in the latter the cynical saying a hole is a hole is *literally* true The identity of the two when expressed in *wo ds* not the resemblance of the objects desi nated has dictated the substitution Where the two—word and thing—do not coincide the substitute formation in schizophrenia deviates from that in the transference neuroses

Let us bring these considerations into connection with the conclusion that in schizophrenia the object cathexes are relinquished We must then modify this assumption and say The cathexis of the ideas of the words corresponding to the objects is retained What we could permissibly call the *conscious dea* of the object can now be split up into the *idea of the word* (verbal idea) and the *idea of the thing* (concrete idea) the latter consists in the cathexis if not of the direct memory images of the thing at least of remoter memory traces derived from these It strikes us all at once that now we know what is the difference between a conscious and an unconscious idea The two are not as we supposed different records of the same content situated in different parts of the mind nor yet different functional states of cathexis in the same part but the con cious idea comprises the concrete idea plus the verbal idea corresponding to it whilst the unconscious idea is that of the thin alone The system *Ucs* contains the thing cathexes of the objects the first and true object cathexes the system *Pcs* originates in a hyper cathexis of this concrete idea by a linking up of it with the verbal ideas of the words corresponding to it. It is such hyper cathexes we may suppo e that brin about higher organization in the mind and make it possible for the primary process to be succeeded by the secondary process which dominates *Pcs* Now too we are in a pos tion to state precisely what it is that repression denies to the rejected idea in the transference neuroses—namely translation of the idea into words which are to remain attached to the object The idea which is not put into words, or the mental act which has not received hyper cathexis then remains in the uncon cious in a state of repression

I may call attention to the fact that already very early we possessed the insight which today enables us to understand one of the most striking characteristics of schizophrenia The last pages of *The Interpretation of Dre s* published in 1900 expound the thesis that thou ht processes i e those cathected mental acts which are more remote from perception, are in themselves devoid of quality and are unconscious deriving their capacity to enter consciousness only from association with the residues of word perceptions The verbal ideas, for their part are derived from sense perceptions in the same way as concrete ideas are so that the question might be raised why ideas of objects cannot become conscious through the agency of their own residues of perceptions. But possibly thought proceeds in systems that are so far remote from the original residues of perception that they have no longer retained anything of the qualities of these residues so that in order to become conscious the content of the th h forced by wor with whi representing as they do only relations between the ideas of objects no quality co ld accrue from the perceptions them elves Such relations comprehensible only through words, form one of the most important parts of our

thought-processes. We understand that linking them up with verbal ideas is still no identical with their actually becoming conscious but only with the potentiality of this; it is therefore characteristic of the system *Pcs* and of that only. Now however we note that with these discussions we have departed from our real theme and find ourselves in the midst of problems concerning the preconscious and the conscious which for good reasons we are reserving for separate treatment.

In considering schizophrenia, which, to be sure we shall touch on here so far as seems indispensable for general knowledge of the *Ucs* the doubt must occur to us whether the process here termed *repression* has anything at all in common with the repression which takes place in the transference neuroses. The formula that repression is a process which occurs between the systems *Ucs* and *Pcs* (or *Cs*) and results in withholding the repressed material from consciousness must in any event be modified, in order to embrace the case of dementia praecox and other narcissistic affections. But the ego's attempt at flight expressing itself in withdrawal of conscious cathexis nevertheless remains a common factor. The most superficial reflection shows us how much more radically and thoroughly this attempt at flight, this flight of the ego, is carried out in the narcissistic neuroses.

If in schizophrenia, this flight consists in withdrawal of instinctual cathexis from those points which represent the unconscious idea of the object, it may seem strange that that part of the same idea which belongs to the system *Pcs*—the verbal ideas corresponding to it—should, on the contrary undergo a more intense cathexis. We might rather expect that the verbal idea, being the preconscious part would have to sustain the first impact of the repression, and that it would be wholly insusceptible of cathexis after the repression had proceeded as far as the unconscious concrete ideas. This is certainly difficult to understand. The solution suggests itself that the cathexis of the verbal idea is not part of the act of repression but represents the first of the attempts at recovery or cure which so conspicuously dominate the clinical picture of schizophrenia. These endeavours are directed towards regaining the lost objects and it may well be that to achieve this purpose the path to the object must be by way of the word belonging to it: they then have however to content themselves with words in the place of things. Our mental activity moves generally speaking, in one of two opposite directions: either it starts from the instincts and passes through the system *Ucs* to conscious mentation, or on excitation from without it passes through the systems *Cs* and *Pcs* till it reaches the unconscious cathexes of the ego and its objects. The second way must in spite of the repression which has taken place have remained clear and for some distance there is no hindrance to block the endeavours of the neurosis to regain its objects. When we think in abstractions, there is a danger that we may neglect the relations of words to unconscious concrete ideas and it must be confessed that the expression and content of our philosophizing begins to acquire an unwelcome resemblance to the schizophrenic's way of thinking. We may on the other hand attempt a characterization of the schizophrenic's mode of thought by saying that he treats concrete things as though they were abstract.

If we have really recognized the nature of the *Ucs* and have correctly defined the difference between an unconscious and a preconscious idea then researches starting from many other points may be expected to bring us back to the same conclusions.

A General Introduction to Psycho-Analysis

Contents A General Introduction to Psycho-Analysis

PART I

PART II Dreams

PART III. General Theory of the Neuroses

A General Introduction to Psycho-Analysis

PART I

FIRST LECTURE

INTRODUCTION

I do not know what knowledge any of you may already have of psycho-analysis, either from reading or from hearsay. But having regard to the title of my lectures—*Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*—I am bound to proceed as though you knew nothing of the subject and needed instruction, even in its first elements.

One thing at least I may pre-suppose that you know—namely, that psycho-analysis is a method of medical treatment for those suffering from nervous disorders; and I can give you an illustration of the way in which psycho-analytic procedure differs from and often reverses what is customary in other branches of medicine. Usually, when we introduce a patient to a new form of treatment we minimize its difficulties and give him confident assurances of its success. This is, in my opinion, perfectly justifiable, for we thereby increase the probability of success. But when we undertake to treat a neurotic psycho-analytically we proceed *otherwise*. We explain to him the difficulties of the method, its long duration, the trials and sacrifices which will be required of him; and, as to the result, we tell him that we can make no definite promises, that success depends upon his endeavours, upon his understanding, his adaptability and his perseverance. We have, of course, good reasons, into which you will perhaps gain some insight later on, for adopting this apparently perverse attitude.

Now I hope you will not be offended if I begin by treating you in the same way as I do my neurotic patients, for I shall positively advise you not to come to hear me a second time. And with this intention I shall explain to you how of necessity you can obtain from me only an incomplete knowledge of psycho-analysis and also what difficulties stand in the way of your forming an independent judgment on the subject. For I shall show you how the whole trend of your training and your accustomed modes of thought must inevitably have made you hostile to psycho-analysis, and also how much you would have to overcome in your own minds in order to master this instinctive opposition. I naturally cannot foretell what degree of understanding of psycho-analysis you may gain from my lectures, but I can at least assure you that by attending them you will not have learnt how to conduct a psycho-analytic investigation nor how to carry out a psycho-analytic treatment. And further, if any one of you should feel dissatisfied with a merely cursory acquaintance with psycho-analysis and should wish to form a permanent connection with it, I shall not merely discourage him, but I shall actually warn him against it. For as things are at the present time not only would the choice of such a career put an end to all chances of academic success, but, upon taking up work as a practitioner, such a man would find himself in a community which misunderstood his aims and intentions, regarded him with suspicion and hostility, and let loose upon him all the latent evil impulses harboured within it. Perhaps you can infer from the accompaniments of the war now raging in Europe what a countless host that is to reckon with.

However, there are always some people to whom the possibility of a new addition to knowledge will prove an attraction strong enough to survive all such inconveniences. If there are any such among you who will appear at my second lecture in spite of my words of warning they will be welcome. But all of you have a right to know what these inherent difficulties of psycho-analysis are to which I have alluded.

First of all, there is the problem of the teach-

NOTE: A series of lectures delivered at the Vienna Psychiatric Clinic, the first fifteen in [illegible], the last thirteen in [illegible]. First published in German in [illegible]; edition here used translated by Joan Riviere for the second English edition published in London in [illegible]. (First English edition had appeared in [illegible].)

And then you would find that not everything reported of Alexander is worthy of belief or sufficiently authenticated in detail; but I can hardly suppose that you would leave the lecture room in doubt altogether as to the reality of Alexander the Great. Your conclusions would be principally determined by two considerations: first, that the lecturer could have no conceivable motive for attempting to persuade you of something which he did not himself believe to be true, and secondly, that all the available authorities agree more or less in their accounts of the fact. In questioning the accuracy of the early writers you would apply these tests again, the possible motives of the authors and the agreement to be found between them. The result of such tests would certainly be convincing in the case of Alexander, probably less so in regard to figures like Moses and Nimrod. Later on you will perceive clearly enough what doubts can be raised against the credibility of an exponent of psycho-analysis.

Now you will have a right to ask the question: If no objective evidence of psycho-analysis exists and no possibility of demonstrating the process, how is it possible to study it at all or to convince oneself of its truth? The study of it is indeed not an easy matter, nor are there many people who have thoroughly learned it; still there is, of course, some way of learning it. Psycho-analysis is learnt first of all on oneself, through the study of one's own personality. This is not exactly what is meant by *introspection*, but it may be so described for want of a better word. There is a whole series of very common and well-known mental phenomena which can be taken as *material for self-analysis* when one has acquired some knowledge of the method. In this way one may obtain the required conviction of the reality of the processes which psycho-analysis describes and of the truth of its conceptions, although progress on these lines is not without its limitations. One gets much further by submitting oneself to analysis by a skilled analyst, undergoing the working of the analysis in one's own person and using the opportunity to observe the finer details of the technique which the analyst employs. This, eminently the best way, is of course only practicable for individuals and cannot be used in a class of students.

The second difficulty you will find in connection with psycho-analysis is not inherent in it, but is one for which I must hold you yourselves responsible, at least in so far as your medical studies have influenced you. Your training will have induced in you an attitude of mind very far removed from the psycho-analytical one. You have been trained to establish the functions and disturbances of the organism on an anatomical basis, to explain them in terms of chemistry and physics, and to regard them from a biological point of view; but no part of your interest has ever been directed to the mental aspects of life, in which, after all, the development of the marvellously complicated organism culminates. For this reason a psychological attitude of mind is still foreign to you, and you are accustomed to regard it with suspicion, to deny it a scientific status, and to leave it to the general public, poets, mystics, and philosophers. Now this limitation in you is undoubtedly detrimental to your medical efficiency, for on meeting a patient it is the mental aspects with which one first comes into contact, as in most human relationships, and I am afraid you will pay the penalty of having to yield a part of the curative influence at which you aim to the quacks, mystics, and faith-healers whom you despise.

I quite acknowledge that there is an excuse for this defect in your previous training. There is no auxiliary philosophical science that might be of service to you in your profession. Neither speculative philosophy nor descriptive psychology, nor even the so-called experimental psychology which is studied in connection with the physiology of the sense-organs, as they are taught in the schools, can tell you anything useful of the relation existing between mind and body or can give you a key to comprehension of a possible disorder of the mental functions. It is true that the psychiatric branch of medicine occupies itself with describing the different forms of recognizable mental disturbances and grouping them in clinical pictures, but in their best moments psychiatrists themselves are doubtful whether their purely descriptive formulations deserve to be called science. The origin, mechanism, and interrelation of the symptoms which make up these clinical pictures are undiscovered: either they cannot be correlated with any demonstrable changes in the brain, or only with such changes as in no way explain them. These mental disturbances are open to therapeutic influence only when they can be identified as secondary effects of some organic disease.

This is the lacuna which psycho-analysis is striving to fill. It hopes to provide psychiatry with the missing psychological foundation, to discover the common ground on which corre-

ing and exposition of the subject In your medical studies you have been accustomed to use your eyes You see the anatomical specimen the precipitate of the chemical reaction the contraction of the muscle as the result of the stimulation of its nerves Later you come into contact with the patients you learn the symptoms of disease by the evidence of your senses the results of pathological processes can be demonstrated to you and in many cases even the exciting cause of them in an isolated form On the surgical side you are witnesses of the measures by which the patient is help [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] peech and behaviour yields a series of observations which leave a deep impression on your minds Thus a teacher of medicine acts for the most part as an exponent and guide leading you as it were through a museum while you gain in this way a direct relationship to what is displayed to you and believe yourselves to have been convinced by your own experience of the existence of the new facts

But in psycho analysis unfortunately all this is different In psycho analytic treatment nothing happens but an exchange of words between the patient and the physician The patient talks tells of his past experiences and present impressions complains and expresses his wishes and his emotions The physician listens attempts to direct the patient s thought processes reminds him forces his attention in certain directions gives him explanations and observes the reactions of understanding or denial thus evoked The patient s unenlightened relatives—people of a kind to be impressed only by something visible and tangible preferably by the sort of *action* that may be seen at a cinema—never omit to express their doubts of how mere talk can possibly cure anybody Their reasoning is of course as illogical as it is inconsistent For they are the same people who are always convinced that the sufferings of neurotics are purely in their own imagination Words and magic were in the beginning one and the same thing and even today words retain much of their magical power By words one of us can give to another the greatest happiness or bring about utter despair by words the teacher imparts his knowledge to the student by words the orator sweeps his audience with him and determines its judgments and decisions Words call forth emotions and are universally the means by which we influence our fellow creatures Therefore let us not despise the use of words in [illegible]
tent if
between

But even that is impossible The dialogue which constitutes the analysis will admit of no audience the process cannot be demonstrated One could of course exhibit a neurasthenic or hysterical patient to students at a psychiatric lecture He would relate his case and his symptoms but nothing more He will make the communications necessary to the analysis only under the conditions of a special affective relationship to the physician in the presence of a single person to whom he was indifferent he would become mute For these communications relate to all his most private thoughts and feelings all that which as a socially independent person he must hide from others all that which being foreign to his own conception of himself he tries to conceal even from himself

It is impossible therefore for you to be actually present during a psycho analytic treatment you can only be told about it and can learn psycho analysis in the strictest sense of the word only by hearsay This tuition at second hand so to say puts you in a very unusual and difficult position as regards forming your own judgment on the subject which will therefore largely depend on the reliance you can place on your informant

Now imagine for a moment that you were present at a lecture in history instead of in psychiatry and that the lecturer was dealing with the life and conquests of Alexander the Great What reason would you have to believe what he told you? The situation would appear at first sight even more unsatisfactory than in the case of psycho analysis for the professor of history had no more part in Alexander s campaigns than you yourselves the psycho analyst at least informs you of matters in which he himself has played a part But then we come to the question of what evidence there is to support the historian He can refer you to the accounts of early writers who were either contemporaries or who lived not long after the events in question such as Diodorus Plutarch Arrian and others he can lay before you reproductions of the preserved coins and statues of the king and pass round a photograph of the mosaic at Pompeii representing the battle at Issus Yet strictly speaking all these documents only prove that the existence of Alexander and the reality of his deeds were already believed in by former generations of men and your criticism might begin anew at this point

not valid arguments against conclusions which claim to represent the objective results of scientific investigation, the opposition must be translated into intellectual terms before it can be expressed. It is a characteristic of human nature to be inclined to regard anything which is disagreeable as untrue, and then without much difficulty to find arguments against it. So society pronounces the unacceptable to be untrue, disputes the results of psycho-analysis with logical and concrete arguments, arising however in affective sources, and clings to them with all the strength of prejudice against every attempt at refutation.

But we, on the other hand, claim to have yielded to no tendency in propounding this objectionable theory. Our intention has been solely to give recognition to the facts as we found them in the course of painstaking researches. And we now claim the right to reject unconditionally any such introduction of practical considerations into the field of scientific investigation, even before we have determined whether the apprehension which attempts to force these considerations upon us is justified or not.

These now are some of the difficulties which confront you at the outset when you begin to take an interest in psycho-analysis. It is probably more than enough for a beginning. If you can overcome their discouraging effect, we will proceed further.

SECOND LECTURE

The Psychology of Errors

We shall now begin, not with postulates, but with an investigation. For this purpose we shall select certain phenomena which are very frequent, very familiar and much overlooked, and which have nothing to do with illness, since they may be observed in every healthy person. I refer to the errors that everyone commits as when anyone wishes to say a certain thing but uses the wrong word (slip of the tongue) or when the same sort of mistake is made in writing (slip of the pen) in which case one may or may not notice it; or when anyone reads in print or writing something other than what is actually before him (misreading), or when anyone mis-hears what is said to him, naturally when there is no question of any disease of the auditory sense-organ. Another series of such phenomena are those based on forgetting something, temporarily though not permanently, as for instance when anyone cannot think of a name which he knows quite well and is always able to recognize whenever he sees it, or when anyone forgets to carry out some intention, which he afterwards remembers, and has therefore forgotten only for a certain time. This element of transitoriness is lacking in a third class of which mislaying things so that they cannot be found is an example. This is a kind of forgetfulness which we regard differently from the usual kind; one is amazed or annoyed at it, instead of finding it comprehensible. Allied to this are certain *mistakes* in which the temporary element is again noticeable, as when one believes something for a time which both before and afterwards one knows to be untrue, and a number of similar manifestations which we know under various names.

Some inner relation between all these kinds of occurrences is indicated in German, by the use of the prefix *ver* which is common to all the words designating them. These words almost all refer to acts of an unimportant kind, generally temporary and without much significance in life. It is only rarely that anything of the kind, such as the loss of some object, attains any practical importance. For this reason little attention is paid to such happenings and they arouse little feeling.

I am now going to ask you to consider these phenomena. But you will object, with annoyance: "There are so many tremendous puzzles both in the wider world and in the narrower life of the soul, so many mysteries in the field of mental disorder which demand and deserve explanation, that it really seems frivolous to waste labour and interest on these trifles. If you could explain to us how a person with sound eyes and hearing in broad daylight comes to see and hear things which do not exist, or how anyone can suddenly believe that his nearest and dearest are persecuting him, or can justify with the most ingenious arguments a delusion which would seem nonsensical to any child, then we might be willing to take psycho-analysis seriously. But if psycho-analysis can not occupy us with anything more interesting than the question why a speaker uses a wrong word or why a *Hausfrau* mislays her keys and similar trivialities, then we shall find something better to do with our time and our interest."

My reply is: Patience! Your criticism is not on the right track. It is true that psycho-analysis cannot boast that it has never occupied itself with trifles. On the contrary, the material of its observation is usually those commonplace occurrences which have been cast aside as

lation of bodily and mental disorder becomes comprehensible To this end it must dissociate itself from every foreign preconception wheth er anatomical chemical or physiological and must work throughout with conceptions of a purely psychological order and for this very reason I fear that it will appear strange to you at first

For the next difficulty I shall not hold you your training or your mental attitude respon sible There are two tenets of psycho analysis which offend the whole world and excite its re sentment the one conflicts with intellectual the other with moral and aesthetic prejudices Let us not underestimate these prejudices they are powerful things residues of valuable even necessary stages in human evolution They are maintained by emotional forces and the fight against them is a hard one

The first of these di pleasing propositions of psycho analysis is this that mental processes are essentially unconscious and that those which are conscious are merely isolated acts and parts of the whole psychic entity Now I must ask you to remember that on the con trary we are accustomed to identify the mental with the conscious Consciousness appears to us as positively the characteristic that defines mental life and we regard psychology as the study of the content of consciousness This even appears so evident that any cont d of t

the conscious and the psychic The psycho an alytical definition of the mind is that it com prises processes of the nature of feeling think ing and wishing and it maintains that there are such things as unconscious thinking and un conscious wishing But in doing so psycho analysis has forfeited at the outset the sympa thy of the sober and scientifically minded and incurred the suspicion of being a phantastic cult occupied with dark and unfathomable mys teries You yourselves must find it difficult to understand why I should stigmatize an abstract proposition such as The psychic is the con scious as a prejudice nor can you guess yet what evolutionary process could have led t he d l of h

u as co extensive with con ciousness or whether it may be said to stretch beyond this limit and yet I can assure you that the acceptance of unconscious mental processes represents a decisive step towards a new orien tation in the world and in science

As little can you suspect how close is the con nection between this first bold step on the p of psycho analysis and the second to which I am now coming For this next proposit which we put forward as one of the of ps impu in bot a pecu part never before sufficiently appreciated in the causation of nervous and mental disorders Nay more that these sexual impulses have contributed invaluably to the highest cultural artistic and social achieve ments of the human mind

In my opinion it is the aversion from this conclusion of psycho analytic investigation that is the most significant source of the opposition it has encountered Are you curious to know how we ourselves account for this? We believe that civilization has been built up under the pressure of the struggle for existence by sac rifices in gratification of the primitive impulses and that it is to a great extent forever being re created as each individual successively join ing the community repeats the sacrifice of his instinctive pleasures for the common good The sexual are amongst the most important of the instinctive forces thus utilized they are in this way sublimated that is to say their energy is turned aside from its sexual goal and diverted towards other ends no lon er sexual and so cially more valuable But the structure thus built up is insecure for the sexual impul es are with difficulty controlled in each individual who takes up his part in the work of civiliza tion there is a danger that a rebellion of the sexual impulses may occur a ainst this diver sion of their energy Society can conceive of no more powerful menace to its culture than would arise from the liberation of the sexual impulses and a return of them to their or nal goal Therefore society dislikes this sensiti e place in its development being touched upon that the power of the sexual instinct should be reco nized and the significance of the ind vidual s sexual life revealed is very far from its interests with a vi w to discipline it has rather taken the course of diverting attention away from this whole field For this reason the reve lations of p ycho analysis are not tolerated by it and it would greatly prefer to brand them as aesthetically offen ive morally reprehen ble or dangerous But since such objections are

voted to t It can then very eas ly be d sturbed and inexactl performed Sl ght illness or a change in the d stribut n of blood n the central organ of the nervous system can ha e the same effect by these co dit ns affecting the determini g f ctor the distributi n of at tent in a similar w y In all cases it would be a quest on of the effects of a disturbance of the atte ti from organic or psychical causes

B t all this doesn t seem to promise much of int rest for psycho-analytic i rest gat We might feel tempted to gi e up the topic. To be sure a closer in pection of the facts hows that they are not all in accord with the a tention theory f errors of this sort o at least that not e erything can be directly deduced from t. We fi d that such errors and uch forgetfuln ss al o take place whe people are not f t gued o exc ted but are in every way in the nor mal conditio unles just because of the errors we were subsequently to attribute to them c dit n of excit ment which they themselves did not acknowledge Nor can the matter be quite so simpl as that the successful perf rman f an act will be ensured by an inte sification of attent on or e dangered by diminut on of t For a great number f ac tions may be carried out in a purely automatic way with very little ttent on and yet quite uc essfully In walking a man may perhaps carcel know wh re h is going but keep to th right road and stop at his destination with out ha g go e astray At least this is what usuall happens A practised pianist strikes th right notes with ut thinking of them He may f ourse also make an occasional mis tak but i utomat pla ing increa ed the dange f err rs the virt oso whose constant practice has m d his playing ntirely uto-matic w uld be th most exposed t this dan ger Y t w see n th contrary that many cts are m t su cessfully carried out when they re ot the obj cts of particularly ncen trated ttent on and that m t kes may occur just on occas ons when ne is most eager to be ccurat that is wh n a distract n of the essary tt ti is most rtainly t pres e t On ould th say that this i the effect f th cit ment but w do t understa d why th excit ment does n t rath intensify th entrati on th end s much desired. So that if in an mportant speech a vo says th oppos t f what h intend it can hardly be xplai ed ording t the psycho-phys o-logical o the attention theory

There are also many th r minor features in connection with these errors wh ch we do not understand and wh ch are not rendered more comprehen ble by these explanati ns. For in stance when one has temporarily forgotten a name one is annoyed one is determi ed to re call it and ca not desist from the attempt Why is it that desp te this annoyance the person so often cannot succeed as he wishes in directi g his attent on to the word which as he says is on the tip of his tongu and which he in stantly recognizes when it is supp ed to him? Or to take another examp e there are cases in which the errors multiply link themsel es to gether or act as subst tutes for one another The first time o e forgets an appo tment the next t me after ha ing made a special res u-t on not to forget it one d sco ers that one has made a mistake in the da or hour Or one tries by devious wa s t remember a forgotten word and in th course of so d n, loses track of a second name wh h would have been of use in finding the first. If one then pursues the second name a third gets lost and so on It is no ori ous that the same th ng happens with misprints, which are of course errors on the part of the compos tor A stubborn error of this sort is said once to have crept into a Soc al Democrat c newspaper where in the account of a fest ity the following words were printed Amo gst those p esent was His H ghness the Clown Prince The next day a correct on was at tempted The paper apolo ized and sa d "The sentence sh uld of course ha e read 'the Crow Pri ce Agai in a wa -correspondent s ac count of meeting a famous general whose in firmities were pretty well known a ref rence to the ge eral was printed as this battle scared veteran. Next day an apology appeared which read the words of course should ha e been 'the bottle- carred veteran '* We like to at tribut these occurrences to a devil in the type setting machine o to some male olent gobl n —figurat e express ns which at least imply somethi g m re than a psycho physi logical theory f the m sprint.

I d not know if ou are aware of the fact that slips of the to gue can be provoked called f rth by suggestion as t were An anecdote will serve to illustrate this. Once when a novice on th stag was ntrusted with the important part in *Th Maid of Orl ns* of announcing to th Ki g The Constable sends ba k his sword the principal player d ring the re-hearsal played the j ke f everal times re pe ting to th timi d beginner instead of the

* English example.—TR.

all too insignificant by other sciences the refuse so to speak of the phenomenal world But in your criticism are you not confounding the magnitude of a problem with the conspicuous nature of its manifestations? Is it not possible under certain conditions and at certain times for very important things to betray themselves in very slight indications? I could easily cite many instances of this What slight signs for instance convey to the young men in my audience that they have gained a lady s favour? Do they expect an explicit declaration a passionate embrace or are they not content with a glance which is almost imperceptible to others a fleeting gesture a handshake prolonged by a second? Or suppose you are a detective engaged in the investigation of a murder do you actually expect to find that the murderer will leave his photograph with name and address on the scene of the crime? Are you not perforce content with slighter and less certain traces of the person you seek? So let us not under value small signs perhaps from them it may be possible to come upon the tracks of greater things Besides I think as you do that the larger problems of the world and of science have the first claim on our interest But on the whole it avails little to form a definite resolution to devote oneself to the investigation of this or that great problem One is then often at a loss how to set about the next step In scientific work it is more profitable to take up whatever lies before one whenever a path towards its exploration presents itself And then if one carries it through thoroughly without prejudice or pre conceptions one may with good fortune and by virtue of the interrelationship linking each thing to every other (hence also the small to the great) find even in the course of such humble labour a road to the study of the great problems

It is from this point of view that I hope to enlist your interest in considering the apparently trivial errors made by normal people I propose now that we question someone who has no knowledge of psycho analysis as to how he explains these occurrences

His first answer is sure to be Oh they are not worth any explanation they are little accidents What does the man mean by this? Does he mean to maintain that there are any occurrences so small that they fail to come within the causal sequence of things that they might as well be other than they are? Anyone thus breaking away from the determination of natural phenomena at any single point has thrown over the whole scientific outlook on the world (*Weltanschauung*) One may point out to him how much more consistent is the religious outlook on the world which emphatically assures us that not one sparrow shall fall to the ground except God wills it I think our friend would not be willing to follow his first answer to its logical conclusion he would give way and say that if he were to study these things he would soon find some explanation of them It must be a matter of slight functional disturbances of inaccuracies of mental performance the conditions of which could be discovered. A man who otherwise speaks correctly may make a slip of the tongue (1) when he is tired or unwell ([2]) when he is excited or (3) when his attention is concentrated on something else. It is easy to confirm this Slips of the tongue do indeed occur most frequently when one is tired, or has a headache or feels an attack of migraine coming on Forgetting proper names very often occurs in these circumstances many people are habitually warned of the onset of an attack of migraine by the inability to recall proper names In excitement too one mixes up words or even things one performs actions erroneously and the forgetting of intentions as well as a number of other undesigned acts comes to the fore when one is distracted in other words, when the attention is concentrated on other things A familiar instance of such distraction is the professor in *Fliegende Blatter* who forgets his umbrella and takes the wrong hat, because he is thinking of the problems which are to be the subject of his next book We all know from our own experience how one can forget to carry out intentions or promises when something has happened in the interval that absorbs one very deeply

This seems so entirely comprehensible and also irrefutable It is perhaps not very interesting or not so much so as we expected Let us look at this explanation of errors more closely The various conditions which have been cited as necessary for the occurrence of these phenomena are not all similar in kind Illness and disorders of the circulation afford a physiological basis for an affection of the normal functions excitement tiredness and distraction are conditions of a different kind which could be described as psycho physiological These last could easily be converted into a theory Fatigue as well as distraction and perhaps also general excitement cause a dissipation of the attention from which it may follow that the act in question has insufficient attention de-

anticipation and perseveration which are not at all frequent in other forms of slips of the tongue the question of such sound priorities even if they exist does not enter at all for the most frequent type of slip is that in which instead of a certain word one says another which resembles it and this resemblance is considered by many people sufficient explanation of it. For instance a professor may say in his one d

However I hope I am not mistaken in thinking that in the course of our examination of the above examples an impression has formed itself in us which may be of a kind to repay further attention We were considering the general conditions under which slips of the tongue occur and then the influences which determine the kind of distortion effected in the ... but so far we have not examined at all the

tem g I mean, the *tempted* (*Versuchungen* instead of *Vers ch*)

The commonest and also the most noticeable form of slip of the tongue however is that of saying the exact opposite of what one meant to say These cases are quite outside the effect of any relations between sounds or confusion due to similarity and by default one must therefore turn to the fact that opposites have a strong conceptual connection with one another and are psychologically very closely associated. There are well known examples of this sort For instance the President of our Parliament once opened the session with the words Gentlemen I declare a quorum present and herewith declare the session *closed*

Another common association may work in a way as insidious as the association of opposites and may on occasion lead to results as inopportune So there is a story to the effect that, at a festivity in honour of the marriage of a child of H Helmholtz with a child of the well known inventor and captain of industry W Siemens the famous physiologist Du Bois Reymond was asked to speak. He concluded his doubtless brilliant speech with the toast Success to the new partnership Siemens and *Halske* which was of course the name of the old firm The association of the two names must have been as familiar to a resident of Berlin as Crosse & Blackwell to a London

So the effect of word associations must be taken into account as well as that of sound values and similarities between words. But even that is not enough In one type of case before we can arrive at an adequate explanation of the slip we must consider some phrase which had been said, or perhaps only thought, previously Again, that is a case of perseveration as Meringer insists but arising in a more distant source—I must confess that altogether I have the impression that we are further than ever from comprehension of slips of the tongue.

amples the ... What does it mean when we say it makes sense ? Well it means that the result of the slip may perhaps have a right to be regarded in itself as a valid mental process following out its own purpose and as an expression having content and meaning Hitherto we have only spoken of errors but now it appears as if the error could sometimes be quite a proper act except that it has intruded itself in the place of one more expected or intended

In certain cases the sense belonging to the slip itself appears obvious and unmistakable When the President in his opening speech closes the session of Parliament a knowledge of the circumstances under which the slip was made inclines us to see a meaning in it He expects no good result from the session and would be glad to be able to disperse forthwith there is no difficulty in discovering the meaning or interpreting the sense of this slip Or when a lady appearing to compliment another says I am sure *you* must have *thrown* this delightful hat together instead of sewn it together (*aufgepatzt* instead of *aufgeputzt*) no scientific theories in the world can prevent us from seeing in her slip the thought that the hat is an amateur production Or when a lady who is well known for her determined character says My husband asked his doctor what sort of diet ought to be provided for him But the doctor said he needed no special diet he could eat and drink whatever *I* choose the slip appears clearly as the unmistakable expression of a consistent scheme

Now supposing it should turn out that not only a few cases of slips of the tongue and errors in general but the great majority of them have a meaning then the meaning of the errors to which we have hitherto paid no attention would become the point of greatest interest to us and would justifiably drive all other points of view into the background. All

text the following The *Komfortabel* sends back his steed At the performance the unfortunate actor actually made his debut with this perverse announcement though he had been amply warned against so doing or perhaps just because he had been

All these little characteristics of errors are not much illuminated by the theory of diverted attention But that does not necessarily prove the theory wrong There may be something missing a link by the addition of which the theory might be made completely satisfactory But many of the errors themselves can be considered from another aspect

Let us select slips of the tongue as the type of error best suited to our purpose We might equally well choose slips of the pen or of reading Now we must first remind ourselves that so far we have only enquired when and under what conditions the wrong word is said and have received an answer on that point only Interest may be directed elsewhere though and the question raised why just this particular slip is made and no other one can consider the nature of the mistake You will see that so long as this question remains unanswered and the *effect* of the mistake is not explained the phenomenon remains a pure accident on the psychological side even if a physiological explanation has been found for it When it happens that I make a mistake in a word I could obviously do this in an infinite number of ways in place of the right word substitute any one of a thousand others or make innumerable distortions of the right word Now is there anything which forces upon me in a specific instance just this one special slip out of all those which are possible or does that remain accidental and arbitrary and can nothing rational be found in answer to this question?

Two authors Meringer and Mayer (a philologist and a psychiatrist) did indeed in 1895 make an attempt to approach the problem of slips of the tongue from this side They collected examples and first treated them from a purely descriptive standpoint This of course does not yet furnish any explanation but it may lead the way to one They differentiated the distortions which the intended phrase suffered through the slip into interchanges (in the positions of words syllables or letters) anticipations perseverations compoundings (contaminations) and substitutions I will give you examples of these authors main categories As an instance of an interchange (in the position of words) someone might say The Milo of Venus instead of The Venus of Milo The well known slip of the hotel boy who knocking at the bishop s door nervously replied to the question Who is it? The Lord, my boy! is another example of such an interchange in the position of words In the typical Spoonerism the position of certain letters is interchanged as when the preacher said How often do we feel a half warmed fish within us! It is a case of anticipation if any one says The thought lies heartily instead of The thought lies heavily on my heart. A perseveration is illustrated by the well known ill fated toast Gentlemen I call upon (auf) you to

hiccough (=*auf*zustossen)
(auf)
to the health of our Chief
(drink) (=*an*zustossen)

And when a member of the House of Commons referred to another as the honourable member for Central *Hell* instead of Hull it was a case of perseveration as also when a soldier said to a friend I wish there were a thousand of our men *mortified* on that hill, Bill instead of fortified In one case the *ell* sound has perseverated from the previous words member for Central and in the other the *m* sound in men has perseverated to form mortified These three types of slip are not very common You will find those cases much more frequent in which the slip happens by a compounding or contraction as for example when a gentleman asks a lady if he may *insult* her on her way (*begleit-digen*) this contraction is made up of *begleiten*=to escort, and *beleidigen*=to insult (And by the way a young man addressing a lady in this way will not have much success with her) A substitution takes place when a poor woman says she has an incurable *infernal* disease [2] or in Mrs. Malaprop s mind when she says for instance few gentlemen know how to value the *ineffectual* qualities in a woman

The explanation which the two authors attempt to formulate as the basis of their collection of examples is peculiarly inadequate They hold that the sounds and syllables of a word have different values and that the innervation of the sounds of higher value can interfere with those of lower value They obviously base this conclusion on the cases of

Komfo t b l is sla g V nnes exp es i n f one-horse cab —TR.

E gl h mpl —TR

concealed it from him altogether namely that even before the lot he was h. and loved him this the poet with exquisite fin ness of psychological feeling causes to com to expres on i her lip and is able by this artistic device to relieve the unbearable uncertainty of the lover as well as the suspense of the audience as to the issue of th cho ce

And notice at the end how subtly Portia reco ciles the two declarations which re con tained in the slip how she reso ves th con tradictio between them and finally even jus tifies th slip

but I mea then y urs
A d all yours

It ha happened that other thinkers outs de the fi ld of medicine ha e discl ed by a observation the meaning of o e rror and so anticipated our efforts in this direction You all know th witty satirist Lichtenberg (1 4 99) f whom Goethe said Where he makes a jok a problem lies co cea d. And occa sionally th lution of th p oblem is evealed in the j ke. Lichtenberg writes in his witt nd satirical N t s "He always read *Ag mem o* f *angen mm* (erb meaning t t ke for *granted*) so deeply ersed was he in Home This really co tains the wh e theory of slips in reading

At the ext l cture w will see whethe we can gree with th poet in their on eption of th meaning f psy hol gical rrors.

THIRD LECTURE

The Psychology of Errors (*Con. ued*)

At the last lecture t occurred to us t con sider th rro by itself alon apart from ts relation to the intended ct with whi h it had interf red, and w perc ed that in certain cases t seemed t betray a mea in f ts own W sa d t o rselves that f thi conclu on that the error has ts own meaning c uld be established on large scale that mea ing would soon prove m re int resting t us than the in est gation f the ondit ons under wh ch it rs nse

Le e more agree upo what we und stand by the *m aning* f mental proces This is thing lse but th intent which t serve and place in mental sequen In most f th ca es we examined we c uld bstit t f th w d *m aning* th w rds *t ion* nd *tendency* Now wa t nl decepti e ppea an poeti glorification f the rro that led us to believe that w ould see an intention in t?

Let us st ll keep to the examples of slips of the to gue a d review a larger n mber of such manifestations We then fi d whole categories of cases in which the i te io the meaning of the lip is quite obviou part cularly so i those ins ances i which the oppo e of what was intended is said. The Pres dent says in his open ing speech I d clare the ession *closed* That s surely not ambiguous The mean ng and i tention of this lip is that he wa ts to close the es on. One might well say he said so himself we only tak h m at his word. Please do not interrupt me with the objection that this is impo ible that we kn w qui e well that he wished to open the ses ion not to close it, and that h himself whom we ha e ju t recognized as the best judge of his inter ion will affirm that he mea t to open t In do g so you forget that w reed to consider the error by i self its lation t the intention wh h it d. urbs will be discussed late I o would be guilt of an error n logic, by w h you wou d cen ven entl dispose of the problem under d scus on which in English is called begging the question.

In other cases w ere the form of the slip is not exactl the oppos t of what is in ended a contrad ct ry sense m y st ll often come to expr

but it is an open confes o of a ... t sharpest contradiction to the speaker s duty to meet the situation gracef lly

In still th cases the slip mpl adds a sec ond meaning to the intended. The sentence then sounds lik a contract on an bbrevia on co densation f sev ral sentences into one Thus the det rmined lad who sa d He may eat a d drink whatever *I* choose That is as f she had said He can eat and drink what he hooses but what does t matter what he hooses It is f r m to d the choos g! Sl ps of th tongue often gi e thi impres on of b brev tion for in tan when a professo of anat my t the end of his lecture n the nasal cavit es ask whether h clas has th oughly understood it and, after a ge eral reply in the affirmati e goes on to say I can hardl be lieve that that is so s ce persons who ca th rou hl und rstand the nasal ca t es ca be counted even in city of millions on *on fi ger* I mean on the fingers of on hand Th bbreviated senten e has ts own meaning t says that the s only on person wh un derstands the subject

In ontrast to these types in which th slip

physiological and psycho physiological conditions could then be ignored and attention could be devoted to the purely psychological investigation of the *sense* that is the meaning the intention in the errors With this in view therefore we shall soon consider further material

Before undertaking this however I should like to invite you to follow up another clue with me It often happens that a poet makes use of a slip of the tongue or some other error as a means of artistic expression This fact in itself proves that he thinks the error for instance a slip of the tongue has a meaning for he constructs

happen that a

the pen and th p of the pen to stand as a slip of the tongue of the character He wishes to reveal something by means of the slip and we may well enquire what that may be—whether perhaps he wishes to indicate that the person in question is distracted or over tired or is expecting a headache Of course we should not exaggerate the importance of it if poets do make use of slips to express their meaning Slips might be in reality without meaning accidents in the mental world or only occasionally have a meaning and poets would still be entitled to refine them by infusing sense into them for their own purposes However it would not be surprising if more were to be learned from poets about slips of the tongue than from philologists and psychiatrists

There is an example of a slip of this kind in Schiller s *Wallenstein* (Piccolomini Act I Scene 5) In the foregoing scene young Max Piccolomini had taken up Duke Wallenstein s cause ardently and had been passionately describing the blessings of peace which he had become aware of in the course of a journey accompanying Wallenstein s beautiful daughter to the camp As he leaves the stage his father (Octavio) and the courtier Questenberg are plun ed in consternation The fifth scene continues

QUESTENBERG Alas! and stands it so?
Fr end do we let h m go
In th s delus ? let h m go f om us?
N t all him back at once not
Open his eyes h re and now?
OCTAVIO (*recove ing h m lf out f deep thought*)
He has now ope ed *m e*
And I see mo e than pleases me
QUESTENBERG Wh t is it?
OCTAVIO A curse upon this journey!
QUESTENBERG But why o? Wh t i it?
OCTAVIO Come come fr end! I must up
And follow the ill omened clue at once
And see with mine own eyes—come with me now!
QUESTENBERG What now? Where go you then?
OCTAVIO (*hast ly*) *To her herself!*
QUESTENBERG *To*
OCTAVIO (*cor ects h mself*) To the Duke! Co
let us go

Octavio meant to say To him to the Duke but his tongue slips and he betrays (to u at least) by the words *to her* that he has clearly recognized the influence at work behind the famous young warrior s rhapsodies in favour of peace

A still more impressive example was found by O Rank in Shakespeare It occurs in the *Merchant of Venice* in the famous scene in which the fortunate suitor makes his choice amon the three caskets and I can perhaps not do better than read to you now Rank s short account of it

A slip of the tongue which occurs in Shakespeare s *Merchant of Venice* (Act III Sc 2) is exceedingly fine in the poetic feeling it shows and in the brilliant way in which it is applied technically Like the slip in Wallenstein quoted by Freud in his *Psycho pathology of Everyday Life* it shows that the poets well understand the mechanism and meaning of such slips and assume that the audience will also understand them Portia who by her father s wish has been bound to the choice of a husband by lot, has so far escaped all the unwelcome suitors by the luck of fortune Having at last found in Bassanio the suitor to whom she is inclined she fears that he too will choose the wrong casket She would like to tell him that even so he may rest assured of her love but she is prevented by her oath In this inner conflict the poet makes her say to her chosen suitor

I pray you tarry pause a day or two
B fore you ha a d for in choosin wr n
I l se you c mp ny th refo e fo bear awhile
There s somethi g tells me (but t is not lo e)
I would n t lose y u
I c uld teach you
Ho t choose r ght but th n I am forsw rn
S w ll I n ver b so may you m s me
But if you do y u'll make me wish a sin
That I had b en forsw rn Besh ew your eyes,
Th y have o e l oked me d d vided me
O e h lf of me is you s th othe h lf yo rs—
M n I would s y b t if min then yours,
And so all you s

Just that which she only meant to ind ca e subtly to him because she should really have

absent-mindedness and distraction of attention play in regard to the mental nature of errors. Besides this, it is clearly seen that of the two competing meanings in the slip one is always manifest, but not always the other. How is one to discover the latter? And if one believes that one has guessed it, how is one to find proof that this is not merely a probability but the only true meaning? Is there anything else you wish to ask? If not, then I myself will continue. I will remind you that we are not really greatly concerned with errors in themselves, but that we wished to learn from a study of them something of value from the point of view of psycho-analysis. Therefore I will put this question: "What sort of purposes or tendencies are these which thus interfere with other intentions, and what is the relation between the interfering tendency and the other?" Thus, as soon as we have found the answer to the riddle, our efforts begin again.

Very well then: is this the explanation of all cases of slips of the tongue? I am very much inclined to think so, and for this reason, because whenever one examines an instance, for this type of solution may be found. Still, one cannot prove that slips of the tongue cannot come to pass without the agency of this mechanism. It may be so; for our purposes it is no matter, for all events theoretically, for the conclusions which we wish to draw by way of an introduction to psycho-analysis remain valid, even if only a small proportion of the total incidence of slips of the tongue comes under our explanation, and this is certainly not so. The next question, whether this explanation extends to other forms of errors, may be answered by way of anticipation in the affirmative. You can convince yourselves of it when we turn to consider examples of slips of the pen, of wrongly performed acts, and so on. I propose, however, for technical reasons that we should postpone doing this until we have investigated the slip of the tongue itself more thoroughly.

The question what significance those factors which some writers have pointed to the foreground can now have for us—such factors as disturbances of the circulation, fatigue, excitement, distraction, disturbances of attention—demands a more exhaustive reply if we assume the mental mechanism of slips described above. You will observe that we do not deny these factors. Indeed, in general it doesn't often happen that psycho-analysis contests anything which is maintained in other quarters; as a rule, psycho-analysis only adds something new to what has been said, and it does certainly happen on occasion that what has hitherto been overlooked and is now supplied by psycho-analysis is the most essential part of the matter. The influence of such physiological predispositions as arise in slight illness, circulatory disturbances and conditions of fatigue upon the occurrence of slips of the tongue is to be admitted without more ado; everyday personal experience may convince you of it. But how little is explained by this admission! Above all, these are not necessary conditions of errors. Slips of the tongue may just as well occur in perfect health and normal conditions. These bodily factors, therefore, are merely contributory; they only favour and facilitate the peculiar mental mechanism which produces slips of the tongue. I once used an illustration for this state of things which I will repeat here, as I know of no better. Just suppose that on some dark night I am walking in a lonely neighbourhood and am assaulted by a rogue who seizes my watch and money, whereupon, since I could not see the robber's face clearly, I make my complaint at the police-station in these words: "Loneliness and darkness have just robbed me of my valuables." The police officer might reply to me: "You seem to carry your support of the extreme mechanistic point of view too far for the facts. Suppose we put the case thus: Under cover of darkness and encouraged by the loneliness of the spot, some unknown thief has made away with your valuables. It seems to me that the essential thing to be done is to look about for the thief. Perhaps we shall then be able to take the plunder from him again."

Psycho-physiological factors such as excitement, absent-mindedness, distraction of attention, obviously provide very little in the way of explanation. They are mere phrases: they are screens, and we should not be deterred from looking behind them. The question is rather what has here called forth the excitement, the particular diversion of attention. The influence of sound-values, resemblances between words, and common associations connecting certain words must also be recognized as important. They facilitate the slip by pointing out a path for it to take. But if there is a path before me, does it necessarily follow that I must go along it? I also require a motive to determine my choice and, further, some force to propel me forward. These sound-values and word-associations are, therefore, just like the bodily conditions, the facilitating causes of

u rectly controverts our ex pectations The mis pronunciation by mistake of proper names or the enunciation of mean ingless sounds is such a frequent occurrence that this alone would appear to dispose at once of the question whether all errors have a mean ing Yet close n

u that the differ ence between the e unintelligible cases and the previous more comprehensible ones is not so very great

The owner of a horse on being asked how it was replied O it may *stad*—it may *take* another month Asked what he really meant to say he answered that he was thinking it was a *sad* business and the words *sad* and *take* to gether gave rise to *stad* (Meringer and Mayer)

Another man was relating some objection able incidents and went on and then certain facts were *refilled* He explained that he meant to say these facts were *filthy* *Revealed* and *filthy* together combine to form *refilled* (Mer inger and Mayer)

You will recall the case of the young man who offered to insort an unknown lady We took the liberty of resolving this word into *insult* and *escort* and were quite convinced of this interpretation without requiring proof of it From these examples you can see that even these more obscure cases can be explained as the concurrence or *interference* of two dif ferent intentions of speech with one another the differences arise only in that in the first type of slip the one intention has entirely ex cluded the other as when the opposite is said while in the second type the one intention only succeeds in distorting or modifying the other from which arise combinations of a more or less senseless appearance

We believe that we have now discovered the secret of a large number of slips of the tongue If we keep this clear in mind we shall h h

ps of the tongue they are attempts to liken the name to something derogatory or degrading a com mon form of abuse which educated persons soon learn to avoid but nevertheless do not willingly give up It may be dressed up as a joke although one of a very low order To quote one gross and ugly example of such a distortion of a name the name of the Presi dent of the French Republic *Poincaré* has lately been transformed into *Schweinskarré* It is not going much further to assume that so e such abusive intention may also be behind dis tortions of names produced by a slip of the tongue In pursuing our idea similar explana tions suggest themselves for cases of slips where the effect is comic or absurd In the case of the member of parliament who referred to the honourable member for Central Hell the sober atmosphere of the House is unex pectedly disturbed by the intrusion of a word that calls up a ludicrous and unflattering im age we are bound to conclude from the anal ogy with certain offensive and abusive expres sions that an impulse has interposed here to this effect You needn t be taken in I don't mean a word of this To hell with the fellow! The same applies to slips of the tongue which transform quite harmle s words into obscene and indecent ones

We are familiar with this tendency in cer tain people intentionally to convert harmless words into indecent ones for the sake of the amusement obtained it passes for wit and in fact when one hears of a case one at once asks whether it was intended as a joke or occurred unintentionally as a slip of the tongue

Well we seem to have solved the riddle of errors with comparatively little trouble! They are not accidents they are serious mental acts they have their meanin they arise through the concurrence—perhaps better the mutual interference—of two different intentions But now I can well understand that you want to overwhelm me with a flood of questions and doubts which must be answered and resolved before we can enjoy this first result of our ef forts I certainly do not want to press any hasty conclusions upon you Let us coolly consider everything in turn

What would you like to say? Whether I think that this explanation accounts for all ca es of slips of the tongue or only for a certain num ber? Whether this conception can be extended to the many other types of errors to misread ing slips of the pen forgetting wrongly per formed actions mislaying things and so on? What part the factors of fatigue excitement,

Tw t l t bl mpl s a g l th te t (M d M y)—TR.

Now you will break off here onl to take up your res tance at another point You will con tinue We understand that it lies in the pe cuia technique of ps cho-analysis to bri g the person a alysed to gi e the oluti of its prob-lem Let us take another example that n which the afte -dinner speaker calls upon the company to *h ccouch* to the health of the r guest. The int rfering te dency is you say in this c e to rid cule thi t is which oppo es the intention t d honour But this is a mere int rpretation on your part based on ob erva tions made dependentl of th slip. If in this case you were t qu t n th perpetrator of the slip he w uld not c nfirm ou ew that he inte ded an in lt n the co trary he w uld veh me tly deny t Why do yo not ba do your u dem trable int rpret tion in the fa e of thi fl t denial

Yes th s tim you ha e lighted upon ome thin form d bl I can pict re to m s lf that unknown peak r h is probably an as ta t f the guest of h n u perhaps already a junio l ct rer him elf a young man with the brightest prospects I will press him and a k wh ther h s su e he d d ot pe c e some he dem nd

t

r

f

e

anstos en because I d alre dy sa d bef re t. It the thing that M rnnge call a perseve t o and th re othing else t be read t it. Do yo und rstand me That s enough. H'm this is a st rth g react n a trul en rgeti repud t I see that there i thi m re t be do e with th young man but I think to myself that h betrays strong pers al int re t in making ut that his lip I Y

I

k w

t y d what t

O h mu t? That is pe haps st ll open t questi n.

S

assert that what he says does not count one need not bel eve it.

C rta nly that is o But I can gi e you an ther in tance of a imilarly monstrous pro-cedure When an accused man confesses to a deed the judge believes h m b t when he de nies it the judge does not bel eve him. Were it oth rwise the law could not be adminis ered and i spite of occasional m scarriages you will adm t that the system on the whole works well.

"Well but are you a j dge and t the person wh comm ts a sl p to be accu ed before you Is a slip of th to gue crime

Perhaps we need not reject even this com paris n But see now t what deep-seated dif ferences our attempt to in est gate the appar ently harmless problems of errors has brought us differe ces which at this stage we do not know n the least how to reconcile I suggest that we hould make a temporary compromise on the ba s of the analogy with the judge and the pri oner You shall grant me that the mean ing of an error adm ts of no doubt when the subject of the an lysis acknowledges it him elf I in turn will dm t that a d rect proof f r the suspected meanin cann t be obtained if the ubject refuses us the inf rmation and of course this applies al o when the subject is not present to gi e us the informat on. As also in legal proceedings we are then thrown back upo ndicat o s n order to form a decis on the truth of which is sometimes more and some times less probable At law for practical rea so s guilt has to be d clared also on circum stantial ev dence There is no such neces ty here but ne ther are we bound to refrain from co sid rin such evidence It is a mistake to belie e that a cienc consi ts in nothing but concl si ely pro ed proposit ons and it is un just to demand that it should It is a dem nd nly made by those wh feel a cra ing for auth rity in some form and a need to replace the religious catechi m by s mething lse even f it be sc tific o e S ie ce in ts cate hi m h but few pod t c p ecepts it cons sts mai ly f statements whi h t ha developed t arying degrees of probability The capac ty t be c te t with th se approximations to certainty a d th abil ty to carry on construc t e w k desp te th lack of fi l confirm t on are actually a mark of the scientific hab t of mind

But where shall we fi d a starti g po nt for r i t rpretat ns a d the d cat ns for our proof in ases wh re the ubj ct und anal

slips of the tongue and cannot provide the real explanation of them Consider for a moment the enormous majority of cases in which the words I am using in my speech are not de ranged on account of sound resemblance to other words intimate associations with opposite meanings or with expressions in common use It yet remains to suppose with the philosopher Wundt that a slip of the tongue arises when the tendency to associations gains an ascend ance over the original intention owing to bodily fatigue This would be quite plausible if ex perience did not controvert it by the fact that in a number of cases the bodily and in another large group the associative predisposing causes are absent

Particularly interesting to me however is your next question namely by what means the two mutually disturbing tendencies may be ascertained You probably do not suspect how portentous this question is You will agree that one of these tendencies the one which is interfered with is always unmistakable the person who commits the slip knows it and ac knowledges it Doubt and hesitation only arise in regard to the other what we have called the interfering tendency Now we have already heard and you will certainly not have forgot ten that in a certain number of cases this other tendency is equally plain It is evident in the result of the slip if only we have the courage to let the slip speak for itself The President who said the opposite of what he meant—it is clear that he wishes to open the session but equally clear that he would also like to close it That is so plain that it needs no interpret ing But in the other cases in which the inter fering tendency merely distorts the original without itself coming to full expression how can the interfering tendency be detected in the distortion?

In one group of cases by a very safe and sim ple method by the same method that is by which we establish the tendency that is inter fered with We enquire of the speaker who tells us then and there after making the slip he re stores the word he originally intended O it may *stad*—no it may *take* another month Well the interfering tendency may be like wise supplied by him We say Now why did you first say *stad?* He replies I meant to say it was a sad business and in the other case in which refilled was said the speaker informs you that he first meant to say it was a filthy business but controlled himself and substituted another expression The discovery of the disturbin tendency is here as definitely established as that of the disturbed tendency It is not without

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both these cases a certain in tervention was necessary in order to produce the explanation One had to ask the speaker why he made the slip what explanation he could give Without that he might have passed it by without seeking to explain it Being asked however he gave as his answer the first idea that occurred to him And see now this little intervention and the result of it constitute al ready a psycho analysis a prototype of every psycho analytic investigation that we may un dertake further

Now should I be too suspicious if I were to surmise that at the very moment at which psycho analysis begins to dawn upon you a resistance to it instantly raises itself within your mind? Are you not eager to object that information supplied by the person enquired of who committed the slip is not completely reliable evidence He naturally wishes you think to meet your request to explain his slip and so he says the first thing that he can think of if it will do at all There is no proof that that is actually how the slip arose It may have been so but it may just as well have been otherwise Something else also might have oc curred to him that would have met the case as well or even better

It is remarkable how little respect you have in your hearts for a mental fact! Imagine that someone had undertaken a chemical analysis of a certain substance and had ascertained that one ingredient of it is of a certain weight so and so many milligrams From this weight thus arrived at certain conclusions may be drawn Do you think now it would ever occur to a chemist to discredit these conclusions on the ground that the isolated substance might as well have had some other weight? Everyone recognizes the fact that it actually had this weight and no other and builds further conclu sions confidently on that fact But when it is a question of mental fact that it *was* such an idea and no other that occurred to the person when questioned you will not accept that as valid but say that something else might as well have occurred to him! The truth is that you have an illusion of a psychic freedom with in you which you do not want to give up I regret to say that on this point I find myself in sharpest opposition to your views

Now you will break off he e onl to take up your res stance at another point. You will con tinue "We und rstand that it lies in the pe culiar t chnique of psycho-analysis to bring the perso analysed to give the solution f its problems Let us tak another example that n whi h the after-dinner speaker calls upon the company to *h ccough* t the health of the r guest. The int rfering te dency is you say in this ca.e t ridicule this it is which oppo s th inte tion to d ho our But this is mere interpretatio on your part based on ob erva ti s made independently of the lip If in this case you were t qu st on the perpetrator f the slip h would n t confirm your ew that he i tended an insult on the co trary he would vehem ntly d ny it. Why do you not aband n your und m strabl interpretation in the fa e of th s flat denial?

Yes this tim you ha e lighted upo ome thi f rmidabl I can picture to m elf that unknown speaker he is probably an a. tant f the guest of hono r perhaps already a junio l cturer himself a young ma with the brightest prospects I will pres him and a.k wh ther h is ure he did n t pe cei e ome feeling in him elf antag nisti to the demand that h hould pay ho our t his chi f A n ce fuss there is He becomes mpatient a d sud d nly bur ts out at me Look here enough of this cross-examinat on o I ll make myself disgreeabl You will ruin my career with yo suspicions I simply aid *f t ssen* tead of *anst sen* because I d already said *auf* twice bef t. It the thing that M rin er calls a perseverat on and th re s n thing else t be read int it. D you und rstand me That s enough. Hm this is a startli g rea t on a

has meaning You will perhaps agree too that h ha no right to bec m um il o er pur ly theoret cal in estigatio but fter all y will think. h must know what he wanted to y and what t.

O h m st? That is pe haps t'll open to questi

N w y think you ha e m in trap So that is you technique I hea you say When the person wh comm ts slip gives an plan t whi h fits your ew th you d lare him t be th final a thority on the subject H says s himself! But f wh t h says does t su t your book, then y ddenly assert that what he says does not count one need not bel eve it

Certainly that is o But I can gi e you another n tance of a m larly monstrous procedure When an accused man confesses to a deed the ju l. believes h m but when he d n es it the judge does not bel eve h m. Were it otherw se th law could not be admini. ered and in spite of occas onal m scarriages you will adm t that the system on the whole works well.

"Well, but are you a judge a d is the person who commits a slip to be accused before you? Is a sl p f the to gue a crime?

Perhaps we need not reject even this com pari on But see now to what deep-seated dif fere ces our attempt to inves igate the appar ently harmle s p oblems of errors has brou ht us differences which at this sta.e we do not know n the lea t how to reconcile I suggest that we ho ld make a temporary comproni e on the basis of the analogy w th the judge and the prisoner You shall grant me that the mean ing of an error adm ts of no d bt when the subject of the a alysis a knowledges it him elf I i turn will admit that a direct proof fo the suspected m aning cannot be obt ined if the s bject refuses us the informat o and of c urse this pplies also when the subject is ot present t gi e us th informat on. As also in legal p oceedi gs w are then thrown back upon i dications n order to form a dec s on the truth of which is somet mes more and some times less probable At law for practical rea sons guilt has t be declared also on circum stantial ev dence There is no uch necess ty here b t neither are we bou d to refra n f om considering such ev dence It is a mistake to beli e that a cie c consists in nothi g but conclu.i ely proved propositions and it is un just to d mand that it should. It is a demand nly made by those who feel a cra ing for authority in some form and a need to replace the religi us cat hi m by something else even f t be a sci tific o e Science in its cate hi m has but few pod ct precepts it consists mai ly of statements which t ha developed t varying d grees of p babllity The capacity to be co tent with these approximat ons to cert inty and the ability to c rry on co stru ti e wo k despite th lack of final confirmation are actually mark f the scientific hab t of mi d

But wh re shall we find a tarting po t f r our int rpretati ns d the i dicat ons f r our pro f in cases wher the ubject unde anal

ysis says nothing to explain the meaning of the error? From various sources First by analogy with similar phenomena not produced by error as when we maintain that the distortion of a name by mistake has the same intention to ridicule behind it as intentional distortion of names And then from the mental situation in which the error arose from our knowledge of the character of the person who commits it and of the feelings active in him before the error to which it may be a response As a rule what happens is that we find the meaning of the error according to general principles and this to begin with is only a conjecture a tentative solution proof being discovered later by an examination of the mental situation Sometimes it is necessary to await further developments which have been so to speak foreshadowed by the error before we can find confirmation of our conjecture

I cannot easily give you evidence of this if I have to limit myself to the field of slips of the tongue although even here I have a few good examples The young man who offered to in sort the lady is in fact very shy the lady whose husband may eat and drink what *she* likes I know to be one of those managing women who rule the household with a rod of iron Or take the following case At a general meeting of a club a young member made a violent attack in a speech in the course of which he spoke of the officers of the society as *Lenders* of the Committee which appears to be a substitute for *Members* of the Committee We should conjecture that against his attack some interfering tendency was active which was it self in some way connected with the idea of *lending* As a matter of fact an informant tells us that the speaker is in constant money difficulties and was actually attempting to raise money at the time So the interfering tendency really is to be translated into the thought Be more moderate in your opposition these are the people whom you want to lend you money

If I diverge into the field of other kinds of errors I can give you a wide selection of examples of such circumstantial evidence

If anyone forgets an otherwise familiar proper name and has difficulty in retaining it in his memory—e

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on the mental situation in which an error of this kind was made

A Mr Y fell in love with a lady who did not return the feeling and shortly after married a Mr X Although Mr Y had already known Mr X for some time and even had business relations with him he forgets his name over and over again so that he frequently has to ask someone the man s name when it is necessary to write to him Obviously Mr Y wants to obliterate all knowledge of his fortunate rival Never thought of shall he be

Another example a lady inquires of a doctor about a common acquaintance callin her by her maiden name She has forgotten the married name She admits that she strongly objected to the marriage and dislikes the husband intensely

Later we shall have much to say in other connections in regard to the forgetting of names at the moment we are chiefly interested in the *mental situation* in which the lapse of memory occurs

The forgetting of resolutions can in general be referred to an opposing current of feeling which is against carrying out the intention It is not only we psycho analysts who hold this view however it is the ordinary attitude of everyone in their daily affairs which they only deny in theory The protégé whose patron apologizes for having forgotten his request is not pacified by such an apology He thinks immediately It s evidently nothing to him he promised but he doesn t mean to do it For getting is therefore criticized even in life in certain connections and the difference between the popular and the psycho analytic conception of these errors seems to be dispelled Imagine a hostess receiving a guest with the words What is it today you were coming? I quite forgot that I had asked you for to-day or a young man confessing to his beloved that he had forgotten all about the appointment they had arranged on the last occasion He will never admit it he will rather invent on the spur of the moment the most wildly improbable hindrances which prevented his coming and made it impossible for him to communicate with her from that day to this We all know that in military service the excuse of having forgotten is worthless and saves no one from punishment the system is recognized as justifiable Here everyone is suddenly agreed that a certain mistake has a meaning and what that meaning is Why are they not consistent enough to extend their insight to other errors and then

V rscl ssm tgl ed st d of A Ius m tgl der F m C G J g F m A A B ill

openly acknowledge it? There is naturally also an answer to thi

If the meani of forgetting res lutions is so little pen to doubt in the mi ds of people in general you will be the less surprised to find that writers employ such m stakes in a similar sense. Those of you who ha e seen or read haw s *Cæsar and Cleopatra* will recall that Cæsa when departing in the last scene is pursued by the feeling that there was some thing else he intend d to do which he had now ... en At last it turns out what t is to

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Yo ca learn f m hist ... t Cæsar arranged f r Cleopatra to f llow him t R me and that sh was l ving ther with her little Cæsarion when Cæsar was murdered whereupon he fl d the city

The cases f forgetting esolut o s are as a rule so cl ar that they are of little use fo our purpose whi h is to d sco er in the mental s tuat on dicat ons of th mean g of the er ror Let us turn theref re t a particularly amb guo s and bs ure form of erro that of losing and mislayi g obj ct It will certa nly seem incredible t you that the pers n himself could h e any purpo e in los n things which is ften su h a pa ful a c dent But th re are innum rabl insta ces f thi kind A young man loses a pencil t which he wa much at tach d. A f w d s before h had had a letter from his broth r in law which concl ded with thes w rds I ha e e ther time nor inclina ti n t present to encourage you yo fri ol ty a d dleness Now th pencil was a pre ... bee

num rous On loses b t wh one has quarr lled w th th gi er and o fo ge wants to be reminded f h m o again when one h s tired f them and wants xcuse to p d oneself with om thi g different and better Dropping b aking and destroying thi gs of ...

thin which he has h mself put away will cer ta nly be unwill ng to believe that he could have had a y ntention in so d And yet cases are not at all rare n which the circumstances attendant on the act of mislayin po t to a tende cy to put the object a d temporarily or permanentl Pe haps the bes example of this kind is th following

A young man told me this story A few years ag there were m sunderstand ngs be tween me and m w fe I thought her too c ld and thou h I will n l a knowledged her ex cellent qualities we lived together without af fect on One day on c ming i from a walk she brou ht me a book wh ch she had bou t me because she thought i would interest me. I tha ked her for h r little attent on promised to read the book put t amon my th ngs and never could find t again. Months passed by and occasionally I thought of this erel ct book and tried in ain to fi d t About six months la er my dear m ther wh lived some distance away fell ill. My wife left our house to go and nurse her mother i law who became seriously ill gi i g my wife an opportunity of showi g her be t qual ties. One evening I came home f ll of e thusia m and grat t de towards my wife I walked up to my writing desk a d opened a certain drawer in it without a defin te in en tion but with kind of somnambul stic sure ness and there before me lay the lost book which I had so often looked for

With the disappearance of the mot e the in abil ty to fi d the mislaid object also came to an end

I could multiply this collection of examples i d finitely but I will not do so now I my *Psycho-pathology of Everyday Life* (first pub lished n 1901) you will find plenty of examp es f th study of errors All these examples dem onstrate the same thing over and over n they make t probab e to you that mi takes ha e a meaning and they how you how the meani g can be guessed or confirmed from the ttendant c rcumsta ces I re trict myself rath ...

and his choolbag?

Any wh ha xperienced ften no gh the annoya ce f ot being able t find me

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combined rrors a d confirmat on of our in terpretations by subsequent events

Accumulated a d combined err rs are cer

Also the wri rs f A. M eder (*F ench*) A. A. Brill nd Ernes J nes (*Engl h*) nd J Starck (*D t h*) and thers.

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If I diverge into the field of other kinds of errors I can give you a wide selection of examples of such circumstantial evidence

If anyone forgets an otherwise familiar proper name and has difficulty in retaining it in his memory—even with an effort—it is not hard to guess that he has something against the owner of the name and does not like to think of him consider in the light of this the following notes on the mental situation in which an error of this kind was made

A Mr Y fell in love with a lady who did not return the feeling and shortly after married a Mr X Although Mr Y had already known Mr X for some time and even had business relations with him he forgets his name over and over again so that he frequently has to ask someone the man s name when it is necessary to write to him Obviously Mr Y wants to obliterate all knowledge of his fortunate rival Never thought of shall he be

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ram many years bef re she really resumed it. I know of other women who lost the r wedu.. rmes on the honeymoon and I know too that the course f the marriage lent meanm to this accident. And now one strikin example more w.h better end It is told of a famous German chemist that his marriage never took p ce because he forgot the hour of the c re mon a.d went to the laboratory instead of to the church. He was wise enough t let the matter rest with one attempt and died unmar ried t a ripe ge.

Perhaps the idea has also come to you that in these examples mistakes seem to have re placed the omens or portents of the ancients. A.d indeed, certain kind of portents were hing but errors for instance when anyone stumbled o f ll down. It is true that another group of omens bore th haracter of objective events rather than f subjective cts B t you would ot believe how difficult it is sometimes to decid whether specific ins.a ce bel ..gs to the first category o to the second. The act knows so ften how t disguise itself as a passive experience

E ery one f us wh can look back over a fairly lon.. experienc f life w uld probably sa that he might ha e spared himself many disappointments and painful surprises f he h.d had th courage and resolution to inte pret as omens th littl mistakes whi h he ot ced in his inter ourse with th rs and t regard them as signs f tendenc es still in the background. For the most part ne does ot dare to d thi one has an impressi n that one would be m supersititi us gain by a ci cuitou cientifi path And then. t all omens com true and our th ories will sh w you how it is that they eed ot all com true

FOURTH LECTURE

The P cholog of Err s (Con lusi)

That errors ha e meaning, we may certainly set down as est blished by r ff rt up to this point and may tak this lu on s a ba..s for our furth in est gat ns Let me once m re emphasize th fact that we d ot maintain—and f our purposes d ot need t maintain—that every .ingl mistak which occurs has meaning although I think that pr bable It is en ugh f r us t prove that such meaning is relatively frequent in the various forms f errors In thi respect by th w th variou forms how certain differences Some cases f slips of th tongue slips of th pen and s on may be th effect of a purely ph s-iological cause though I cannot bel eve this poss b e of those errors which depend upon forgetfulness (f rgetti g of names or inten tions mislaying and so on) l s ng possessions is in all probab lity to be recognized as unin tent onal in some cases ltogeth r our con ceptions are only to a certa n extent appl cable to the mistakes which occur in da'ly life. These limitations should be borne in mind by you when we proceed on the assumption that errors are mental acts arising from the mutual i ter ference of tw i tentions

This is the firs result of our psycho-analys s Hithert psychology ha known nothi g of such interferences or of the poss b lity that they could occasion manifestat ons of th s kind We ha e widened the domain f men al phenomena t a ery cons d rable extent and have won for psych logy phenomena wh.ch were never before accred.ted t it.

Let us dwell for a moment o the propo i tio that errors are *men al acts* Does this mean any more than our f rmer st teme t that they ha e a meani g? I do not think so on the con trary it is a m re ind finite statement and one m re open to misunderstandi g E erythi g that can be bserved i mental life will be des igna ed at ne time or nother as a mental phenome. on. It depends however whether the particular m tal pher menon is directly d e to bodil organ c or material agencies in which

We ha e in mi d the latter state of things when

meaning and by meani g w understand i nificance tenti t d ncy and a position i sequence of me tal oncatenat s

There s anoth group of occurren es which is ery closely related to errors b t for whi h this name is not suitable W call them *acc dental* and *sympt mat c acts* They also appear to be unmot vated in. gnificant d unimpo tant but in add tion to this they have ery clearly the fe ture f uperfluity They are on th one hand d.stingui.habl from errors by th bsence of any second intentio to whi h they are opposed and which they disturb n the other hand they m rge with ut any definite line of demarcati n into the gestures and move ments which we regard as expres ons of th

tainly the finest flowers of the species If we were only concerned to prove that errors had a meaning we should have limited ourselves to them at the out et for the meaning in them is unmistakable even to the dullest intelligence and strong enou h to impress the most critical judgment. The repetition of the occurrences betrays a persistence which is hardly ever an attribute of chance but which fits well with the idea of design Further the exchanging of one kind of mistake for another shows us what is the most important and essential element in the error and that is not its form or the means of which it makes use but the *tendency* which makes use of it and can achieve its end in the most various ways Thus I will give you a case of repeated forgetting Ernest Jones relates that he once allowed a letter to lie on his writing desk for several days for some unknown rea on At last he decided to post it but received it back from the dead letter office for he had forgotten to address it After he had addressed it he took it to post but this time without a stamp At this point he finally had to admit to himself his objection to sending the letter at all

In another case taking up a thing by mistake is combined with mislaying it A lady travelled to Rome with her brother in law a famous artist The visitor was much feted by the Germans living in Rome and received among other things a present of an antique gold medal The lady was vexed because her brother

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brought .. medal with her—how she did not know She wrote at once to her brother in law telling him that she would send the stolen property back to him the next day But the next day the medal was so cleverly mislaid that it could not be discovered and could not be returned and then it began to dawn upon the lady what her *absent mindedness* had meant namely that she wanted to keep the work of art for herself

I have already given you an example of a combination of forgetfulness with an error in the case in which someone forgets an appointment and a second time with the firm intention of not forgetting it again appears at an hour which is not the appointed one A quite analogous case was told me from his own experience by a friend who pursues literary as well as scientific interests He said Some years ago I accepted election to the Council of a certain literary society because I hoped that the society might at some time be usef

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ay A few months ago I received an assurance that my play would be produced at a theatre in F and since then it has invariably happened that I *forget* to attend the meetings of the society When I read your writings on this subject I reproached myself with my meanness in staying away now that these people can no longer be of use to me and determined on no account to forget on the following Friday I kept remindin myself of my resolution until I carried it out and stood at the door of the meeting room To my amazement it was closed and the meeting was already over! I had made a mistake in the day of the week and it was then Saturday!

It would be tempting to collect more of these examples but I will pass on and instead let you glance at those cases in which interpretation has to wait for confirmation in the future

The main condition in these cases is as we might expect that the mental situation at the time is unknown or cannot be ascertained At the moment therefore our interpretation is no more than a supposition to which we ourselves would not ascribe too much weight Later however something happens which shows us how well justified our previous interpretation was I was once the guest of a young married couple and heard the young wife laughingly describe her latest experience how the day after the return from the honeymoon she had called for her sister and gone shopping with her as in former times while her husband went to his business Suddenly she noticed a man on the other side of the street and nud ing her sister said Look there goes Mr K She had forgotten that this man had been her husband for some weeks A shudder went over me as I heard the story but I dared not draw the inference Several years later the little incident came back to my mind after this marriage had come to a most unhappy end

Maeder tells a story of a lady who had forgotten to try on her wedding dress the day before the wedding to the despair of the dressmaker and remembered it only late in the evening He connects it with the fact that soon after the marriage she was divorced by her husband. I know a woman now divorced from her husband who in managing her money affairs frequently signed documents with her maiden

the ladies admitted that spending the day like this entailed much discomfort. It certainly is ... unpleasa t to tramp all day in the un t ... bl se ... and th s are soaked [illegible]

a d can cha ge ... (*Hose* u e us ... the lady meant to say *nach Ha se* wh ch means *home*) We d d not a al se this sl p but I am sure yo w ll e sily understa d it The l ly s intention had been to enumer te a more complete list of her clothes blouse ch m e and [illegible] mention

Now we can t rn at last to the ma i q e tion hich h s been so lo postp ned namely what kind of *tendenc es* th se are which b ng thems l es t expressi n n this unu ual way by interferi g w th other intent ons They are evidently ery arious yet our aim i to find som eleme t comm n to them all If we examine a ser es of exampl s for th purpose we shall soon fi d that they fall into three groups. T the *f st* group belong the ca e in which the i terferin tendency s kn wn to the spe ke a d more er wa felt by him before th slip Thu i the case f the sl p refilled the spe ker n t only adm tt d that h had criticized the eve ts in question as filthy but furthe that he had had th i te tio which he subsequ tly reve sed of e pressing this opinion word A *second* g oup formed by othe ses in which the interf ring tende cy is lik rec gnized by the speaker as his o n but h is t awa e that t was acti e n him bef re the slip H th ref accept our int rpretatio but r m ns t som te t s r prised by t Exampl of th s tt tude are pr b ably m re ea ly found in the errors tha in sl ps of the t ngue I the *third* gro p the int rp tat on f th terf n g tendency i en erget cally repudi ted by th peake not ly doe he d put that t w s act e n h m befo e the sl p b t he will mai ta n that it i lto geth t ly al t him Recall the case b ut hic h g d the pos t vely discourte o reb ff wh h I b ought upon myself by d tec ing th inte fering te dency Y u know th t i tt t de t wards the e c se you d I re st ll fa fr m an agr m t I sh uld make nothing of the afte -d nn r spe ke de nial and hold fast to my interpretation un waveringly while you I imag ne are till im pres ed by his vehemence and are won lering whether one should not forego the interpreta t on of such errors a d let them pa s for purely physiolog cal acts as in the days before anal ys s I can imag ne what it is that alarms you *My interpretation* includes the a sumption that te denci of which a speaker knows noth ng can expre s them el es thro h him an l that I ca deduce them from various i. t ations You he itate before a co clus on so novel an l so pregnant with consequences I understan l that and admit that up to a p nt you are justif ed B t let one th g be clear if you in tend to carry to its log cal co clu ion the con cepti n of errors which has been confirmed [illegible] make [illegible] t do [illegible] d r [illegible] sta d ng of errors [illegible] st be gun to obta n

Let us pau e a moment on that which unites the three groups and is common to the three [illegible]

been forced back The spe ker had d ter i ned not to convert the idea to speech a l the it happens that he makes a sl p of the to gue that is to say the tendency wh ch s d b red f om e presso asserts itself ag st h s will and ga s utte nce e the by altering the ex p ession of the inte t on permitt d by h m or by m gl g with it o actu lly by sett g itself i p ace of it This then is the mechanism of a sl p of the to gue

For my wn part I can br ng the proce s in the th d g up al o int perfect harmony with the m cha ism here desc bed I need only as s me that these three groups re d ffere tiated by the vary g d grees t which the forc ng back of a tenti is effecti e In the f rst gr p the i te t on is present and make its ll percept ble before the words are spoken not unt l then does it s ffer the rejection for wh ch it indem f s itself in the sl p In the s cond gro p the reject on reaches further back the intenti n is o longer perceptible even bef re the speech. It is rem Lable that th does not hi d r it in the least from be ng the acti e c se of the sl p But th s state f things s mp l fi s the explanation of the process in the thi l

emotions To this class of accidental performances belong all those apparently purposeless acts which we carry out as though in play with clothing parts of the body objects within reach also the omission of such acts and again the tunes which we hum to ourselves I maintain that all such performances have meaning and are explicable in the same way as are errors that they are slight indications of other more important mental processes and are genuine mental acts I propose however not to linger over this further extension of the field of mental phenomena but to return to the errors for by a consideration of them problems of importance in the enquiry into psycho analysis can be worked out much more clearly

Undoubtedly the most interesting questions which we formulated while considering errors and have not yet answered are the following We said that errors result from the mutual interference of two different intentions of which one may be called the intention interfered with and the other the interfering tendency The intentions interfered with give rise to no further questions but concerning the others we wish to know first what kind of intentions these are that arise as disturbers of others and secondly what are the relations between the interfering tendencies and those which suffer the interference?

Allow me to take slips of the tongue again as representative of the whole series and to answer the second question before the first

The interfering tendency in the slip of the tongue may be connected in meaning with the intention interfered with in which case the former contains a contradiction of the latter or corrects or supplements it Or in other more obscure and more interesting cases the interfering tendency may have no connection whatever in meaning with the intention interfered with

Evidence for the first of these two relationships can be found without difficulty in the examples already studied and in others similar to them In almost all cases of slips of the tongue where the opposite of what is meant is said the interfering tendency expresses the opposite meaning to that of the intention interfered with and the slip is the expression of the conflict between two incompatible impulses I declare the meeting open but would prefer to have clo ed it is the meaning of the President s slip A political paper which had been accused of corruption defends itself in an article meant to culminate with the words Our readers will testify that we have always laboured for the public benefit in the most *disinterested* manner But the editor entrusted with the composition of the defence wrote in the most *interested* manner That is to say he thinks I have to write this stuff but I know better A representative of the people urging that the Kaiser should be told the truth *ruckhaltslos* (unreservedly) hears an inner voice terrified at his boldness and by a slip of the tongue transforms *ruckhaltslos* into *ruckgratslos* (without backbone ineffectually)

In the examples already given which produce an impression of contraction and abbreviation the process represents a correction addition or continuation in which a second tendency manifests itself alongside the first Things were then revealed but better say it straight out they were filthy therefore—thin s were then *refilled* The people who understand this subject may be counted on the fingers of one hand but no there is really only one person who understands it very well then—can be counted on *one finger* Or my husband can eat and drink what he likes but you know *I* don t permit him to like this and that so then—he may eat and drink what *I* like In all these cases the slip arises from the content of the intention interfered with or is directly connected with it

The other kind of relationship between the two interfering tendencies seems strange If the interfering tendency has nothing to do with the content of the one interfered with whence comes it then and how does it happen to make itself manifest just at that point? Observation which alone can supply the answer to this shows that the interfering tendency proceeds from a train of thou ht which has occupied the person shortly before and then reveals itself in this way as an after effect irrespective of whether or not it has already been expressed in speech It is really therefore to be described as a perseveration though not necessarily a perseveration of spoken words An associative connection between the interfering tendency and that interfered with is not lacking here either though it is not found in the content but is artificially established sometimes with considerable *forcing* of the connections

Here is a simple example of this which I observed myself Once in the beautiful Dolomites I met two Viennese ladies who were starting for a walking tour I accompanied them part of the way and we discussed the pleasures but also the trials of this way of life One of

the ladies admitted that spending the day like this entailed much discomfort. *It certainly is very unpleasant to tramp all day in the sun till one's blouse ... and things are soaked through.* In this sentence she had to overcome a slight hesitation at one point. Then she continued: *But then when one gets nach Hose and can change ...* (*Hose* means drawers; the lady meant to say *nach Hause* which means *home*). We did not analyse this slip but I am sure you will easily understand it. The lady's intention had been to enumerate a more complete list of her clothes, "blouse, chemise and drawers." From motives of propriety mention of the drawers (*Hose*) was omitted, but in the next sentence, the content of which is quite independent, the unuttered word came to light as a distortion of the word it resembled in sound, *hom* (*Hause*).

Now we can turn at last to the main question which has been so long postponed, namely what kind of tendencies these are which bring themselves to expression in this unusual way by interfering with other intentions. They are, of course, very various, but our aim is to find some element common to them all. If we examine a series of examples for this purpose we shall soon find that they fall into three groups. To the *first* group belong the cases in which the interfering tendency is known to the speaker and moreover was felt by him before the slip. Thus in the case of the slip "refilled" the speaker not only admitted that he had criticized the events in question as filthy, but further that he had had the intention, which *he subsequently reversed*, of expressing this opinion in words. A second group is formed by other cases in which the interfering *tendency* is likewise recognized by the speaker as his own, but he is not aware that it was active in him before the slip. He therefore accepts our interpretation but remains to some extent surprised by it. Examples of this attitude are probably more easily found in other errors than in slips of the tongue. In the third group the interpretation of the interfering tendency is energetically repudiated by the speaker; not only does he dispute that it was active in him before the slip, but he will maintain that it is altogether entirely alien to him. Recall the case of the hiccoughing and the positively discourteous rebuff which I brought upon myself by detecting the interfering tendency. You know that in our attitude towards these cases you and I are still far from an agreement. I should make nothing of the after-dinner speaker's denial and hold fast to my interpretation unwaveringly, while you, I imagine, are still impressed by his vehemence and are wondering whether one should not forego the interpretation of such errors and let them pass for purely physiological acts, as in the days before analysis. I can imagine what it is that alarms you. My interpretation includes the assumption that tendencies of which a speaker knows nothing can express themselves through him and that I can deduce them from various indications. You hesitate before a conclusion so novel and so pregnant with consequences. I understand that, and admit that up to a point you are justified. But let one thing be clear: if you intend to carry to its logical conclusion the conception of errors which has been *confirmed* by so many examples, you must decide to make this *startling assumption*. If you cannot do this you will have to abandon again the understanding *of errors* which you had only just begun to obtain.

Let us pause a moment on that which unites the three groups and is common to the three mechanisms of a slip of the tongue. Fortunately this common element is unmistakable. In the first two groups the interfering tendency is admitted by the speaker; in the first, there is the additional fact that it showed itself immediately before the slip. But in both cases *it has been forced back. The speaker had determined not to convert the idea into speech and then it happens that he makes a slip of the tongue; that is to say, the tendency which is debarred from expression asserts itself against his will and gains utterance, either by altering the expression of the intention permitted by him, or by mingling with it, or actually by setting itself in place of it.* This then is the mechanism of a slip of the tongue.

For my own part I can bring the process in the third group also into perfect harmony with the mechanism here described. I need only assume that these three groups are differentiated by the varying degrees to which the forcing back of an intention is effective. In the first group the intention is present and makes itself perceptible before the words are spoken; not until then does it suffer the rejection for which it indemnifies itself in the slip. In the second group the rejection reaches further back; the intention is no longer perceptible even before the speech. It is remarkable that this does not hinder it in the least from being the cause of the slip. But this state of things simplifies the explanation of the process in the third

group I shall be bold enough to assume that a tendency can still express itself by an error though it has been debarred from expression for a long time perhaps for a very long time has not made itself perceptible at all and can therefore be directly repudiated by the speaker But leaving aside the problem of the third group you must conclude from the other cases that a *suppression (Unterdruckung) of a previous intention to say something is the indispensable condition for the occurrence of a slip of the tongue*

We may now claim to have made further progress in the understanding of errors We not only know them to be mental phenomena in which meaning and purpose are recognizable not only know that they arise from the mutual interference of two different intentions but in addition we know that for one of these intentions to be able to express itself by interfering with another it must itself have been subject to some hindrance against its operation It must first be itself interfered with before it can interfere with others Naturally this does not give us a complete explanation of the phenomena which we call errors We see at once further questions arising and in general we suspect that as we progress towards comprehension the more numerous will be the occasions for new questions We might ask for instance why the matter does not proceed much more simply If the intention to restrain a certain tendency instead of carrying it into effect is present in the mind then this restraint ought to succeed so that nothing whatever of the tendency gains expression or else it might fail so that the restrained tendency achieves full expression But errors are *compromise* formations they express part success and part failure for each of the two intentions the threatened intention is neither entirely suppressed nor apart from some instances does it force itself through intact We can imagine that special conditions must be present for the occurrence of such interference (or compromise) formations but we cannot even conjecture of what kind they may be Nor do I think that we could discover these unknown circumstances by penetrating further into the study of errors It will be necessary first to examine thoroughly yet other obscure fields of mental life only the analogies to be met with there can give us courage to form those assumptions which are requisite for a more searching elucidation of errors And one other point! To work from slight indications as we constantly do in this field is not without its dangers There is a mental disorder called *combinatory paranoia* in which the practice of utilizing such small indications is carried beyond all limits and I naturally do not contend that the conclusions which are built up on such a basis are throughout correct Only by the breadth of our observations, by the accumulation of similar impressions from the most varied forms of mental life can we guard against this danger

So now we will leave the analysis of errors. But there is one thing more which I might impress upon you to keep in mind as a model, the method by which we have studied these phenomena You can perceive from these examples what the aim of our psychology is Our purpose is not merely to describe [illegible] the [illegible] ab[illegible] pre[illegible]nuencies striving towards a goal, which work together or against one another We are endeavouring to attain a *dynamic conception* of mental phenomena In this conception the trends we merely infer are more prominent than the phenomena we perceive.

So we will probe no further into errors but we may still take a fleeting glimpse over the breadth of this whole field in the course of which we shall both meet with things already known and come upon the tracks of others that are new In so doing we will keep to the division into three groups made at the beginning of our study slips of the tongue with the co-ordinate forms of slips of the pen misreading mishearing of forgetting with its subdivisions according to the object forgotten (proper names foreign words resolutions impressions) and of mislaying mistaking and losing objects Mistakes in so far as they concern us are to be grouped partly under the head of forgetting partly under acts erroneously performed (picking up the wrong objects etc)

We have already treated slips of the tongue in great detail yet there is still something to add There are certain small affective manifestations related to slips of the tongue which are not entirely without interest No one likes to think he has made a slip of the tongue one often fails to hear it when made by oneself but never when made by someone else Slips of the tongue are in a certain sense infectious it is not at all easy to speak of them without making them oneself It is not hard to detect the motivation of even the most trifling forms of them although these do not throw any particular light on hidden mental processes If for

instance anyone pronounces a long vowel as a short o in consequence of a d turbance over the word no m tter how moti ated he will as a result soon fter lengthen a hort vowel and commit new sl p in compe at o for the first. The same thing occurs f anyone pro ounces a diphthong indistinctly and c reles ly for in stance ew or oy as i he tries to correct it by changing a subsequent into ew or oy Some o s d rat relating to the hea er seems to be behi d this beha our as though h were n t to be all ed to think that the speake is indiff rent how he treats his mother t gue The second compen at g d stort o actually has the purpo e of drawing the hear er' attent n to the first and assuri g him that it has ot escaped the speaker e ther The most frequent, m gn ficant and imple forms of d t nations

gi es an impress n of c rta n impat ence to be d with th se tence a d in general it points to certain re stance ag t the com h spee h lto-

eptio of slips of the to gue b come merged W a sume that in the ca es distu b g tendency s ppo in the i tend d spee h but t ca ly betray ts prese ce and n t what ts own purpose is The interf re e wh h it causes follows som ound influenc o assoc ati e nn t o and m y be egard d as distrac ti f ttention way f m th int ded speech. But th r n this d tract on of tte tion o in the asso iative t de cy whi h has be n ct vated l es th essen f the cur ence th sen l es rather th hint the ccurren gi es f the p sen e of s m othe inte ti int f ri g w th th inte ded pee h the nat f which ca ot n thi case be d co red from ts ffects po s'ble n all th mo p on u ed cases f l ps of the to gue

Slips f the pe to wh h I n w turn, s like lips f the to gue in th me harm m that w points of new re to be xpect d from th m P haps a small addit on to o r kn wl dg f m this group will co tent us Tho ery c mm little sl ps of the pen co trac tio s ant cipat f l t wo ds particularly f th last w ds point to general d t te f writin and t an mpatience to be d e more pronounced effects in sl ps of the pen allow the nature and intention of the interfer ence to be recognized In general if one finds a slip of the pen in a letter one knows that the wr te s m d was not wo k g smoothly at the moment what was the matter one cannot al ways establ h. Sl ps of the pen are frequently as l ttle noticed by those who make them as slips of the tongue The following observat on is striking in this connection There are of course some persons who have the hab t of always re read g every letter they write be fore sending it Others do not do th s but if the latt r make an except on and re read a let ter they then always ha e an opportunity of triking l p of the pen

that this is so?

There is a intere ting problem connected with the pract cal s gnificance of sl ps of the pen You may recall the case of the murderer H who ma aged by a sert ng himself to be a bacteriologist to obtain cultures of h hly dan gerous d sea e germs from scientific institu t o s but used them for the purpose of doi g away n th mo t modern fa hion with people

ple (*Mensc en*) e e attracted the ttent n of the doct rs at the institute b t so f r as I know they drew no co clu on from it Now what do you think? Wo ld it not h ve been better if the doctors had take the sl p of the pen as a confession and st rted an est gat on so that the mur d re proc ed ngs m ght ha e been rrested in tim ? In th ase does not gnorance f our c c pt on f rr rs result n gl ct wh ch n ctuality may be very impo tant? Well I know th t h a lip of the pen would cer tainly u e gre t pic on in me but there s n mporta t objection agai t regarding it as a c f n. The matter is not so s mple The sl p of the pen s c rta ly a nd cation b t l it w ld not have justified an e qu ry It does i d ed betray that th man is occup ed w th the thought of inf ct ng human be ngs b t t doe not how with certainty wh ther this th ght definite plan to do harm or a

mere phantasy of no practical importance It is even possible that a person making such a slip will deny with the soundest subjective justification the existence of such a phantasy in himself and will reject the idea as a thing utterly alien to him Later when we come to consider the difference between psychical reality and material reality you will be better able to appreciate these possibilities But this again is a case in which an error was found subsequently to have unsuspected significance

Misreading brings us to a mental situation which is clearly different from that of slips of the tongue or the pen One of the two conflicting tendencies is here replaced by a sensory excitation and is perhaps therefore less tenacious What one is reading is not a product of one s own mind as is that which one is going to write In the large majority of cases therefore misreading consists in complete substitution A different word is substituted for the word to be read without there necessarily being any connection in the content between the text and the effect of the mistake and usually by means of a resemblance between the words Lichtenberg s example of this *Agamemnon* instead of *angenommen* is the best of this group To discover the interfering tendency which causes the mistake one may put aside the original text altogether the analytic investigation may begin with two questions What is the first idea occurring in free association to the effect of the misreading (the substitute) and in what circumstances did the misreading occur? Occasionally a knowledge of the latter is sufficient in itself to explain the misreading as for instance when someone wandering about a strange town driven by urgent needs reads the word *Closethaus* on a large sign on the first storey He has just time to wonder that the board has been fixed at that height when he discovers that the word on it is actually *Corsethaus* In other cases where there is a lack of connection in content between the text and the slip a thorough analysis is necessary which cannot be accomplished without practice in psycho analytic technique and confidence in it But it is not usually so difficult to come by the explanation of a case of misreading In the example *Agamemnon* the substituted word betrays without further difficulty the line of thought from which the disturbance arose In this time of war for instance it is very common for one to read everywhere names of towns generals and military expressions which are continually in one s ears wherever one sees a word at all resembling them. Whatever interests and occupies the mind takes the place of what is alien and as yet uninteresting The shadows of thoughts in the mind dim the new perceptions

Another kind of misreading is possible in which the text itself arouses the disturbing tendency whereupon it [illegible]

[illegible] teration

In the first mentioned more frequent cases of misreading two factors to which we ascribed great importance in the mechanism of errors are inconspicuous these are the conflict between two tendencies and the forcing back of one of them which compensates itself by producing the error Not that anything contradictory of this occurs in misreading but nevertheless the importunity of the train of thought tending to the mistake is far more conspicuous than the restraint which it may have previously undergone Just these two factors are most clearly observable in the different situations in which errors occur through forgetfulness

The forgetting of resolutions has positively but one meaning the interpretation of it as we have heard is not denied even by the layman The tendency interfering with the resolution is always an opposing one an unwillingness concerning which it only remains to enquire why it does not come to expression in a different and less disguised form for the existence of this opposing tendency is beyond doubt. Sometimes it is possible too to infer something of the motives which necessitate the concealment of this antipathy one sees that it would certainly have been condemned if it declared its opposition openly whereas by craft, in the error it always achieves its end When an important change in the mental situation occurs between the formation of the resolution and its execution in consequence of which the execution would no longer be required then if it were forgotten the occurrence could no longer come within the category of errors There would be nothing to wonder at in the error for one recognizes that it would have been superfluous to remember the resolution it had been either permanently or temporarily cancelled Forgetting to carry out a resolution can only be called an error when there is no reason to believe that any such cancellation has occurred.

Cases of forgetting to carry out resolutions are usually so uniform and transparent that

they are of no interest for our researches. There are two points, nevertheless, at which something new can be learnt by studying this type of error. We have said that forgetting and not executing a resolution indicate an antagonistic tendency in opposition to it. This is certainly true, but our own investigations show that this *counter will* may be of two kinds, either immediate or mediate. What is meant by the latter is best explained by one or two examples. When the patron forgets to say a good word for his protege to some third person, it may happen because he is actually not much interested in the protégé and therefore has no great inclination to do it. This in any case will be the protégé's view of the patron's omission. But the matter may be more complicated. The

is perhaps directed against the third person to whom the recommendation was to be made. Here again, you see what objections there are against applying our interpretations practically. In spite of having correctly interpreted the error, the protégé is in danger of becoming too suspicious and of doing his patron a grave injustice. Again, if someone forgets an appointment which he had promised and was resolved to attend, the commonest cause is certainly a direct disinclination to meet the other person. But analysis might produce evidence that the interfering tendency was concerned not with the person, but with the place of meeting which was avoided on account of some painful memory associated with it. Or if one forgets to post a letter the opposing tendency may be concerned with the contents of the letter, but this does not exclude the possibility that the letter in itself is harmless and becomes the subject of a counter tendency only because something in it reminds the writer of another letter written previously which did in fact afford direct basis for antipathy. It may then be said that the antipathy has been *transferred* from the earlier letter where it was justified to the present one where it actually has no object. So you see that restraint and caution must be exercised in applying our quite well founded interpretations; that which is psychologically equivalent may in actuality have many meanings.

That such things should be must seem very strange to you. Perhaps you will be inclined to assume that the *indirect* counter will is enough to characterize the incident as pathological. But I can assure you that it is also found within the boundaries of health and normality. And further, do not misunderstand me; this is in no sense a confession on my part that our analytic interpretations are not to be relied on. I have said that *forgetting* to execute a plan may bear many meanings, but this is so only in those cases where no analysis is undertaken and which we have *to interpret* according to our general principles. If an analysis of the person in the case is carried out it can always be established with sufficient *certainty whether the antipathy* is a direct one, or what its source is otherwise.

The following is a second point: when we find proof in a large majority of cases that the forgetting of an intention proceeds from a counter will, we gain courage to extend this solution to another group of cases in which the person analysed does not confirm, but denies, the presence of the counter will inferred by us. Take as an example of this such exceedingly frequent occurrences as forgetting to return borrowed books or to pay bills or debts. We will be so bold as to suggest to the person in question, that there is an intention in his mind of keeping the books and not paying the debts, whereupon he will deny this intention but will not be able to give us any other explanation of his conduct. We then insist that he has this intention but is not aware of it; it is enough for us, though, that it betrays itself by the effect of the forgetting. He may then repeat that he had merely forgotten about it. You will recognize the situation as one in which we have already been placed once before. If we intend to carry through, to their logical conclusions, the interpretations of errors which have been proved justified in so many cases, we shall be unavoidably impelled to the assumption that tendencies exist in human beings which can effect results without their knowing of them. With this, however, we place ourselves in opposition to all views prevailing in life and in psychology.

Forgetting proper names and foreign names and words, can be traced in the same way *to a* counter tendency aiming either directly or indirectly against the name in question. I have already given you several examples *of* such direct antipathy. Indirect causation is particularly frequent here and careful analysis is generally required to elucidate it. Thus for instance in the present time of war which forces us to forego so many of our former pleasures, our ability to recall proper names suffers severely

by connections of the most far fetched kind It happened to me lately to be unable to remember the name of the harmless Moravian town of Bisenz and analysis showed that I was guilty of no direct antagonism in the matter but that the resemblance to the name of the Palazzo Bisenzi in Orvieto where I had spent many happy times in the past was responsible As a motive of the tendency opposing the recollection of this name we here for the first time encounter a principle which will later on reveal itself to be of quite prodigious importance in the causation of neurotic symptoms namely the aversion on the part of memory against recalling anything connected with painful feelings that would revive the pain if it were recalled In this tendency towards *avoidance of pain* from recollection or other mental processes this flight of the mind from that which is unpleasant we may perceive the ultimate purpose at work behind not merely the forgetting of names but also many other errors omissions and mistakes

The forgetting of names seems h ı
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t of an unpleasantness motive cannot be established When anyone has a tendency to forget names it can be confirmed by analytic investigation that names escape not merely because he does not like them or because they remind him of something disagreeable but also because the particular name belongs to some other chain of associations of a more intimate nature The name is anchored there as it were and is refused to the other associations activated at the moment If you recall the devices of memory systems you will realize with some surprise that the same associations which are there artificially introduced in order to save names from being forgotten are also responsible for their being forgotten The most conspicuous example of this is afforded by proper names of persons which naturally -
people
Theod
ticular w 11 be the name of father brother friend or your own name Analytic experience will show you that the former among you will be in no dan er of forgetting that some stranger bears this name whereas the latter will be continually inclined to grudge to strangers a name which to them seems reserved for an intimate relationship Now let us assume that this inhibition due to associations may coincide with the operation of the pain principle and in addition with an indirect mechanism you will then be able to form a commensurate idea of the complexity in causation of such temporary forgetting of names An adequate analysis that does justice to the facts will however completely disclose all these complications

The forgetting of impressions and experiences shows the working of the tendency to ward off from memory that which is unpleasant much more clearly and invariably than the forgetting of names It does not of course belong in its entirety to the category of errors but only in so far as it appears to us remarkable and unjustified jud ed by the standard of general experience as for instance where recent or important impressions are forgotten or where one memory is forgotten out of an otherwise well remembered sequence How and why we have the capacity of forgettin in general particularly how we are able to forget experiences which have certainly left the deepest impression on us such as the events of our childhood is quite a different problem in which the defence against painful associations plays a certain part but is far from explaining everythin That unwelcome impressions are easily forgotten is an indubitable fact Various psychologists have remarked it and the great Darwin was so well aware of it that he made a golden rule for himself of writing down with particular care observations which seemed unfavourable to his theory having become convinced that just these would be inclined to slip out of recollection

Those who hear for the first time of this principle of defence against unpleasant memory by forgetfulness seldom fail to raise the objection that on the contrary in their experience it is just that which is painful which it is hard to forget since it always comes back to mind to torture the person against his will—as for example the recollection of grievances or humiliations This fact is quite correct but the objection is not sound It is important to begin early to reckon with the fact that the mind is an arena a sort of tumbling-ground for the struggles of antagonistic impulses or to express it in non dynamic terms that the mind is made up of contradictions and pairs of opposites Evidence of one particular tendency does not in the least preclude its opposite there is room for both of them The material questions are How do these opposites stand to one another and what effects proceed from

much of them and what from the other?

Losing and mislaying objects is of especial interest on account of the numerous meanings it may have, and the multiplicity of the tendencies in the service of which these errors may be employed. What is common to all the cases is the wish to lose something; what varies is the reason for this wish and the aim in them. One loses something if it has become damaged, if one has an impulse to replace it with a better, if one has ceased to care for it, if it came from someone with whom one's relations have become strained, or if it was acquired in circumstances that one no longer wishes to think of.

Letting things fall, smashing or breaking them serves the same tendency. In social life it is said that unwelcome and illegitimate children are found to be far more often weakly than those conceived in happier circumstances. This result does not imply that the crude methods of the so-called baby farmers have been employed; some degree of carelessness in the supervision of the child would be quite sufficient. The preservation, or otherwise, of objects may well follow the same lines as that of children.

Then too it may happen that things will become destined to be lost without losing their worth—that is, when there is an impulse to sacrifice something to fate in order to avert some other dreaded loss. According to the findings of analysis such conjurations of fate are still very common among us, so that our losses are often voluntary sacrifices. Losing may equally well serve the impulses of spite or of self-punishment; in short, the more remote forms of motivation behind the impulse to do away with something by losing cannot easily be exhausted.

Mislaying of objects, or erroneous performance of actions, like other errors, is often made use of to fulfil a wish which should be denied; the intention masquerades as lucky chance. Thus, as once happened to a friend, one has to take a train, most unwillingly, in order to pay a visit in the suburbs and then, in changing trains at a connection, gets by mistake into one which is returning to town; or on a journey someone might greatly like to make a halt at some stopping-place which cannot be done owing to fixed engagements elsewhere, whereupon he mistakes or misses the connection, so that the desired delay is forced upon him. Or as happened to one of my patients whom I had forbidden to telephone to the lady he was in love with, he by mistake and thoughtlessly gave the wrong number when he meant to telephone to me so that he was suddenly connected with her. The following account by an engineer is a pretty example of the conditions under which damage to material objects may be done and also demonstrates the practical significance of directly faulty actions.

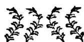
Some time ago I worked with several colleagues in the laboratory of a High School on a series of complicated experiments in elasticity, a piece of work we had undertaken voluntarily; it was beginning to take up more time however than we had anticipated. One day as I went into the laboratory with my friend F. he remarked how annoying it was to him to lose so much time today as he had so much to do at home. I could not help agreeing with him and said half jokingly, referring to an occasion the week before: 'Let us hope the machine will break down again so that we can stop work and go home early.' In arranging the work it happened that F. was given the regulation of the valve of the press, that is to say he was, by carefully opening the valve, to let the liquid pressure out of the accumulator slowly into the cylinder of the hydraulic press. The man who was conducting the experiment stood by the pressure gauge and, when the right pressure was reached, called out loudly 'Stop.' At this command F. seized the valve and turned with all his might—to the left (All valves without exception close to the right.) Thereby the whole pressure in the accumulator suddenly came upon the press, a strain for which the connecting pipes are not designed, so that one of them instantly burst—quite a harmless accident, but one which forced us, nevertheless, to cease work for the day and go home. It is characteristic, by the way, that not long after when we were discussing the affair my friend F. had no recollection whatever of my remark, which I recalled with certainty.

So with this in mind you may begin to suspect that it is not always mere chance which makes the hands of your servants such dangerous enemies to your household effects. And you may also raise the question whether it is always an accident when one injures oneself or exposes oneself to danger—ideas which you may put to the test by analysis when you have an opportunity.

This is far from being all that could be said about errors. There is still much to be enquired into and discussed. But I shall be satisfied if you have been shaken somewhat in your previous belief by our investigations, so far as

they have gone and if you have gained a certain readiness to accept new ones For the rest I must be content to leave you with certain problems still unsolved We cannot prove all our principles by the study of errors nor are we indeed by any means solely dependent on this material The great value of errors for our purpose lies in this that they are such common occurrences may easily be observed in oneself and are not at all contingent upon illness I should like to mention one more of your unanswered questions before concluding If as we see from so many examples people come so close to understanding errors and o often act as if they perceived their meaning how is it possible that they should so generally consider them accidental sen eless and meaningless and so energetically oppose the psycho-analytic explanation of them?

You are right this is indeed striking and requires an explanation But I will not give it to you I will rather guide you slowly towards the connections by which the explanation will be forced upon you without any aid from me.



PART II DREAMS

FIFTH LECTURE

DIFFICULTIES AND PRELIMINARY APPROACH TO THE SUBJECT

ONE day the discovery was made that the symptoms of disease in certain nervous patients have meaning It was upon this discovery that the psycho analytic method of treatment was based In this treatment it happened that patients in speaking of their symptoms also mentioned their dreams whereupon the suspicion arose that these dreams too had meaning

However we will not pursue this historical path but will strike off in the opposite direction Our aim is to demonstrate the meaning of dreams in preparation for the study of the neuroses There are good grounds for this reversal of procedure since the study of dreams is not merely the best preparation for that of the neuroses but a dream is itself a neurotic symptom and moreover one which possesses for us the incalculable advantage of occurring in all healthy people Indeed if all human beings were healthy and would only dream we could gather almost all the knowledge from their dreams which we have gained from studying the neuroses

So dreams become the object of psycho analytic research—another of these ordinary under rated occurrences apparently of no practical value like *errors* and sharing with them the characteristic of occurring in healthy persons But in other respects the conditions of work are rather less favourable Errors had only been neglected by science people had not troubled their heads much about them but at least it was no di race to occupy oneself with them True people said there are things more important but still something may possibly come of it To occupy oneself with dreams however is not merely unpractical and superfluous but positively scandalous it carries with it the taint of the unscientific and arouses the suspicion of personal leanings towards mysticism The idea of a medical student troubling himself about dreams when there is so much in neuropathology and psychiatry itself that is more serious—tumours as large as apples compressing the organ of the mind haemorrhages chronic inflammatory conditions in which the alterations in the tissues can be demonstrated under the microscope! No dreams are far too unworthy and trivial to be objects of scientific research

There is yet another factor involved which in itself sets at defiance all the requirements of exact investigation In investigating dreams even the object of research the dream itself is indefinite A delusion for example pre ents clear and definite outlines I am the Emperor of China says your patient plainly But a dream? For the most part it cannot be related at all When a man tells a dream has he any guarantee that he has told it correctly and not perhaps altered it in the telling or been forced h rrueress ot be ot for

By J seph B eu r i th y a 88 88 Cf my lect e Psych A aly d l d the U ted St tes 9 9 [*Th O g d D l pment* *Psycho-A aly s* se p 1 ho e]

some tiny fragments. And is a scientific psychology or a method of treatment for the sick to be founded upon material such as this?

A certain elem t of exaggerat in a criticism may arouse o r suspicio s. The arguments brou ht against the dream as an object of scientific research are clea ly extreme We have met with the objection of tri alty already in errors, and ha e told ourselves that great things may be revealed even by small ind ca tions. As t the indistinctness of dreams, that is a characteristic like any other—we cannot dictate to things their characteristics besides, there are also dreams which are clea and well d fined. Furthe there are othe objects of psy hiatric investigation which suffer in the same way from the qual ty of indefiniteness e.g th obsess ve deas of many cases, with which nevertheless many psychiatrists of repute and standing ha e occupied themselves. I will recall th last case of the kind which came before me in medical practice. The patient, a woman, presented her case in these words "I have a certain f eling as if I had injured or had meant to injure, some living creature—pe haps a child—no no a dog rather as if perhaps I had pushed it off a bridge—or don som thing else. Any disadvantage resulting from the uncertain recollection of dreams may be rem died by deciding that exactly what the dreamer tells is to count as the dream, and by ignoring all that he may ha e f rg tten o altered in the process of recollecti Finally o e cannot maintain in so sweeping a f shion that dreams are unimportant things We know from our own experi nce that th mood in which we awake from a dream may been disor which furth

impulse to moment s deeds sprang from the dreams. W may therefore a k What is the real cause of the disdain in which dreams re held in scientific circles? In my pini n t is the reactio from the over-estimation of them in earli times It is well known that t is no easy matter to reconstruct the past but w may a sume with certainty (you will forgi e my jest) that as early as three thousand years ago and more ur ancestors dreamt in th sam way as w do So far as we know all a cient peop es ttached gr t s gnificance t dreams a d r gard d them as of pract cal alu they obtained from them a guries of the future and looked for portents in them For the Greeks and other Orientals it was at times as un th nkable to undertake a campaign without a dream interpreter as it would be today without air scouts for intelligence When Alexander the Great set out on his campaign of co quest the

d ring the siege then one night he dreamed of a satyr dancing in triumph and when he related this dream to his interpreters they informed him that it foretold his victory over the city he gave the order to attack and took Tyre by storm Among the Etruscans and Romans other methods of foretelli g the future were employed, but during the whole of the Græco-Roman period the interpretation of dreams was practiced and held in high esteem Of h

H drian How t happened that the art of d eam int rpretation declined later and dreams

ages things fa more absurd than the ancient practice of the interpretation of dreams were faithfully retained. The fact remains that the interest in dreams gradually sank to the level of superstition and could hold its own only amo gst th uneducated In our day there survive as a final degradat on of the art of dream

scien e of the present day has repeatedly concerned itself with the d eam but always with the sole object of illu trat ng *physiolog cal* theories By med cal men naturally a dream was never regarded as a mental process but as the mental express on of phys cal st muli. Binz in 1876 p onounced th d eam to be a physical process always useless and in many cases actually mo b d a process above which the conceptio of the world-soul and of immortal ty stands as high as does the blue ky above th most low lyin weed grown stretch of sand Maury compa es dreams with th spasmodic jerki gs of St V tus da c co trasted with the co-ordinated moveme ts of th n rmal human being in an old omparison parall l is drawn between the content of a dream and

the sounds which would be produced if some one ignorant of music let his ten fingers wander over the keys of an instrument

Interpretation means discovering a hidden meaning but there can be no question of attempting this while such an attitude is maintained towards the dream performance Look up the description of dreams given in the writings of Wundt Jodl and other recent philosophers they are content with the bare enumeration of the divergences of the dream life from waking thought with a view to depreciating the dreams they emphasize the lack of connection in the associations the suspended exercise of the critical faculty the elimination of all knowledge and other indications of diminished functioning The single valuable contribution to our knowledge about dreams for which we are indebted to exact science relates to the influence upon the dream content of physical stimuli operating during sleep We have the work of a Norwegian author who died recently—J Mourly Vold—two large volumes on experimental investigation of dreams (translated into German in 1910 and 1912) which are concerned almost entirely with the results obtained by change in the position of the limbs These investi ations have been held up to us as models of exact research in the subject of dreams Now can you imagine what would be the comment of exact science on learning that we intend to try to find out the *meaning* of dreams? The comment that has perhaps been made already! However we will not allow ourselves to be appalled at the thought If it was possible for errors to have an underlying meaning it is possible that dreams have one too and errors have in very many cases a meaning which has eluded the researches of exact science Let us adopt the assumption of the ancients and of simple folk and follow in the footsteps of the dream interpreters of old

First of all we must take our bearings in this enterprise and make a survey of the field of dreams What exactly is a dream? It is difficult to define it in a single phrase Yet we need not seek after a definition when all we need is to refer to something familiar to every one Still we ought to pick out the essential features in dreams How are we to discover these features? The boundaries of the region we are entering comprise such vast differences differences whichever way we turn That which we can show to be common to all dreams is probably what is essential

Well then—the first common characteristic of all dreams would be that we are asleep at the time Obviously the dream is the life of the mind during sleep a life bearing certain resemblances to our wakin life and at the same time differing from it widely That indeed was Aristotle s definition Perhaps dream and sleep stand in yet closer relationship to each other We can be waked by a dream we often have a dream when we wake spontaneously or when we are forcibly rou ed from sleep Dreams seem thus to be an intermediate condition between sleeping and waking Hence our attention is directed to sleep itself what then is sleep?

That is a physiological or biological problem concerning which much is still in dispute We can come to no decisive answer but I think we may attempt to define one psychological characteristic of sleep Sleep is a condition in which I refuse to have anything to do with the outer world and have withdrawn my interest from it I go to sleep by retreating from the outside world and warding off the stimuli proceeding from it Again when I am tired by that world I go to sleep I say to it as I fall asleep Leave me in peace for I want to sleep The child says just the opposite I won t go to sleep yet I m not tired I want more things to happen to me! Thus the biological object of sleep seems to be recuperation its psycholo ical characteristic the suspension of interest in the outer world Our relationship with the world which we entered so unwillingly seems to be endurable only with intermission hence we withdraw again periodically into the condition prior to our entrance into the world that is to say into intra uterine existence At any rate we try to bring about quite similar conditions—warmth darkness and absence of stimulus—characteristic of that state Some of us still roll ourselves tightly up into a ball resembling the intra uterine position It looks as if we grown ups do not belong wholly to the world but only by two thirds one third of us has never yet been born at all Every time we wake in the morning it is as if we were newly born We do in fact speak of the condition of waking from sleep in these very words we feel as if we were newly born —and in this we are probably quite mistaken in our idea of the general en sations of the new born infant it may be assumed on the contrary that it feels extremely uncomfortable Again in speaking of birth we speak of seeing the light of day

If this is the nature of sleep then dreams do not come into its scheme at all but seem rather

to be an unwelcome supplement to it and we do indeed believe that dreamless sleep is the best, th only proper sleep There sho ld be no mental activity durin g leep if any such activity besturs itself then in so far ha e we f ed to reach the true pre natal cond tion of peace we have no been abl to avo d al o gether some remnan s of mental act ty and the act f dreaming would represent these remnants. In that event t really does seem tha dreams do ot eed t have meaning W th errors it was different, f r they were at least ctn ues manifested in waki g l fe but if I leep a d have al og ther suspended mental activity with the except n of certain remnant which I have no bee b e to suppre there is no neces whateve that they s ould have an mean n I f ct I cannot even make use of any s ch meanin seeing that the rest of my mind is a leep It can really t en be a m ter f pasmodi re ct only of uch mental phen mena nly a ha e the r rect t phys cal stimulation Hence dreams must be remnants f th mental acti ity of waking life d urbing leep and we mi ht as well make up our minds forthwith to band n a theme so unsuited to the purposes of psycho-analysis.

Superf ous as dreams may be however they do ex t evertheless and we can try to account f their ex tence t o rselves. Why does t mental lif g ff to sleep? Probably because there is om hing that will not lea e the mind in peace timuli are tin upon it a d to these t is bound to react Dreams there fore are the mod of react o f t e mind t stim ' cting upo t durin leep W o e here pos ibility of ac ess to comprehension of dreams W can ow endea our t find out in various dreams, what re the timuli seeki g t disturb sleep the reaction to whi h takes the f rm f dreams By doing this we ould have worked out t first characteristic common to all dreams.

Is there any other comm characteristic? Yes, there is another unmistakabl and yet m h harder to lay hold f and describe The character f mental processes during leep is quite diff rent from that f waking p oces es In dreams we go through many experien es which we fully bel eve in, wh reas in eality we are perhaps only experiencing the ingl disturbing timulus For the mo t part our ex perien es tak the form f isual images there may be feeli g as well thou hts too mixed up with th m and the the senses ma be drawn in but fo th most part dreams consist of visual images Part of the d fficulty of re cit , a dream comes from the fact tha we ha e to tran late these images into words. I could draw t the dreamer often a s to us but I do not know how to put it in o words N w th s is not exactly a dim u ion in the mental capacity as seen in a contrast between a feeb e minded person a d a man of genius. The di erence is rather a qualitati e one but it is difficult to sa precisely wherein it l es G T Fechner once s es ed that the age whereo the drama of the dream (within the mind) is p a ed out is other than that of the

most dreams make upon us. Again the com parison of the act of dreami with the per f rmances of an unskilled hand in music breaks down here for the piano will certai ly respond with the same notes thou h not w th melod es t a chance touch on its keys. We will keep this second common characteristic of dreams carefull in view even though we may not u derstand it.

Are there an other qual ties common to all dreams? I can th k of none but can see differ ences o ly whi hever way I look, d erences too in every respect—in apparent durat on defin teness the part played by affects persist ence in the mind and so forth. This s really n t what we should naturally expect in the case of a compulsive att mpt, at o ce m acre and spa modic t ward ff a timulus. As regards *the length of dreams* ome are ery bort, con taining onl o image or ery few or a n le thought, possibly even a ingle wo d others are peculiarly rich in co tent enact en ire romances and eem to last a ery long time There re dreams as dis ct as actual experi ences so d stinct that for some time after wakin we d ot realize that they were dreams at all oth rs which t ineff bly f int hadowy and bl rred in on and the same dream even, there may be some parts of extra rdinary ividnes alt rnating with others so indi tinct as to be almost who ly el e Again dreams may be quite cons tent o at an rate coherent o even witty or fantas cally beauti ful hers again are confused apparently imbecile absurd o often absolut ly m d Th re are dreams which lea e us qu te cold others in which every affect makes tself f l —pain to th point of tears, terr intense to wake us amazement d light and n. Most

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chins in that way and so on meanwhile I follow her as she goes with anxious looks. I think so—the next thing is a stumble on the threshold, the crockery falls crashing and clattering in a hundred pieces on the ground. But—I soon become aware that that interminably prolonged sound is no real crash, but a regular ringing,—and this ringing is due merely to the alarm-clock, as I realize at last on awakening.

These dreams are very pretty perfectly sensible and by no means so incoherent as dreams usually are. We have no quarrel with them on those grounds. The thing common to them all is that in each case the situation arises from a noise which the dreamer on waking recognizes as that of the alarm-clock. Hence we see here how a dream is produced, but we find out something more In the dream there is no recognition of the clock, which does not even appear in it but for the noise of the clock another noise is substituted the stimulus which disturbs sleep is interpreted, but interpreted differently in each instance Now why is this? There is no answer it appears to be mere caprice. But to understand the dream we should be able to account for its choice of just this noise and no other to interpret the stimulus given by the alarm-clock. In analogous fashion we must object to Maury's experiments that although it is clear that the stimulus brought to bear on the sleeper does appear in the dream, yet his experiments don't explain why it appears exactly in this form, which is one that does not seem explicable by the nature of the stimulus disturbing sleep And further in Maury's experiments there was mostly a mass of other dream-material attached to the direct result of the stimulus for example the crazy adventures in the eau de Cologne dream, for which we are at a loss to account.

Now will you reflect that the class of dreams which wake one up affords the best opportunity for establishing the influence of external disturbing stimuli. In most other cases it will be more difficult We do not wake up out of all dreams and if in the morning we remember a dream of the night before how are we to assign it to a disturbing stimulus operating perhaps during the night I once succeeded in subsequently establishing the occurrence of a sound-stimulus of this sort, but only of course because of peculiar circumstances I woke up one morning at a place in the Tyrolese mountains knowing that I had dreamt that the Pope was dead. I could not explain the dream to [illegible] and chapels? [illegible] sleep is too sound, but thanks to her telling me this I understood my dream How often may such causes of stimulus as this induce dreams in the sleeper without his ever hearing of them afterwards? Possibly very often and possibly not If we can get no information of any stimulus we cannot be convinced on the point. And apart from this we have given up trying to arrive at an estimation of the sleep-disturbing external stimuli since we know that they *only* explain a fragment of the dream and not the whole dream-reaction.

We need not on that account give up this theory altogether there is still another possible way of following it out. Obviously it is a matter of indifference what disturbs sleep and causes the mind to dream. If it cannot always be something external acting as a stimulus to one of the senses it is possible that, instead a stimulus operates from the internal organs—a so-called somatic stimulus. This supposition lies very close and moreover corresponds to the view popularly held with regard to the origin of dreams for it is a common saying that they come from the stomach. Unfortunately here again we must suppose that in very many cases information respecting somatic stimulus operating during the night would no longer be forthcoming after waking so that it would be *incapable of proof* But we will not overlook the fact that many trustworthy experiences support the idea that dreams may be derived from somatic stimuli on the whole it is indubitable that the condition of the internal organs can influence dreams The relation of the content of many dreams to distention of the bladder or to a condition of excitation of the sex-organs is so plain that it cannot be mistaken. From these obvious cases we pass to others in which to judge by the content of the dream, we are at least justified in suspecting that some such somatic stimuli have been at work, since there is something in this content which can be regarded as elaboration representation, or interpretation of these stimuli. Scherner the investigator of dreams (1861) emphatically supported the view which traces the origin of dreams to organic stimuli, and contributed some excellent examples towards it. For instance he sees in a dream two rows of beautiful boys with fair hair and delicate complexions confronting each other

dreams are forgotten soon after waking or they persist throughout the day the recollection becoming fainter and more imperfect as the day goes on others remain so vivid (as for example the dreams of childhood) that thirty years later we remember them as clearly as though they were part of a recent experience Dreams like people may make their appearance once and never come back or the same person may dream the same thing repeatedly either in the same form or with slight alterations In short these scraps of mental activity at night time have at command an immense repertory can in fact create everything that by day the mind is capable of—only it is never the same

One might attempt to account for these diversities in dream by assuming that they correspond to different intermediate states between sleeping and waking different levels of imperfect sleep Very well but then in proportion as the mind approached the waking state there should be not merely an increase in the value content and distinctness of the dream performance but also a growing perception that it *is* a dream and it ought not to happen that side by side with a clear and sensible element in the dream there is one which is nonsensical or indistinct followed again by a good piece of work It is certain that the mind could not vary its depth of sleep so rapidly as that This explanation therefore does not help there is in fact no short cut to an answer

For the present we will leave the *meaning* of the dream out of question and try instead by starting from the common element in dreams to clear a path to a better understanding of their nature From the relationship of dreams to sleep we have drawn the conclusion that dreams are the reaction to a stimulus disturbing sleep As we have heard this is also the single point at which exact experimental psychology can come to our aid it affords proof of the fact that stimuli brought to bear durin sleep make their appearance in dreams Many investigations have been made on these lines culminating in those of Mourly Vold whom I mentioned earlier we have all too been in a position to confirm their results by occasional observations of our own I will choose some of the earlier experiments to tell you Maury had tests of this kind carried out on himself Whilst dreaming he was made to smell some eau de Cologne whereupon he dreamt he was in Cairo in the shop of Johann Maria Farina and this was followed by some crazy adventures Again someone gave his neck a gentle pinch and he dreamt of the application of a blister and of a doctor who had treated him when he was a child Again they let a drop of water fall on his forehead and he was immediately in Italy perspiring freely and drinking the white wine of Orvieto

The striking feature about these dreams produced under experimental conditions will perhaps become still clearer to us in another series of *stimulus* dreams These are three dreams of which we have an account by a clever observer Hildebrandt and all three are reactions to the sound of an alarm clock

I am going for a walk on a sprin morning and I saunter throu h field just beginning to grow green till I come to a neighbouring village where I ee the inhabitants in holiday attire making their way in large numbers to the church their hymn books in their hands Of course! it is Sunday and the mornin ervice is just about to begin I decide to take part in it but first as I am rather overheated I think I will cool down in the churchyard which surrounds the church Whilst reading some of the epitaphs there I hear the bell ringer go up into the tower where I now notice high up the little village bell which will give the signal for the beginning of the service For some time yet it remains motionless then it begins to swing and suddenly the strokes ring out clear and piercing—so clear and piercing that they put an end to my sleep But the sound of the bell comes from the alarm clock

Here is another combination of images It is a bright winter day and the roads are deep in snow I have promised to take part in a sleighing expedition but I have to wait a long time before I am told that the sleigh is at the door Now follow the preparations for getting in the fur rug is spread out and the foot muff fetched and finally I am in my place But there is still a delay while the horses wait for the signal to start Then the reins are jerked and the little bells shaken violently begin their familiar janizary music so loudly that in a moment the web of the dream is rent Again it is nothing but the shrill of the alarm clock

Now for the third example! I ee a kitchen maid with dozens of piled up plates goin along the passage to the d ning room It seems to me that the pyramid of china in her arms is in dan er of overbalancing I call out a warning Take care your whole load will fall to the ground Of course I receive the usual answer that they are accustomed to carrying

that is quite plain we want to know further from what cau e and to what end we repeat in dreams thi which is known to us and has rec ntly happened to us

I think y u would be as t red as I of con tinui g th k nd of attempts we ha e m de up to this point It only shows that all the interest in the world will n t h lp us w th problem unless we ha also an dea of some path t adopt in o d r to arri e at a solutio Till now we ha e t found thi p th Experimental psy chology has co t b ted n thing but s m (c r tainly ery valuabl) informat on about the significance of timuli in the p odu t on of dreams Of phil sophy we ha e nothing to ex pect unless t be lofty repetition of the re-proach that our bj ct intellectually con temptible whil from the occult c ences we su ely d t choose t borr w Hi tory and th v dict f the people tell us that dreams re f ll of mean g and mporta e nd of prophetic signifi ance but that s ha d to ac cept a d certa ly does not lend tself to p oof So th our first endea ours a e completely baffled.

But unexpect dly there c mes a hi t from a d recti n which we h e n t h therto looked Colloqu al pee h wh ch s c rtainly no mat ter f chan e but the d posit as it were of cient knowledge— thing wh ch mu t n t n deed be m d t o much of—o r peech I say re mi es the existen of som th g to which strang ly o gh t gi es th n m of *day d ms* D y-dream are phantas es (p oducts of phantasy) they are very omm phe m e re bservabl healthy as well s in s k perso and th y also can eas ly be studied by the subject himself The m t striking thing abo t these phanta ti re ti that they have rec ived the ame *f day-d e ms f r th y* ha e oth g c mmo w th th two universal h ract ri tics f dreams The nam tra d ct any rel t on hip t the o d t o f sl ep and as regards the s d un rsal charact r i tic experien hall cinatio take plac in th m we mply imagine s m thi g w r c ognize that th y are th wo k f pha ta y that w re not ee g b t thinking The d y

tained as lo g a l f t The ont t l th se pha ta es d t t d by a ery t nspa t m ti at on Th y re s enes d events whi h grat fy ith r th eg t c cra ing of amb t o r thirst f po th tic des es of the subject In young men amb t ous phan tas es predom nate in women whose ambition centres on success in lo e erot c phantasies but the erotic requ rement can often enough in men too be detected in the background all their he oic deeds and succe es are really only i te ded to w the admiration and fa our of women In other respects these day-dreams sh w great d ers ty and their fate varies All of them are e ther g en up after a short time and replaced by a new one or retained pun out int l ng st ries and adapted to changing circumstances in l fe They march w th the times and they receive as it were date-stamps upon them wh ch show the influence of new tuations The form the raw material of poetic productio for the writer by trans-form g di gu ing or curta ling them creates o t of his day-d eams the s tuat ons wh ch he embodies in his stories no els and dramas Th hero of a day-dream is howe er always the subject h mself e ther d rectly imagined in the part or tran pa ently identified w th someo e else

Pe haps day-dreams are so called o account of the similar relatio to eality as an ind ca tion that thei content is no more to be ac c pted as real than is that of dreams But it is possible th t they share the name of dreams because of some mental characteristic of the d eam which we do not yet k ow but after wh ch we a e s eking On th other hand it is poss ble that we a e alto ether wro g in re-gard g this s m lar ty of n me s s gnifica t. Th t is a q est on which can only be answered late

SIXTH LECTURE

Preliminary Hypotheses a d Technique of Interpretation

We thus realize u need of a new way of ap-proach defi t meth d *f we are to make* a y ad anc in o r esea che to dreams I will ow off a obvi u s ggestio l t us ac cept as th basis f the whole of ou furth r enqu ry th f ll wing hypoth sis—that d eams ar n t s m tic, but a m tal ph omenon You k ow what th s mean but what s our ju tificat o in making this assumpt on? We ha e ne but o the ther hand there is noth g to p eve t us Th pos t n s this f the d eam is a som t c phenome on it d s not c c rn u it can o ly b of nter st to us on th hypoth sis that t a me tal phen menon S we w ll assume that th s hypothes i true in de to ee what happe if w do so. The

pugnaciously joining in combat seizing hold of one another and again letting go their hold only to take up the former position and go through the whole process again his interpretation of the two rows of boys as the teeth is in itself plausible and seems to receive full confirmation when after this scene the dreamer pulls a long tooth from his jaw Again the interpretation of long narrow winding passages as being su gested by a stimulus originating in the intestine seems sound and corroborates Scherner s assertion that dreams primarily endeavour to repre ent by like objects the organ from which the stimulus proceeds

We must therefore be prepared to admit that internal stimuli can play the same role in dreams as external ones Unfortunately evaluation of this factor is open to the same objections In a great number of instances the attribution of dreams to somatic stimuli must remain uncertain or incapable of proof not all dreams but only a certain number of them rouse the suspicion that stimuli from internal organs have something to do with their origin and lastly the internal somatic stimulus will suffice no more than the external sensory stimulus to explain any other part of the dream than the direct reaction to it The origin of all the rest of the dream remains obscure

Now however let us direct our attention to a certain peculiarity of the dream life which appears when we study the operation of these stimuli The dream does not merely reproduce the stimulus but elaborates it plays upon it fits it into a context or replaces it by something else This is a side of the dream work which is bound to be of interest to us because possibly it may lead us nearer to the true nature of dreams The scope of a man s production is not necessarily limited to the circumstance which immediately gives rise to it For instance Shakespeare s *Macbeth* was written as an occasional drama on the accession of the king who first united in his person the crowns of the three kingdoms But does this historical occasion cover the whole content of the drama or explain its grandeur and its mystery? Perhaps in the same way the external and internal stimuli operating upon the sleeper are merely the occasion of the dream and afford us no insight into its true nature

The other element common to all dreams their peculiarity in mental life is on the one hand very difficult to grasp and on the other eems to afford no clue for further inquiry Our experiences in dreams for the most part take the form of visual ima es Can these be explained by the stimuli? Is it really the stimulus that we experience? If so why is the experience visual when it can only be in the very rarest instance that any stimulus has operated upon our eyesi ht? Or can it be shown that when we dream of speech any conversation or sounds resembling conversation reached our ears during sleep? I venture to discard such a possibility without any hesitation whatever

If we cannot get any further with the common characteristics of dreams as a starting point let us try beginning with their differences Dreams are often meaningless confused and absurd yet there are some which are sensible sober and reasonable Let us see whether these latter sensible dreams can help to elucidate those which are meaningless I will tell you the latest reasonable dream which was told to me the dream of a young man I went for a walk in the Karntnerstrasse and there I met Mr X after accompanying him for a short time I went into a restaurant Two ladies and a gentleman came and sat down at my table At first I was annoyed and refused to look at them but pre ently I glanced across at them and found that they were quite nice The dreamer s comment on this was that the evening before he had actually been walking in the Karntnerstrasse which is the way he usually goes and that he had met Mr X there The other part of the dream was not a direct reminiscence but only bore a certain resemblance to an occurrence of some time previously Or here we have another prosaic dream that of a lady Her husband says to her Don t you think we ought to have the piano tuned? and she replies It is not worth it for the hammers need fresh leather anyhow This dream repeats a conversation which took place in almost the same words between herself and her husband the day before the dream What then do we learn from these two prosaic dreams? Merely that there occur in them recollections of daily life or of matters connected with it Even that would be something if it could be as erted of all dreams without exception But that is out of the question this characteristic too belongs only to a minority of dreams In most dreams we find no connection with the day before and no light is thrown from this quarter upon meaningless and absurd dreams All we know is that we have met with a new problem Not only do we want to know what a dream is saying but if as in our examples

that is quite plain, we want to know further from what cause and to what end we repeat in dreams this which is known to us and has recently happened to us.

I think you would be as tired as I of continuing this kind of attempts we have made up to this point. It only shows that all the interest in the world will not help us with a problem unless we have also an idea of some path to adopt in order to arrive at a solution. Till now we have not found this path. Experimental psychology has contributed nothing but some (certainly very valuable) information about the significance of stimuli in the production of dreams. Of philosophy we have nothing to expect, unless it be a lofty repetition of the reproach that our object is intellectually contemptible; while from the occult sciences we surely do not choose to borrow. History and the verdict of the people tell us that dreams are full of meaning and importance and of prophetic significance; but that is hard to accept and certainly does not lend itself to proof. So then our first endeavours are completely baffled.

But unexpectedly there comes a hint from a direction in which we have not hitherto looked. Colloquial speech, which is certainly no matter of chance but the deposit, as it were, of ancient knowledge—a thing which must not indeed be made too much of—our speech, I say recognizes the existence of something to which, strangely enough, it gives the name of *day-dreams*. Day-dreams are phantasies (products of phantasy); they are very common phenomena, are observable in healthy as well as in sick persons, and they also can easily be studied by the subject himself. The most striking thing about these 'phantastic' creations is that they have received the name of '*day-dreams*', for they have nothing in common with the two universal characteristics of dreams. Their name contradicts any relationship to the condition of sleep and, as regards the second universal characteristic, experience or hallucination takes place in them; we simply imagine something; we recognize that they are the work of phantasy; that we are not seeing but thinking. These day-dreams appear before puberty, often indeed in late childhood, and persist until maturity is reached, when they are either given up or retained as long as life lasts. The content of these phantasies is dictated by a very transparent motivation. They are scenes and events which gratify either the egoistic cravings of ambition and thirst for power or the erotic desires of the subject. In young men ambitious phantasies predominate; in women, whose ambition centres on success in love, erotic phantasies; but the erotic requirement can often enough in men too be detected in the background: all their heroic deeds and successes are really only intended to win the admiration and favour of women. In other respects these day-dreams show great diversity and their fate varies. All of them are either given up after a short time and replaced by a new one or retained, spun out into long stories and adapted to changes in circumstances in life. They march with the times and they receive as it were date-stamps upon them which show the influence of new situations. They form the raw material of poetic production, for the writer by transforming, disguising or curtailing them creates out of his day-dreams the situations which he embodies in his stories, novels and dramas. The hero of a day-dream is, however, always the subject himself, either directly imagined in the part or transparently identified with someone else.

Perhaps day-dreams are so called on account of their similar relation to reality, as an indication that their content is no more to be accepted as real than is that of dreams. But it is possible that they share the name of dreams because of some mental characteristic of the dream which we do not yet know but after which we are seeking. On the other hand it is possible that we are altogether wrong in regarding this similarity of name as significant. That is a question which can only be answered later.

SIXTH LECTURE

PRELIMINARY HYPOTHESES AND TECHNIQUE OF INTERPRETATION

WE THUS realize our need of a new way of approach, a definite method, if we are to make any advance in our researches into dreams. I will now offer an obvious suggestion: let us accept as the basis of the whole of our further enquiry the following hypothesis—that dreams are not a somatic but a mental phenomenon. You know what this means, but what is our justification in making this assumption? We have none; but on the other hand there is nothing to prevent us. The position is this: if the dream is a somatic phenomenon it does not concern us; it can only be of interest to us on the hypothesis that it is a mental phenomenon. So we will assume that this hypothesis is true in order to see what happens if we do so. The

results of our work will determine whether we may adhere to the assumption and uphold it in its turn as an inference fairly drawn Now what exactly is the object of this enquiry of ours or to what are we directin our efforts? Our object is that of all scientific endeavour—namely to achieve an understanding of the phenomena to establish a connection between them and in the last resort wherever it is pos sible to increase our power over them

So we continue our work on the assumption that dreams are a mental phenomenon In that event they are a performance and an utterance on the part of the dreamer but of a kind that conveys nothin to us and which we do not understand Now supposing that I give utter ance to something that you do not understand what do you do? You ask me to explain do you not? Why may not we do the ame—*ask the dreamer the meaning of the dream?*

Remember we have already found ourselves in a similar position It was when we were en quirin into certain errors and the instance we took was a slip of the ton ue Someone had said Then certain things were *re filled* and thereupon we asked—no fortunately it was not *we* who asked but other people who had noth ing to do with psycho analysis—*they* asked what he meant by this enigmatic expression He answered at once that what he had intended to say was That was a filthy business but had checked himself and substituted the milder words Things were revealed there I ex plained to you then that this enquiry was the model for every psycho analytic investigation and you understand now that psycho analytic technique endeavours as far as possible to let the persons being analysed give the answer to their own problems The dreamer himself then should interpret his dream for us

That is not so simple with dreams however as we all know Where errors were concerned this method proved possible in many cases there were others where the person questioned refused to say anything and even indignantly repudiated the answer su gested to him With dreams instances of the first type are entirely lacking the dreamer always says he knows nothing about it He cannot very well repudiate our interpretation since we have none to offer him Shall we have to give up our attempt then? Since *he* knows nothing and *we* know nothing and a third person can surely know

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accompany me For I assure you that it is not only quite possible but highly probab e, that the dreamer really does know the mean ing of his dream *only he does not know th he knows and therefore thinks that he does not*

At this point you will probably call my at tention to the fact that I am a ain introducing an assumption the second in quite a short con text and that by so doing I greatly detract from the force of my claim to a trustworthy method of procedure Given the hypothesis that dreams are a mental phenomenon and given further the hypothesis that there are in the minds of men certain things which they know without knowing that they know th m—and so forth! You have only to keep in view the intrinsic improbability of both these hy potheses and you may with an easy mind aban don all interest in the conclusions to be drawn from them

Well I have not brou ht you here either to delude you or to conceal anything from you True I announced that I would give a course of lectures entitled Introductory Lectures on Psycho analysis but it was no part of my purpose to play the oracle professing to show you an easy sequence of facts whilst carefully concealing all difficulties filling up gaps and glossing over doubtful points so that you mi ht comfortably enjoy the belief that you have learnt something new No it is the very fact that you are beginners that makes me anxious to show you our science as it is with all its ex crescences and crudities the claims that it makes and the criticism to which it may give rise I know indeed that it is the same in every science and that especially in the beginnings it cannot be otherwise I know too that in teaching other sciences an effort is made at first to hide these difficulties and imperfections from the learner But that cannot be done in psycho analysis So I really have set up two hypotheses the one within the other and any one who finds it all too laborious or too uncer tain or who is used to higher degrees of cer tainty or to more refined deductions need go no further with me Only I should advi e him to leave psychological problems altogether alone for it is to be feared that this is a field in which he will find no access to such exact and sure paths as he is prepared to tread And fur ther it is quite superfluous for any science which can offer a real contribution to knowl edge to strive to make itself heard and to win adherents Its reception must depend upon its

results, and it can afford to wait until these have compelled attention.

But I may warn those of you who are not to be deterred in this way that my two assumptions are not of equal importance. The first, that dreams are a mental phenomenon, is the hypothesis which we hope to prove by the results of our work. The second has already been proved in a different field, and I am merely taking the liberty of transferring it thence to our problems.

Where, and in what connection, is it supposed to have been proved that a man can possess knowledge without knowing that he does so, which is the assumption we are making of the dreamer. Surely that would be a remarkable and surprising fact, which would change our conception of mental life and would have no need of concealment. Incidentally it would be a fact belied in the very statement of it, which yet intends to be literally true—a contradiction in terms. There is no, however, any attempt at concealment. We cannot blame the fact for people's ignorance of it or lack of interest in it any more than we ourselves are to blame because all these psychological problems have been passed in judgment by persons who have held aloof from all the observations and experiments which alone can be conclusive.

The proof to which I refer was found in the sphere of hypnotic phenomena. In the year 1889 I was present at the remarkably impressive demonstrations by Liébault and Bernheim, in Nancy and there I witnessed the following experiment. A man was placed in a condition of somnambulism, and then made to go through all sorts of hallucinatory experiences. On being wakened, he seemed at first to know nothing at all of what had taken place during his hypnotic sleep. Bernheim then asked him in so many words to tell him what had happened while he was under hypnosis. The man declared that he could not remember anything. Bernheim, however insisted upon it, pressed him, and assured him that he did know and that he must remember and lo and behold the man wavered, began to reflect, and remembered in a shadowy fashion first one of the occurrences which has been suggested to him, then something else, his recollection growing increasingly clear and complete until finally it was brought to light without a single gap. Now since in the end he had the knowledge without having learnt anything from any other quarter in the meantime, we are justified in concluding that these recollections were in his mind from the outset. They were merely inaccessible to him; he did not know that he knew them but believed that he did not know. In fact, his case was exactly similar to what we assume the dreamer's to be.

I hope you are duly surprised that this fact is already established and that you will ask me: "Why did you not refer to this proof before, when we were considering errors and came to the point of ascribing to a man who had made a slip of the tongue intentions behind his speech, of which he knew nothing and which he denied? If it is possible for a man to believe that he knows nothing of experiences of which nevertheless he does possess the recollection, it seems no longer improbable that there should be other mental processes going on within him about which also he knows nothing. We should certainly have been impressed by this argument and should have been in a better position to understand about errors." Certainly I might have brought forward this proof then but I reserved it for a later occasion when there would be more need for it. Some of the errors explained themselves; others suggested to us that in order to understand the connection between the phenomena, it would be advisable to postulate the existence of mental processes of which the person is entirely ignorant. With dreams we are compelled to seek our explanations elsewhere, and besides I am counting on your being more ready to accept in this connection a proof from the field of hypnosis. The condition in which we perform errors must seem to you normal and as such, to bear no similarity to that of hypnosis. On the other hand, there exists a clear relationship between the hypnotic state and sleep, the essential condition of dreaming. Hypnosis is actually called *artificial sleep*; we say to the people whom we hypnotize: Sleep, and the suggestions made to them are comparable to the dreams of natural sleep. The mental situation is really analogous in the two cases. In natural sleep we withdraw our interest from the whole outer world; so also in hypnotic sleep with the exception of the one person who has hypnotized us and with whom we remain in rapport. Again, the so-called "nurse's sleep" in which the nurse remains in rapport with the child and can be wakened only by him is a normal counterpart of hypnotic sleep. So it does not seem so very audacious to carry over to natural sleep something which is a condition in hypnosis. The assumption that some knowledge about his dream exists in the dreamer and that this knowledge is merely inacces-

sible to him so that he himself does not be lieve he has it is not a wild invention Inci dentally we observe here that a third way of approaching the study of dreams is thus opened out for us we may approach it by the avenue of sleep disturbing stimuli by that of day dreams and now by that of the dreams sug gested during hypnosis

Now perhaps we shall return to our task with greater confidence We see it is very prob able that the dreamer knows something about his dream the problem is how to make it pos sible for him to get at his knowledge and impart it to us We do not expect him immediately to tell us what his dream means but we do think he will be able to discover its source from what circle of thoughts and interests it is de rived With errors you w ll —

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i again we shall ask the dreamer how he came to have the dream and his next words must be regarded as giv ing the explanation in this case also It makes no difference to us therefore whether he thinks that he does or does not know anything about it and we treat both cases alike

This technique is certainly very simple nevertheless I am afraid it will provoke most strenuous opposition in you You will say An other assumption the third! And the most im probable of all! When I ask the dreamer what ideas come to him about the dream do you mean to say that his very first association will give the desired explanation? But surely he might have no as ociation at all or heaven only knows what the association might be We can not imagine upon what grounds such an ex pectation is based It really implies too much trust in Providence and this at a point where rather more exercise of the critical faculty would better meet the case Besides a dream is not like a single slip of the ton ue but is made up of many elements That being so upon which association is one to rely?

You are right in all the unessentials It is true that a dream differs from a slip of the tongue in the matter of its many elements as well as in other points We must take account of that in our technique So I suggest to you that we divide the dream up into its various ele ments and examine each element separately then we shall have re establ shed the analogy with a slip of the tongue Again you are right in saying that the dreamer when questioned on the single elements of the dream may reply that he has no ideas about them There are cases in which we accept this answer and later I will tell you which these are curiously enough they are cases about which we our selves may have certain definite ideas But in general when the dreamer declares that he has no ideas we shall contradict him press him to answer assure him that he must have some idea and—shall find we are right He will produce an association any one it does not matter to us what it is He will be especially ready with information which we may term historical H will say That is somethin which happened yesterday (as in the instance of the two *pro saic* dreams quoted above) or That reminds me of something which happened recently and in this way we shall come to notice that dreams are much more often connected with impressions of the day before than we thought at first Finally with the dream as his starting point he will recall events which happened less recently and at last even some which lie very far back in the past

In regard to the main issue however you are wrong When you think it arbitrary to as sume that the first as ociation of the dreamer must give us just what we are looking for o at any rate lead to it and further that the as sociation is much more likely to be quite capricious and to have no connection with what we are looking for and that it only shows my blind trust in Providence if I expect anything else—then you make a very great mistake I have already taken the liberty of pointing out to you that there is within you a deeply rooted belief in psychic freedom and choice that this belief is quite unscientific and that it mu t give ground before the claims of a determinism which governs even mental life I ask you to have some respect for the *fact* that that one association and nothing else occurs to the dreamer when he is questioned Nor am I set ting up one belief against another It can be proved that the association thus given is not a matter of choice nor indeterminate and tha it is not unconnected with what we are look n for Indeed I have recently learnt—not that I attach too much importance to the fact—that experimental psycholo y itself has brought for ward similar proofs

Because of the importance of the matter I ask you to pay special attention to this When I ask a man to say what comes to his mind about any given element in a dream I require

him to give himself up to the process of FREE ASSOCIATION *which follows when he keeps in mind the original idea*. This necessitates a peculiar attitude of the attention, something quite different from reflection, indeed, precluding it. Many persons adopt this attitude without any difficulty but others when they attempt to do so display an incredible ineptitude. There is a still higher degree of freedom in association which appears when I dispense with any particular stimulus-idea and perhaps only describe the kind and species of association that I want, for example, ask someone to let a proper name or a number occur to him. An association of this sort would, one would say, be even more subject to choice and unaccountable than the kind used in our technique. Nevertheless it can be shown that in every instance it will be strictly determined by important inner attitudes of mind, which are unknown to us at the moment when they operate, just as much unknown as are the disturbing tendencies which cause errors and those tendencies which bring about so-called chance action.

I myself and many after me have repeatedly made an examination of names and numbers called up without any particular idea as starting-point; some of these experiments have been published. The method is this: trains of associations are stirred up by the name which occurred, and these associations, as you see, are no longer quite free but are attached just so far as the association to the different elements of the dream are attached; this train of associations is then kept up until the thoughts arising from the impulse have been exhausted. By that time, however, you will have explained the motivation and significance of the free association with a name. The experiments yield the same result again and again; the information they give us often includes a wealth of material and necessitates going far afield into ramifications. The associations to numbers that arise spontaneously are perhaps the most demonstrative; they follow upon one another so swiftly and make for a hidden goal with such astounding certainty that one is really quite taken aback. I will give you just one example of a name analysis of this sort, because it happens to be one which does not involve the handling of a great mass of material.

Once when I was treating a young man I happened to say something on this subject and to assert that in spite of our apparent freedom of choice in such matters we cannot, in point of fact, think of any name which cannot be shown to be narrowly determined by the immediate circumstances, the idiosyncrasies of the person experimented with and his situation at the moment. As he was inclined to be sceptical, I proposed that he should make the experiment himself then and there. I knew that he had usually numerous relationships of all sorts with women and girls, so I told him that I thought he would have an exceptionally large number to choose from if he were to let the name of a woman occur to him. He agreed. To my surprise, or rather perhaps to his own, he did not overwhelm me with an avalanche of women's names but remained silent for a time and then confessed that the only name which came into his mind at all was "Albine." "How curious! What do you connect with this name? How many Albines do you know?" Strangely enough, he knew no one of the name of Albine and he found no associations to the name. One might infer that the analysis had failed, but no, it was already complete and no further association was required. The man himself was unusually fair in colouring and whilst talking to him in analysis I had often jokingly called him an albino; moreover we were just in the midst of tracing the feminine element in his nature. So it was he himself who was this female albino, the woman who interested him most at the moment.

In the same way the tunes which suddenly come into a man's head can be shown to be conditioned by some train of thought to which they belong and which for some reason is occupying his mind without his knowing anything about it. It is easy to show that the connection with the tune is to be found either in the words which belong to it or in the source from which it comes. I must however make this reservation, that I do not maintain this in the case of really musical people, of whom I happen to have had no experience; in them the musical value of the tune may account for its suddenly emerging into consciousness. The first case is certainly much more common. I know of a young man who for some time was absolutely haunted by the tune (a charming one, I admit) of the song of Paris in *Helen of Troy* until his attention was drawn in analysis to the fact that at that time an "Ida" and a "Helen" were rival in his interest.

If then, the associations which arise quite freely are determined in this way and belong to some definite context, we are surely justified in concluding that associations attached to one single stimulus-idea must be equally narrow

ly conditioned Examination shows as a fact that they are not only attached in the first place to the stimulus idea which we have provided for them but that they are also dependent in the second place on circles of thoughts and interests of strong affective value (*complexes* as we call them) of whose influence at the time nothing is known that is to say on unconscious activities

Associations attached in this way have been made the subject of very instructive experiments which have played a notable part in the history of psycho analysis Wundt s school ori inated the so called *association experiment* in which the subject of the experiment is bidden to reply to a given *stimulus word* as quickly as possible with whatever *reaction word* occurs to him The following points may then be noted the interval which elapses between the utterance of the stimulus word and of the reaction word the nature of the latter and possibly any mistake which comes in when the same experiment is repeated later and so on The Zurich School under the leadership of Bleuler and Jung arrived at the explanation of the reactions to the association experiment by asking the person experimented upon to throw light upon any associations which seemed at all remarkable by means of subsequent associations In this way it became clear that these unusual reactions were most strictly determined by the complexes of the person concerned By this discovery Bleuler and Jung built the first bridge between experimental psychology and psycho analysis

Having heard this you may possibly say We admit now that free associations are subject to determination and not a matter of choice as we thought at first and we admit this also in the case of associations to the elements of dreams But it is not this that we are bothering about You maintain that the association to each element in the dream is determined by some mental background to this particular element a background of which we know nothin We cannot see that there is any proof of this Naturally we expect that the association to the dream element will be shown to be conditioned by one of the complexes of the dreamer but what good is that to us? That does not help us to understand the dream it merely leads to some knowledge of th se so called complexes as did the association experiment but what have these to do with the dream?

You are right but you are overlooking an important point the very thing which deterred me from choosing the association experiment as a starting point for this discussion In this experiment the stimulus word the in le thing which determines the reaction is chosen by us at will and the reaction stands as intermediary between this stimulus word and the complex aroused in the person experimented upon. In the dream the stimulus word is replaced by something derived from the mental life of the dreamer from sources unknown to him and hence may very probably be itself a *derivative of a complex* It is not therefore alto ether fantastic to suppose that the further associations connected with elements of the dream are determined by no other complex than that which has produced the particular element i self and that they will lead to the discovery of that complex

Let me give you another instance which may serve to show that in the case of dreams the facts bear out our expectations The forgetting of proper names is really an excellent prototype of what happens in dream analysis only that in the former case one person alone is concerned while in the interpretation of dreams there are two When I forget a name temporarily I am still certain that I know it and by way of a détour through Bernheim s experiment we are now in a position to achieve a similar certainty in the case of the dreamer Now really me th thinking about it even with effort is any use I can however always think of another or of several other names instead of the forgotten one When such a substitute name occurs to me spontaneously only then is the similarity between this situation and that of dream analysis evident The dream element also is not what I am really lookin for it is only a substitute for something else for the real thing which I do not know and am trying to discover by means of dream analysis Again the difference is that when I forget a name I know perfectly well that the ub ti tute is not the right one whereas we only arrived at this conception of the dream element by a laborious process of investigation Now there also is a way in which when we forget a name we can by starting from the substi tute arrive at the real thing eluding our consciousness at the moment i e the forgotten name If I turn my attention to these substitute names and let further associations to them come into my mind I arrive after a short or

a long way around at the n me I have forgot ten, and in so doing I discover that the substitutes I have spontaneously produced had a defin..e connection with and were determined by the forgotten name

I will gi e you an instance of an analysis of thi sort One day I found that I could not call to mind the ame of the small country on the R era of which Monte Ca lo is the capital. It was most an oy ng but so it was I del d into all my knowledge about the coun try I th ught f Princ Albert of the Ho se of Lu gnan of his marriages of his pass n for deep-sea explorati n—in fact of everything I could ummo up but all to no purpo e So I gave up trying to th k and inst ad of the name I had lost let s b tit te names come in to my mi d They came qu ckly Monte Ca lo itself then Piedmo t Alban a, Montev deo Colico Albania was the first to attract my at tention t was immediat ly replaced by Mo tenegro p bably b cause of the co trast between black and white Then I n ticed th t four of the s b t t te ames ha e the same syll ble m and immed ately I recalled the forg tten wo d and cried out Mo a o You see the substit tes eall or nated in the for gotten name th fou first came fr m th first syllab e and the la t ga e the seque ce of the syllables and th wh le of the fi al syllable Incid tally I co ld qu t eas ly fi d out what had made me fo get th me fo the t me being M naco s th It l an name fo Mun h and t w s some th ghts onnected with this t wn whi h had ted a inhib t on

Now that a ery p etty example but t is too s mpl I other cases y m ht ha to tak l c e n of sociat ons to th subst tute nam a d then the analogy to dream anal s would be cleare I ha e had experi es f th t sort too A stra ge once in ted m t drink m Ital an w with him and the inn h found h had f rg tten the nam f th wine whi h h had me nt to orde count of his ry pleasant recollec ti ns of t A umber of d m l b t tute names occurred to h m and fr m these I wa bl t inf that th thought of som o called Hed had m d h m forg t the name of the win S re e gh t nly d d he t ll me that th re had bee a H dw g w th him on the occa on wh he first ta t d th wi but th di ery b ought b k t him the nam h wa ted H wa now happ ly married and H dw g belon ed to ea li days whi h he did ot care t recall.

What is po s'ble in the case of forgotten names must be also possible in the interpreta tion of dreams starti g from the substitute, we must be able to arrive at the re l object of our se rch by means of a train of associa tions and further argu ng from what happens w th forgotten names we may assume that the associations to the *dream-element will have* been determined not only by that element but also by th real thought *which is not in con* sciousness If we could do this we should have *gone some way* towards justifying our technique

SEVENTH LECTURE

Manifest Content a d Latent Thoughts

You see that our study of errors has not been fruitless Thanks to our exertions in that d ec tion we have—rea oning from the hypotheses with wh ch you are familiar—secured two results a conception of the nature of the dream element and a technique of dream interpreta *tion The concept on of the dream-element* is as foll ws it is not in tself a primary and esse t al thing a *tho ght p ope* but a substi tute for something else unknown to the per son c cerned just as is the underlying inten tion of the error s bst tute for some hin the knowledge f which s ind ed pos e sed by the dreame but is inaccess ble to him We hope to

the sa d el ments

I am now g ng to propose that we introduce an alteratio in our omenclature order to make our term ology more flexible Instead of u ng the words *hidden naccessible* or *prop er* let us gi more preci e descriptio a d say *nacce bl to the conscious ss of the d m consc*io s By that we mean n thi g m e than was impl ed in the case of th f rg tt n w d th und lying inte t n r spo s bl f th error that s to say *unc nsc ous t the m ment* It follows that n co tradi tin tion we may call the dream-ele m ts themsel es d those substitute-ideas rri ed at by the pro f associat *con*-*sc ou* \ theoretical mpl cat o is so fa con ta ed in these t rms n cept n ca be tak en t th use f the w d *unc nsc us* as de cripti at o ce applicable and easy to understand.

Now transferring our conception from the single element to the dream as a whole it fol lows that the latter is the distorted substitute for something else something unconscious and that the task of dream interpretation is to dis cover these unconscious thoughts Hence are derived three important rules which should be observed in the work of dream interpretation

1 We are not to trouble about the surface meaning of the dream whether it be reasonable or absurd clear or confused in no case does it constitute the unconscious thoughts we are seeking (An obvious limitation of this rule will force itself upon us later)

2 We are to confine our work to calling up substitute ideas for every element and not to ponder over them and try to see whether they contain something which fits in nor to trouble ourselves about how far they are taking us from the dream element

3 We must wait until the hidden uncon scious thou hts which we are seeking appear of their own accord just as in the case of the missing word Monaco in the experiment which I described

Now we understand also how entirely indif ferent it is whether we remember much or lit tle of our dreams above all whether we re member them accurately or not The dream as remembered is not the real thing at all but *a distorted substitute* which by calling up other substitute ideas provides us with a means of approaching the thought proper of brin ing into consciousness the unconscious thou hts underlying the dream If our recollection was at fault all that has happened is that a further distortion of the substitute has taken place and this distortion itself cannot be without motivation

We can interpret our own dreams as well as those of others indeed we learn more from our own and the process carries more convic tion Now if we experiment in this direction we notice that something is working against us Associations come it is true but we do not admit them all we are moved to criticize and to select We say to ourselves of one associa tion No that does not fit in—it is irrelevant and of another That is too absurd and of a third That is quite beside the point and then we can observe further that in making such objections we stifle and in the end actu ally banish the associations before they have become quite clear So on the one hand we tend to hold too closely to the initial idea that is the dream element itself and on the other by allowing ourselves to select we vitiate the results of the process of free association If we are not attemptin the interpretation by ourselves but are allowin omeone else to interpret we shall clearly perceive another motive impelling us to this selection forbid den as we know it to be We find ourselves thinking at times No this association is too unpleasant I cannot or will not tell it to him

Clearly these objections threaten to spoil the success of our work We must guard a ainst them when we are interpretin our own dreams by resolving firmly not to yield to them and in interpreting those of someone el e by laying down the hard and fast rule that he must not withhold any association even if one of the four objections I have named rises up again t it namely that it is too unimportant too ab surd too irrelevant or too unpleasant to peak of He promises to keep this rule and we may well feel annoyed when we find how badly he fulfils his promise later on At first we account for this by imaginin that in pite of our authoritative assurance he is not convinced that the process of free association will be justified by its results and perhaps our next idea will be to win him over first to our theory by giving him books to read or sendin him to lectures so that he may be converted to our views on the subject But we shall be saved from any such fal e steps by observing that the same critical objections against certain as ociations arise even in ourselves whom we surely cannot suspect of doubt and can only subsequently on second thoughts as it were be overcome

Instead of being annoyed at the dreamer s disobedience we can turn this experience to good account as a means of learning something new something which is the more important the more unprepared we were for it We realize that the work of dream interpretation is en countering opposition by a *resistance* which expresses itself in this very form of critical objections This resistance is independent of the theoretical conviction of the dreamer We learn even more than this Experience shows that a critical objection of this nature is never justified On the contrary the associations which people wish to suppress in this way prove *without except on* to be the most important to be decisive for the discovery of the unconscious thought When an association is accompanied by an objection of this sort it positively calls for special notice

This resistance is omething entirely new a phenomeno which we ha e found by *follow ing* out our h potheses alth ugh t was not in *cluded* in them We are not altog ther agree-ably surpri ed by this new f ctor which we have t recko with, for we uspect already that i will n t make our work any ea ier it might almost tempt us to gi e up the effort with dreams al gether To take uch a trivial subject and th to ha e so m ch trouble in stead f spinning alon smoothly with our tech niq B t we might n th oth hand find these difficult s fa cinating and be led to sus pect that the w k will be worth the tr uble Resistan es in ariably confro t us when we try t penetrate to th hidden uncon cious thought from the sub titute offered by the dream-ele ment. We may suppo e therefore that some thing ery ignificant must be con ealed be-

thing which he ought ot to ha e

As soo as w introduce into our subj ct the *dynamic c cepti f resi tan* we mu t bea in mind that this f ctor s something quantitati ely ariable The e re great r and lesse res tan es and w are prepared to find these differences showing themsel es in the course of w k. P haps we ca c nnect with this another experi ce als met w th in the proces f dre m int rpret t on I mean that som times nly a few a ciations—per haps n t more than o e—suffice t lead us from th dream-element t th uncon ous thought behind t, whilst ther occa ns lo g chains f associations are necessary and many critical bjections ha e t be ove com W hall prob-bly think that th umbe of a sociations nec essary varies with the arying trength f the resistances and ery lik ly we shall be right. If there i only a l ght resistance the substi tut s t far removed f m th unconsciou thought trong resistance th ther hand causes great di tortio of the latt r and there by enta ls l g journey back from the sub-stitut to the unconsc ous thought tself

Pe haps this would be g od mom t t s lect a dream d try our techniqu upo it to see wheth th xpectat ons we h e te tained are ealized. V ry w ll but what dream hall we choose? W d not know how difficult t is f m t dec d can I mak t clear t you yet what th difficulties Ob iously there mu t be dreams in which on the whole there is very little distortion and one would think it would be best to begin w th these. But wh ch are the lea t distorted dreams? Those wh ch make good ense and are not con fu ed of which I have already gi en you two examples? In assum g this we should make a h ws that these high hat I make no special condition but take any dream at random you would probably be very much disappointed. We m gh have to observe and record such a vast number of as ociations to the single dream-elements that it would be qu te impos ble to gain an clear view of the work as a whole If we write the dream down a d c mpare with it ll the as ociat ons which it produces we are lik ly to find that they ha e multiplied the length f the text of th dream many times So the most practical method would seem to be that of selectin for analysis several h rt dream each of which can at least convey some idea to us or co firm ome sup-po t n This w ll be the course we shall de c de to tak unless experi ce gives us a hint where we ou ht *really to look for* lightly dis torted dreams

B t I can suggest an ther means of mpl fying matters o e which lies right before us. I stead f attempting the interpretat on of *whole dre ms let us confi e oursel es to s ngle* dream-elements and fi d o t by taking a series of examples h w the pplication of our tech niqu explains them

(*a*) A lady related that as a child he ery *often dreamt that God had a poi ted paper c p on his head* How re ou going to understand that without the h lp of the dreamer? It sounds quite nonsens cal but the absurdity disappears when the lady says that as a littl girl she u ed t ha e cap like that put on her head at table because sh wouldn t gi e up looki g at the plates f her br th rs and sisters t ee wh th e y f them had been gi en m re than she. E d tly th cap was meant to serve the pur po f blink rs thi p e of hi t rical infor

f th dreamer As I had been t ld that God knew everything and s w everythi th dream could onl mean that I knew nd s w every thing as God did even when they tri d to pre ent me Thus example perhaps too simple

(b) A sceptical patient had a longer dream in which certain people were telling her about my book on *Wit* and praising it very highly Then something else came in about a *canal* *it might have been another book in which the word* canal *occurred or something else to do with a canal she did not know it was quite vague*

Now you will certainly be inclined to suppose that the *canal* in the dream will defy interpretation on account of its vagueness You are right in expecting difficulty but the difficulty is not caused by the vagueness on the contrary the difficulty in interpretation is caused by something else by the same thing that makes the element vague The dreamer had no association to the word *canal* naturally I did not know what to say either Shortly afterwards to be accurate on the next day she told me that an association had occurred to her which *perhaps* had something to do with it It was in fact a witty remark which some one had told her On board ship between Dover and Calais a well known author was talking to an Englishman who in some particular context quoted the words *Du sublime au ridicule il n y a qu'un pas* The author answered *Oui le Pas-de Calais* meaning that he regarded France as sublime and England as ridiculous Of course the Pas de Calais is a *canal*—that is to say the Canal la Manche—the English Channel Now you ask do I think that this association had anything to do with the dream? Certainly I think so it gives the true meaning of the puzzling dream-element Or are you inclined to doubt that the joke already existed before the dream and was the unconscious thought behind the element *canal* and to maintain that it was a subsequent invention? The association reveals the scepticism dis ui ed under the obtrusive admiration and resistance was no doubt the cause both of the association being so long in occurring to her and of the corresponding dream element being so vague Observe here the relation between the dream element and the unconscious thought underlying it it is as it were a fragment of the thought an allusion to it by being isolated in that way it became quite incomprehensible

(c) A patient had a fairly long dream part of which was as follows *Several members of his family were seated at a table of a particular shape* etc This table reminded the dreamer that he had seen one of the same sort when he was visiting a certain family From that his thoughts ran on thus in this family the relation between father and son was a peculiar one and the patient presently added that his own relations with his father were as a matter of fact of the same nature So the table was introduced into the dream to indicate this parallelism

It happened that this dreamer had long been familiar with the demands of dream interpretation otherwise he might have taken exception to the idea of investigating so trivial a detail as the shape of a table We do literally deny that anything in the dream is a matter of chance or of indifference and it is precisely by enquiring into such trivial and (apparently) unmotivated details that we expect to arrive at our conclusion You may perhaps still be surprised that the dream work should happen to choose the table in order to express the thought Our relationship is just like theirs. But even this is explicable when you learn that the family in question was named *Tischler* (*Tisch* = table) In making his relations sit at this table the dreamer s meaning was that they too were *Tischler* And notice another thing that in relating dream interpretations of this sort one is forced into indiscretion There you have one of the difficulties I alluded to in the matter of choosing examples I could easily have given you another example instead of this one but probably I should have avoided this indiscretion only to commit another in its place

This seems to me a good point at which to introduce two new terms which we might have used already Let us call the dream as related *the manifest dream content* and the hidden meaning which we should come by in following out the associations *the latent dream thoughts* Then we must consider the relation between the manifest content and the latent thoughts as shown in the above examples There are many varieties of these relations In examples (a) and (b) the manifest dream-element is also an integral part of the latent thoughts but only a fragment of them A small piece of a great composite mental structure in the unconscious dream thoughts has made its way into the manifest dream also in the form of a fragment or in other cases as an allusion like a catch word or an abbreviation in a telegraphic code The interpretation has to complete the whole to which this scrap or allusion belongs which it did most successfully in example (b) One method of the distorting process in which the dream work consists is therefore that of substituting for something else a

fragment of an allusion. In example (c) we notice, moreover, another possible relation between manifest content and latent thought, a relation which is even more plainly and distinctly expressed in the following examples:

(d) The dreamer was pulling a certain lady of his acquaintance out of a ditch. He himself found the meaning of this dream-element by means of the first association. It meant: he picked her out, preferred her.*

(e) Another man dreamt that his brother was digging up his garden all over again. The first association was to deep-trenching, for very trenches, the second gave the meaning. The brother was *retrenching*. (Retrenching his expenses.)

(f) The dreamer was climbing a mountain from which he had a remarkably wide view. This sounds most reasonable, perhaps no interpretation is called for, and we have only to find out what recollection is referred to in the dream, and what had aroused it. No, you are mistaken; it comes out that this dream needed interpretation just as much as any other more confused. For the dreamer remembers nothing about mountain-climbing himself; instead, it occurs to him that an acquaintance is publishing a *Rundschau* (Review) on the subject of our relations with the most distant parts of the earth. Hence, the latent thought is one in which the dreamer identifies himself with the 'surveyor' (lit. one who takes a survey).

Here you come across a new type of relation between the manifest and the latent element in dreams. The former is not so much a distortion of the latter as a representation—a plastic, concrete piece of imagery originating in the sound of a word. It is true that this amounts in effect to distortion, for we have long forgotten from what concrete image the word sprang and hence fail to recognize it when that image is substituted for it. When you consider that the manifest dream consists of visual images in by far the greatest number of cases and less frequently of thoughts and words, you will easily realize that this kind of relation between the manifest and the latent has special significance in the structure of dreams. You see too that in this way it becomes possible for a long series of abstract thoughts to create substitute-images in the manifest dream which do indeed serve the purpose of concealment. This is how our picture-puzzles are made up. The source of the semblance of wit which goes with this type of representation is a special question which we need not touch on here.

There is a fourth kind of relation between the manifest and the latent elements which I will say nothing about until the time comes for it in my account of our technique. Even then I shall not have given you a full list of these possible relations, but we shall have sufficient for our purpose.

Now do you think you can summon up courage to venture on the interpretation of a whole dream? Let us see whether we are *adequately* equipped for the task. I shall not, of course, choose one of the most obscure, but all the same it shall be one which shows the characteristics of dreams in a well marked form.

A young woman who had already been married for a number of years dreamt as follows: *She was at the theatre with her husband, and one side of the stalls was quite empty. Her husband told her that Elise L. and her fiancé also wanted to come, but could only get bad seats, three for a florin and a half, and of course they could not take those. She realised then on her own they did not lose much by this.*

The first thing stated by the dreamer is that the occasion giving rise to the dream is alluded to in the manifest content: her husband had really told her that Elise L., an acquaintance of about her own age, had become engaged, and the dream is the reaction to this piece of news. We know already that in many dreams it is easy to point to some such occasion occurring on the day before, and that this is often traced by the dreamer without any difficulty. This dreamer supplies us with further information of the same sort about other elements in the manifest dream. To what did she trace the detail of one side of the stalls being empty? It was an allusion to a real occurrence of the week

anxiety had been quite superfluous, for one side of the stalls was almost empty. It would have been time enough if she had bought the tickets on the actual day of the performance and her husband did not fail to tease her about having been in too *great a hurry*. Next, what about the one florin and a half (1 fl. 50 kr.)? This was traced to quite another context which had nothing to do with the former, but it again refers

* This example has been altered in translation to bring in the play upon words in English.—TR.

See note on preceding example.—T.

to some news received on the previous day Her sister in law had had a present of 150 florins from her husband and had rushed off *in a hurry* like a silly goose to jeweller s shop and spent it all on a piece of jewellery What about the number three? She knew nothing about that unless this idea could be counted an association that the engaged girl Elise L was only three months younger than she her self who had been married ten years And the absurdity of taking three tickets for two peo ple? She had nothing to say to this and refused to give any more associations or information whatever

Nevertheless her few associations have pro vided us with so much material that it is pos sible to discover the latent dream thoughts We are struck by the fact that in her statements references to time are noticeable at several points which form a common basis for the different parts of this material She had got the theatre tickets *too soon* taken them in *too great a hurry* so that she had to pay extra for them in the same way her sister in law had *hurried* off to the jeweller s with her money to buy an ornament with it as though she might *miss something* If the strongly emphasized points *too early too great a hu ry* are con nected with the occasion for the dream (name ly the news that her friend only three months *younger* than herself had now found a good husband after all) and with the criticism ex pressed in her asperity about her sister in law that it was *folly* to be so precipitate there oc curs to us almost spontaneously the following construction of the latent dream thoughts for which the manifest dream is a highly distorted substitute

It was really *foolish* of me to be in such a hurry to marry! Elise s example shows me that I too could have found a husband later on (The over haste is represented by her own con duct in buying the tickets and that of her sister in law in buying the jewellery Going to the theatre is substituted for getting married) This would be the main thought perhaps we may go on though with less certainty because the analysis in these passages ought not to be unsupported by statements of the dreamer And I might have had one a hundred times better for the money! (150 florins is 100 times more than one florin and a half) If we may substitute the dowry for the money it would mean that the husband is bought with the dowry both the jewellery and the bad seats would stand for the husband It would be still more de irable if we could see some connection between the element *three tickets* and a hus band but our knowled e does not as yet ex tend to this We have only found out that the dream expresses *depreciation* of her own hus band and regret at having *married so early*

In my opinion we shall be more surprised and confused by the result of this our first at tempt at dream interpretation than satisfied with it Too many ideas force themselves upon us at once more than as yet we can master We see already that we shall not come to the end of what the interpretation of this dream can teach us Let us immediately sin le out those points in which we can definitely ee some new knowledge

In the first place we note that in the latent thoughts the chief emphasis falls upon the ele ment of hurry in the manifest dream that is exactly a feature about which we find nothin Without analysis we could have had no sus picion that this thought entered in at all It seems possible therefore that precisely the main point round which the unconscious thoughts centre does not appear in the mani fest dream at all This fact must radically change the impression made upon us by the whole dream In the second place in the dream there is a nonsensical combination of ideas (three for one florin and a half) in the dream thoughts we detect the opinion It was folly (to marry so early) Can one reject the con clusion that this thought It was *folly* is represented by the introduction into the mani fest dream of an *absurd* element? In the third place comparison shows us that the relation between manifest and latent elements is no simple one certainly not of such a kind that a manifest always replaces a latent element The relation between the two is of the nature of a relation between two different groups so that a manifest element can represent several latent thoughts or a latent thought be replaced by several manifest elements

As regards the meaning of the dream and the dreamer s attitude towards it here again we might find many surprising things to say The lady certainly admitted the interpretation but she wondered at it she had not been aware that she had such d sparaging thoughts of her husband she did not even know why she should so disparage him So there is still much that is incomprehensible about it I really think that as yet we are not properly equipped for inter preting a dream and that we need further in struction and preparation first

EIGHTH LECTURE

CHILDREN'S DREAMS

WE HAD the impression that we had advanced too rapidly. Let us therefore retrace our steps a little. Before we made our last experiment in which we tried to overcome the difficulty of dream-distortion by means of our technique, we said that it would be best to circumvent it by confining ourselves to dreams in which distortion is absent or occurs only to a very slight extent, if there are any such dreams. In doing this we are again deviating from the actual course of development of our knowledge, for in reality it was only after consistently applying our method of interpretation and after exhaustive analysis of dreams in which distortion occurred, that we became aware of the existence of those in which it is lacking.

The dreams we are looking for are met with in children, short, clear, coherent and easy to understand, they are free from ambiguity and yet are unmistakable dreams. You must not think, however, that all dreams in children are of this type. Distortion in dreams begins to appear very early in childhood, and there are on record dreams of children between five and six years old which already show all the characteristics of the dreams of later life. But, if you confine yourselves to those occurring in the period between the dawn of recognizable mental activity and the fourth or fifth year of life, you will discover a series which we should characterize as infantile, and, in the later years of childhood, you may find single dreams of the same type; indeed, even in grown-up people under certain conditions dreams appear which are not very different from the typically infantile.

Now from these children's dreams it is possible to obtain without any difficulty trustworthy information about the essential nature of dreams, which we hope will prove to be decisive and universally valid.

1. In order to understand these dreams there is no need for an analysis nor for the employment of any technique. It is not necessary to question the child who relates his dream. But we must know something about his life, in every instance there is some experience from the previous day which explains the dream. The dream is the mind's reaction in sleep to the experience of the previous day.

Let us consider some examples in order to base our further conclusions upon them.

(a) A boy of a year and ten months old had to present someone with a basket of cherries as a birthday gift. He plainly did it very unwillingly, although he had been promised some of them for himself. The next morning, he told his dream: "Hermann eaten all the cherries."

(b) A little girl of three and a quarter years went for the first time for a trip on the lake. When they came to land she did not wish to leave the boat and cried bitterly: the time on the water had evidently gone too quickly for her. Next morning she said: "Last night I was sailing on the lake." We may probably infer that this trip lasted longer.

(c) A boy five and a quarter years old was taken on an excursion to the Escherntal near Hallstatt. He had heard that Hallstatt lay at the foot of the Dachstein and had shown great interest in that mountain. From the lodgings in Aussee there was a fine view of the Dachstein, and with a telescope it was possible to make out the Simony Hut on top. The child had repeatedly endeavoured to see the hut through the telescope but nobody knew whether he had succeeded. The excursion began in a mood of joyful expectation. Whenever a new mountain came into sight, the little boy asked: "Is that the Dachstein?" Every time his question was answered in the negative he grew more out of sorts and presently became silent and refused to climb a little way up to the waterfall with the others. He was thought to be overtired, but the next morning he said quite happily: "Last night I dreamt that we were in the Simony Hut." So it was with this expectation that he had taken part in the excursion. The only detail he gave was one he had heard before: "You have to climb up steps for six hours."

These three dreams will be enough to give us all the information we need at this point.

2. We see that these childhood dreams are no meaningless; they are complete comprehensible mental acts. Remember the medical verdict about dreams which I told you, and the comparison with unskilled fingers wandering over the keys of the piano. You cannot fail to notice how sharply this conception is contradicted by the children's dreams I have quoted. Now it would surely be most extraordinary if a child were able to achieve the performance of complete mental acts during sleep and the grown-up person in the same situation contented himself with spasmodic reactions. Besides we have every reason for attributing better and deeper sleep to the child.

3. In these dreams there is no distortion and therefore they need no interpretation; the

manifest and the latent content is here identical From this we conclude that *distortion is not essential to the nature of the dream* I expect that this statement will take a weight off your minds Nevertheless closer consideration forces us to admit that even in these dreams distortion is present though in a very slight degree that there is a certain difference between the manifest content and the latent dream thought

4 The child s dream is a reaction to an experience of the previous day which has left behind a regret a longing or an unsatisfied wish *In the dream we have the direct undisguised fulfilment of this wish* Now consider our discussion as to the part played by the external or internal somatic stimuli as disturbers of sleep and be etters of dreams We learnt certain quite definite facts on this point but this explanation only held good in a small number of dreams In these children s dreams there is nothing to indicate the influence of such somatic stimuli we can make no mistake about it for the dreams are perfectly comprehensible and each can easily be grasped as a whole But we need not on that account give up our notion of the stimulus as causing the dream We can only ask why we forget from the outset that there are *mental* as well as bodily sleep disturbing stimuli surely we know that it is these which are mainly responsible for disturbing the sleep of the grown up person in that they hinder him from bringing about in himself the mental condition essential for sleep i e the withdrawal of interest from the outside world He wi hes not to have any interruption in his life be would prefer to continue working at whatever occupies him and that is the reason why he does not sleep The mental stimulus which disturbs sleep is therefore for a child the unsatisfied wish and his reaction to this is a dream

5 This takes us by a very short step to a conclusion about the function of dreams If dreams are the reaction to a mental stimulus their value must lie in effecting a discharge of the excitation so that the stimulus is removed and sleep can continue We do not yet know how this discharge through the dream [illegible]

[illegible] against them) but are guardians and deliverers of it from disturbing influences True we are apt to think we should have slept better if we had not dreamed but there we are wrong the truth is that without the help of the dream we should not have slept at all and we owe it to the dream that we slept as well as we did It could not help disturbing us a little just as a policeman often cannot avoid making a noise when driving off disturbers of the peace who would wake us

6 That dreams are brought about by a wish and that the content of the dream expresses this wish is one main characteristic of dreams. The other equally constant feature is that the dream does not merely give expression to a thou ht but represents this wish as fulfilled in the form of an hallucinatory experience. I hould like to sail on the lake runs the wish which gives rise to the dream the content of the dream itself is I am sailing on the lake So that even in these simple dreams belongin to childhood there is still a difference between the latent and the manifest dream and still a distortion of the latent dream thought *in the translation of the thought into an experience* In interpretin a dream we must first of all undo this process of alteration If this is to be regarded as one of the most universal characteristics of all dreams we the [illegible]

[illegible] wish my brother would retrench he *is to* retrench Of the two universal characteristics here mentioned the second is obviously more likely to be acknowledged without opposition than the first

It is only by extensive investigations that we can make sure that what produces the dream must always be a *wish* and cannot sometimes be a preoccupation a purpose or reproach but the other characteristic remains unaffected namely that the dream does not merely reproduce this stimulus but by a kind of living it throu h removes it sets it aside relieves it.

7 In connection with these characteristics of dreams we may take up again our comparison between dreams and errors In the latter we distinguished between a disturbing tendency and one which is disturbed the error being a compromise between the two Dreams fall into the same category the disturbed tendency can only of course be the tendency to sleep while the disturbing tendency resolves itself into the mental stimulus which we may call the *wish* (clamouring for gratification) since at present we know of no other mental stimulus disturbing sleep Here again the dream is the result of a compromise we sleep and yet we experience the satisfaction of a wish we gratify a wish and at the same time continue to

sleep Each ach eves part uccess and part failure

8 Y u w'll remember that at one po nt we hoped to find a path to an understanding of the pro l ms p esented by dreams in the fact that certai very tran parent phan asy forma ti ns are called *d y-d eams* Now these day dreams are literally wi h fulfilme ts fulfilments f amb tiou or erotic w shes wh ch we recog nize as such they are however carried out in thought and howe er dly im mned they never take the form of hallucinat ry experi ences H re th refore the less cert n of the two main characterist cs of the dream s re tained, whereas the other t whi h the condi tion f sleep i esse tial and whi h cann t be realized i wakin life s entirely lacking So in languag we fi d a hint that a wish f lfil ment is a main characteri t c of dreams And further if the xperie ce we have in dreams is only anoth form f imaginati e representa tion a form which becomes poss'ble under the peculiar co ditions f the leeping state—*a noc turnal d y-d m* as we mi ht call t—we un derstand at once how t s that the process of dream formation ca abrogat the stimulus operating at night a d ca bring gratificat on fo day-dreaming also mode f activ ty closely linked up with grat ficat on which is in fact th only reaso why people practise t.

Again, there are other lingui t c expre s ns, besides this which imply the same thing We are familiar with the p o erbs "The p g dreams of ms and the goose of maize "What d hickens dream of? Of mill t The proverb you see goes even l w in the scale than we d beyond the child to the an mal d asserts that th t t of dreams is th *satisf cti n f* want. And there re many phrases which seem to point t the ame thing ay as beautiful as dr am I sh uld ever h e dreamt f su h thi g I eve m mned that in my wild t d eams H e col loquial spee h lea ly parti l in ts judg ment Of ourse there are also anxi ty-d eams d dreams the onte t f whi h is painful diff rent but these ha e t gi en rise to an special phrases W d deed speak f bad dreams but by a *d m* pure a d simpl rmo usa lw ys u d rstands som s rt of xqui t wi h f lfilment. N is there any p ove b whi h tt mpt to ssert th t pig o geese dream of be la gh red!

It of ours incon ivable that this w h f l lli g charact r l dreams hould ha es caped the otic f wr t rs on the subject. On the contrary they have very often remarked upon it but it has not occurred to any of them to recognize this characteristic as un versal and to take it as the key to the explanation of dreams We can ea ily imagine what may have deterred them and later we will discuss the question

Now see how much informat on we have gai ed and that with hardly any trouble from our st dy of ch ldren s dreams! We have learnt that the function of dreams is to p otect sleep that they arise out of two conflicting tenden cies of wh ch the o e the des e for sleep re mains constant whilst the other endeavours to

re wi h fulfilments and hallucinatory experi ences And meanwhile we could almost have forgotten that we were studying psycho-a aly sis Apart from the connect on we have made between dreams a d errors our work has not borne any specific stamp Any psycholog t know g nothing of the assumpt ons of psycho-analysis could ha e gi en this explanation of children s d eams Why has no one done so?

If only all d eams were of the infantile type th problem would be s l ed and ou task al ready ach eved a d that w thout quest on g the dreamer referri g to the unco c ous or having r course to the process of free associa t o Clea ly it is in this d rection that we m t co t ue our work We ha e already repeatedly f d that characteri t cs alleged to be uni versally alid ha e aft rwards p o ed to hold good only fo a certa kind a d a limited num ber f d eams So the question we now have t dec de i whethe th common character i t cs revealed by child en s dreams are any more stable than these and whether they hold also for those dreams whose meaning is not ob- us and in whose manifest co tent we can cognize no ref enc t a wi h remaini g from the day bef Ou dea s that these ther d eams ha e und go e a good deal of d to t on and on th t ccount we mu t refrain from immediate judgment. We su pect to that to unra el this distortion we shall eed the h lp of

perative physical needs—hunger thirst sexual desire—and are wish fulfilments in the sense of being reactions to internal somatic stimuli Thus I have on record the dream of a little girl one year and seven months old which consisted of a kind of menu to ether with her name (Anna F strawberries bilberries egg pap) the dream being a reaction to a day of fasting enforced on account of indi estion due to eating the fruit which appeared twice in the dream At the same time her grandmother—their combined ages totalled seventy—was obliged owing to a floating kidney to go without food for a day and dreamt that night that she had been invited out and had had the most tempting delicacies set before her Observations on prisoners who are left to go hungry and on people who suffer privations whilst traveling or on expeditions show that in these circumstances they regularly dream about the satisfaction of their wants Thus Otto Nordenskjold in his book on the Antarctic (1904) tells us of the band of men in whose company he spent the winter (Vol I p 336) Our dreams showed very clearly the direction our thoughts were taking Never had we dreamt so frequently and so vividly as at that time Even those of our comrades who usually dreamt but rarely had now long stories to tell in the mornings when we exchanged our latest experiences in this realm of phantasy All the dreams were about that outside world now so far away but often they included a reference to our condition at the time eating and drinking were incidentally the pivot on which our dreams most often turned One of us who was particularly good at going out to large dinners in his sleep was deli hted when he could tell us in the morning that he had had a three course dinner Another dreamt of tobacco whole mountains of tobacco another of a ship which came full sail over the water at last clear of ice Yet another dream deserves mention the postman came with the letters and gave a long explanation of why they were so late he said he had made a mistake in delivering them and had had great trouble in getting them back again Of course things even more impossible occupied our minds in sleep but the lack of ima ination in almost all the dreams which I dreamt myself or heard the others tell was quite striking It would certainly be of great psychological interest if we had a record of all these dreams You can imagine how we longed for sleep when it offered each one of us all that he most eagerly desired Another quotation this time from Du Prel Mungo Park, when nearly dying of thirst on a journey in Africa dreamt continually of the well watered hills and valleys of his home So Trenck tormented with hunger in the redoubt at Magdebourg saw himself in his dream surrounded by sumptuous meals and George Back who took part in Franklin s first expedition when on the point of dying of hunger owing to their terrible privations dreamt regularly of abundant food to eat

Anyone who has made himself thirsty at ni ht by eating highly seasoned dishes at supper is likely to dream of drinking Of course it is not possible to relieve acute hunger or thirst by dreaming in that case we awake thirsty and are obliged to drink real water The service of the dream is here of little practical accou t but it is none the less clear that it was called up for the purpose of protecting sleep from the stimulus impelling us to wake up and act Where the intensity of the desire is less *sat s faction* dreams do often answer the purpose

In the same way when the stimulus is that of sexual desire the dream provides sati fac tion but of a kind which shows peculiarities worthy of mention Since it is a characteristic of the sexual impulse that it is a degree le s dependent on its object than are hunger and thirst the satisfaction in a pollution dream can be real and in consequence of certain difficulties in the relation to the object (which will be discussed later) it particularly often happens that the real satisfaction is yet connected with a vague or distorted dream content This peculiarity of pollution dreams makes them as O Rank has observed suitable objects for the study of dream distortion Moreover with adults dreams of desire usually contain besides the satisfaction something else springing from a purely mental source and requiring interpretation if it is to be understood

We do not maintain by the way that wish fulfilment dreams of the infantile type occur in adults solely as reactions to the imperative desires I have mentioned We are equally familiar with short clear dreams of this type occasioned by certain dominating situations and unquestionably produced by mental stimuli For example there are *impatience*-dreams in which someone making preparations for a journey for a theatrical performance in which he is specially interested or for a lecture or a visit has his expectations prematurely reali ed in a dream and finds himself the night before the actual experience already at his journey s

end, at the the tre or talk ng to the friend he is g e to vis t. Or ga n there is the *comfort* dream, rightly s -called, in which s m one who wants *to go o sleeping dreams* that he has already got up that he is wa hi g or is at

dreams the des re for leep whi n us e recognized as regula ly participat g n dr m f rmation, exp e ses itself plainly nd appears as their ct al originat r The eed for sl ep ranks tself qu te rightly w th the th r great phys cal needs.

I w uld ref r ou at this point to a pic ture by Schwind in the Schack Gall ry at Mun ch and would k you to notic how cor rectly the artist has reali ed the wa in which a dream arises ut of dom nating s t ati n Th p ct re s called *Th Prisoner's D e m* and the subj ct of th dream must undoubtedly be hi escape It is happy tho ht that the prisoner is to escape by th wi dow f it is through the window that th ray of light has e t red and roused him f om sl p Th gnomes tandin one above the other no d bt repre sent the suc e pos t s h would ha e to sum in climb g up to the wind w and if I am not mistak n a d d not attrib te too m ch intent nal d gn t th artist the fea

own.

I have said that in all dream other than those of hildre and s h as form t the infantile type w encount the obsta le of dist rtion. We cann t immed at ly say whether they too re wish-f lfilm ts as we are in lined t uppos an w guess f om thei man fest c tent in what mental timulu they nemate, prov that they l'k th thers ndea our t rem e or relie th timulus They must in f ct be int rp eted i e trans- lated the process f d tort mu t be re- versed d the manifest cont t repl d by the latent tho ght bef re we can mak any d fini pron un ement wh th what we have found out bo t f til d ams may cla m to h ld g od fo all d eams alike

NINTH LECTURE

The Dream-C sorship

Ou st dy f hildrens d am has t ght us how dreams originat what th es ential charact r is a d what the r funct on Dreams

ha e bee able to explain o e group o y tu e wh ch we termed dreams of the infa t le type We do not yet know how t may be w th others neither do we und rstand them The re lt we ha e arrived at already is one however of wh ch th significance is not to be under-esti mated E ery time that we fully understand a dre m it p oves to be a wish fulfilment and this c ncidence cannot be accidental or un import t

Dreams of another type are assumed by us to be di torted ubst tutes for an unknown content which first of all has to be traced we ha e arious ground for this a sumption am ngst others the analogy to our concept on f rror Our ext task s to investigate and underst d this *d eam-d stort on*

It is d eam-d stortion which makes dreams seem strange and i comprehe sible There are several things we want to know about it first wh ce t comes (its d namics) econdly what t does a d fi ll how it does t Further we can say that distortio is the production of the *d eam w k* Let us describe the dre m w rk and trace ut th forces in it

Now let me tell yo a dream recorded by a lady w ll known in ps cho-analytical circles who said that the d eame was an eld ly woma highly culti ated and held i great e teem The dream was not a al sed a d our inform nt bserved that for psycho analysts it eded n interpreti g Nor d d the dreamer herself interp et it but she crit cized it nd co demned t in such way as though she knew what it meant Imagi she sa d ch abominable no ense be g dreamt by a woman of fifty whose ly thou ht day and night is c m fo h child.

I w ll w tell y u th d eam which is abo t lo e ers w r time Sh we t t the First M lit ry H sp tal d said to the sentin l t the gate that she must speak t the phys ci ch f (gi ing a am whi h she did not kn w) as he wi hed to offe hers lf for serv in the hosp tal I say g this she empha ized the word serv ce in such way that th ergeant at ce pe ed that she w s speaking f lo e rv ce As h wa an old lady he let b pa s afte som hesitation,

Fra D on H g H llm th.
Li b dien = l service pop l xpres- adapted f m "mil tary service. —Tr.

but instead of finding the chief physician she came to a large gloomy room where a number of officers and army doctors were standing or sitting around a long table She turned to a staff doctor and told him her proposal he soon understood her meaning The words she said in her dream were I and countless other women and girls of Vienna are ready for the soldiers officers or men to This ended in a murmur She saw however by the half embarrassed half malicious expressions of the officers that all of them grasped her meaning The lady continued I know our decision sounds odd but we are in bitter earnest The soldier on the battlefield is not asked whether he wishes to die or not There followed a minute of painful silence then the staff doctor put his arm round her waist and said Madam supposing it really came to this that (murmur) She withdrew herself from his arm thinking They are all alike and replied Good heavens I am an old woman and perhaps it won t happen to me And one condition must be observed age must be taken into account so that an old woman and a young lad may not (murmur) that would be horrible The staff doctor said I quite understand but some of the officers amongst them one who as a young man had made love to her laughed loudly and the lady asked to h

[illegible] mation that she did not know his name The staff doctor however with the utmost respect and courtesy showed her the way to the second floor up a very narrow iron spiral staircase leading direct from the room where they were to the upper storeys As she went up she heard an officer say That is a tremendous decision no matter whether she is young or old all honour to her! With the feeling that she was simply doing her duty she went up an endless staircase

This dream was repeated twice within a few weeks with alterations here and there which as the lady remarked were quite unimportant and entirely meaningless

The way in which this dream progresses corresponds to the course of a day dream there are only a few places where an interruption occurs and many individual points in its content might have been cleared up by enquiry this however as you know was not undertaken But the most striking and to us the most interesting thin about it is the occurrence of many gaps not in the recollection but in the content In three places the latter is as it were blotted out where these gaps occur the speeches are interrupted by a *murmur* As we did not analyse the dream we have strictly speaking no right to say anything about its meaning but there are certain indications from which we may draw conclusions e.g the words *love service* and above all the broken speeches immediately preceding the murmurs require completion of a kind which admits of only one construction If we do so complete them a phantasy results in which the content is that the dreamer is ready at the call of duty to offer herself to gratify the sexual needs of the troops irrespective of rank This is certainly shocking a model of a shamelessly libidinous phantasy but—the dream says nothing about this Just where the context demands this confession there is in the manifest dream an indistinct murmur something has been lost or suppres ed

I hope you recognize how obvious is the inference that it is just the shocking nature of these passages which has led to their suppression Now where will you find a parallel to what has taken place here? In these times you have not far to seek Take up any political paper and you will find that here and there in the text something is omitted and in its place the blank white of the paper meets your eye you know that this is the work of the press censor Where these blank spaces occur there originally stood something of which the official censors disapproved and which has been deleted on that account You probably think it a pity for that must have been the most interesting part the *cream* of the news

On other occasions the official censor has not dealt with the sentence in its completed form for the writer foreseeing which passages were likely to be objected to by the censor has forestalled him by softening them down making some slight modification or contenting himself with hints and allusions to what he really wants to write In this case there are no blanks but from the roundabout and obscure mode of expression you can detect the fact that at the time of writing the author had the censorship in mind

Now keeping to this parallel we say that tho e speeches in the dream which were omitted or disguised by a murmur have also been sacrificed to some form of censorship We actually use the term DREAM CENSORSHIP and ascribe part of the distortion to its agency Wherever there are gaps in the manifest dream we know

that the cens rsh.p ı respon 'ble and ındeed we should go furth r and recognize that wh rever amongst other more clea ly defined elements one ppears which ıs fainter more ınd finite o m re dub us ın *recollect on* ıt ı es dence of the wo k of the censorship It ıs however seldom that t takes a form s und s gused, so na 'e, as we m ght say as t does ın the case f the *dream* bout *lo e service* far more ften the censorship makes ıt elf felt ın the se o d way I me tioned by effectın modificatio s hints and allusı ns ın place of the true meaning

Th re ıs a third way ın which the dream censorsh p works to which the ordinances of th press censorship supply *no parallel* but t happens that I can dem nstrate to you this part cula mode of activity n the part of the dream-censorship ın the only dream hith rto an lysed by us You will remember the dream f the "three b d theatre t ckets co ting one florin and a half In the latent thoughts under lying this dream the element *to great a hurry too early* was ın the foreground th meaning was It was folly t marry so *early* t was foo sh also to take the tickets o *early* ıt was ridiculous f the ste ın law to spend her mo ey so *hurriedly* on p ce of jewell ry N thing of this central element of the dream thoughts appeared ın th manifest content where ev rything was f cussed on going to the theat e and takın tick ts By this displacement f the *cent and regr upı g f the dream* elements, the manifest co tent was m de so unlike the latent th ghts th t n body would suspect th prese ce f the latter behind the f rm This *displa ement of a cent* ıs o e of the principal means employ d ın dı tort on and ıt ıs this which gı 'es th dream that character of trangeness which makes th dream *r him* self l ctant to re gnize t as the prod ct of hı own mind

Omıs modificatı n, *regroup ng* f ma terial—thes then re th modes f the dream *censorship s* ctivity a d th mea employed ın distort on. Th censorship ıts lf s th riginator o on of th riginat rs of d t t on the subject f our present enquiry *Modification* and *alterat* ın arrangement are c mmonly ıncluded under th term *displace ment*

Aft these rema ks th ctivities f the dream-censorsh p let u turn ur attentı t ts dynam cs I hope you re ot taking th xpression *censor h p* ın too anth opomorphic sense picturing t yourselves the censo as a stern l ttle man'kin or a p nt who l es ın a little chamber of the brain and there d charges the duties of his office and neither mu t you

th t you imagine a

onal

d s

ıt we

may *regard ıt merely as* hich to express a dynamic relation hip Th s need ot hı d r us fr m ask n what sort of tend encies exe cı e this influence a d ıs t exercised upon a d further we must not be surprised to disc ver that we have already *come across* the censorship pe haps without recognizing ıt.

we discovered that our efor s to p *from the d eam-eleme t* to the unc scious thought proper for which the former ıs a sub-stitute encountered a certa n *resistance* The strength of this res tance we said varies be ing sometimes enormous and at other t mes very slight. In th latter case we need only a few connecting links f r the work of ı terpreta tıo but whe e there *ıs great res tance* we are compelled to go through long chain of associ ations which carry us f r from the ınıt al ıd a, and on the way we ha 'e to o ercome all the difficult es of profes edly critical objections to s.ociations arising That which we encoun tered as resista ce ın the wo k of ı terpret tion w n w *meet again as the censorship* ın the d eam w k the res stance ıs s mply the cen sorship objectified ıt pr 'es to us that the power of the c nsorship ıs not exhausted n effecting distortion being thereby ext guı.hed b t that the censorship remains as a perman nt

ance e countered d ring ı terpretatio varies w th each eleme t so too th degree of distor tı n effected by th cens rship diff r t for ea h element of a whole dream A ompari on of th manifest a d the late t dream shows that ertain l te t elements are *completely* eliminat d other m re o less modified and others again appe ın the manif t dream content unaltered or pe haps e 'e ten fied

Ou purpose however was to find out which are th tendenc e e cısing the censorship and upo which t ndenc es ıt ı ex r ısed Now this question which ıs fundamental for the under tanding of dream a d perhaps of human life alt g th ıs easy to answer when we survey

the series of dreams which we have succeeded in interpreting The tendencies which exercise the censorship are those which are acknowledged by the waking judgment of the dreamer and with which he feels himself to be at one You may be sure that when you repudiate any correctly found interpretation of a dream of your own you do so from the same motives as cause the censorship to be exercised and distortion effected and make interpretation necessary Consider the dream of our lady of fifty her dream although it had not been interpreted struck her as shock [illegible] h [illegible] t [illegible] attitude of c [illegible] mination which caused the offensive passages in the dream to be replaced by a murmur

Those tendencies against which the dream censorship is directed must next be described from the point of view of this inner critical standard When we do this we can only say that they are invariably of an objectionable nature offensive from the ethical aesthetic or ocial point of view things about which we do not dare to think at all or think of only with abhorrence Above all are these censored wishes which in dreams are expressed in a distorted fashion manifestations of a boundless and ruthless egoism for the dreamer s own ego makes its appearance in every dream and plays the principal part even if it knows how to disguise itself completely as far as the manifest content is concerned This *sacro egoismo* of dreams is certainly not unconnected with the attitude of mind essential to sleep the withdrawal of interest from the whole outside world

The ego which has discarded all ethical bonds feels itself at one with all the demands of the sexual impulse those which have long been condemned by our aesthetic training and those which are contrary to all the restraints imposed by morality The striving for pleasure —the libido as we say—chooses its objects unchecked by any inhibition preferring indeed those which are forbidden not merely the wife of another man but above all the incestuous objects of choice which by common consent humanity holds sacred—the mother and the sister of men the father and the brother of women (Even the dream of our fifty year old lady is an incestuous one the libido being unmistakably directed towards the son) Desires which we believe alien to human nature show themselves powerful enough to give rise to dreams Hate too rages unrestra nedly wishes for revenge and death wishes against thos who in life are nearest and dearest—parents brothers and sisters husband or wife the dreamer s own children—are by no means uncommon These censored wishes seem to rise up from a veritable hell when we know their meaning it seems to us in our waking moments as if no censorship of them could be severe enough Dreams themselves however are not to blame for this evil content you surely have not forgotten that their harmless nay useful, function is to protect sleep from disturbance Depravity does not lie in the nature of dreams in fact you know that there are dreams which can be recognized as gratifyin justifiable desires and urgent bodily needs It is true that there is no distortion in these dreams but then there is no need for it they can perform their function without offending the ethical and aesthetic tendencies of the ego Remember too that the degree of distortion is proportionate to two factors on the one hand the more shocking the wish that must be censored the greater will be the distortion but it is also great in proportion as the demands of the censorship are severe Hence in a strictly brou ht up and prudish young girl a rigid censorship will distort dream excitations which we medical men would have recognized as permissible and harmless libidinous desires and which the dreamer herself would judge in the same way ten years later

Besides we are still not nearly far enou h advanced to allow ourselves to be outraged at the result of our work of interpretation I think we still do not understand it properly but first of all it is incumbent upon us to secure it against certain possible attacks It is not at all difficult to detect weak points in it. Our interpretations were based on hypotheses which we adopted earlier that there really is some meaning in dreams that the idea of mental processes being unconscious for a time which was first arrived at throu h hypnotic sleep may be applied also to normal sleep and that all associations are subject to determination Now if reasoning from these hypotheses we had obtained plausible results in our dream interpretation we should have been justified in concluding that these hypothe es were correct But what if these discoveries are of the kind I have described? In that case surely it seems natural to say The e results are impossible absurd at the very least highly improbable so there must have been something wrong about the hypotheses Either the dream is after all

not a mental phenomenon, or there is nothing which is unconscious in our normal condition, or there is a flaw somewhere in our technique. Is it not simpler and more satisfactory to as[sume] this than to accept all the abominable conclusions which we profess to have deduced from our hypotheses?

Both! It is both simpler and more satisfactory but it does not necessarily more correct. Let us give ourselves time, the matter [is] not yet ripe for judgment. First of all, we can make the case against our interpretations even stronger. The fact that our results are so unpleasant and repellent would not perhaps weigh so very heavily with us. A stronger argument is the emphatic and well-grounded repu[diation] given by dreamers of the wish-tendencies which we try to foist upon them after interpreting their dreams. "What," says one, "you want to prove to me from my dream that I grudge the money I have spent on my sister's dowry and my brother's education? But it is [out] of the question. I spend my whole time working for my brothers and sisters and my only interest in life is to do my duty by them, as, being the eldest, I promised our dead mother I would." Or a woman says, "I am supposed to wish that my husband were dead! Really that is outrageous nonsense. Not only is our married life very happy, though perhaps you won't believe that, but if he died I should lose everything I possess in the world." Or someone else will reply, "Do you mean to suggest that I entertain sexual desires towards my sister? The thing is ludicrous, she is nothing to me; we get on badly with one another and for years I have not exchanged a word with her."

We still might not be much impressed if these dreamers neither admitted nor denied the tendencies attributed to them; we might say that these are just the things of which they are quite unconscious. But when they detect in their own minds the exact opposite of such a wish as is attributed to them, and when they can prove to us by their whole conduct in life that the contrary desire predominates, surely we must be nonplussed. Is it not about time now for us to discard our whole work of dream interpretation as something which has led to a reductio ad absurdum?

No, not even now. Even this stronger argument falls to pieces when subjected to critical attack. Assuming that unconscious tendencies do exist in mental life, the fact that the opposite tendencies predominate in conscious life goes to prove nothing. Perhaps there is room in the mind for opposite tendencies, for contradictions existing side by side; indeed, possibly the very predominance of the one tendency conditions the unconscious nature of the opposite. So the first objections raised only amount to the statement that the results of dream interpretation are not simple and are very disagreeable. To the first charge we may reply that, however much enamoured of simplicity you may be, you cannot thereby solve one of the problems of dreams; you have to make up your mind at the outset to accept the fact of complicated relations. And, as regards the second point, you are manifestly wrong in taking the fact that something pleases or repels yourself as the motive for a scientific judgment. What does it matter if you do find the results of dream interpretation unpleasant, or even mortifying and repulsive? *Ça n'empêche pas d'exister*[1]—as I, when a young doctor, heard my chief Charcot say in a similar case

[illegible]

a physicist could prove to you that organic life on the earth was bound to become extinct before long, would you venture to say to him also, "That cannot be so, I dislike the prospect too much"? I think you would say nothing until another physicist came along and convicted the first of a mistake in his premises or his calculations. If you repudiate whatever is distasteful to you, you are repeating the mechanism of a dream structure rather than understanding and mastering it.

Perhaps then you will undertake to overlook the offensive nature of the censored dream wishes and will fall back upon the argument that it is surely very improbable that we ought [illegible]

[illegible] nothing of how you may appear in your own eyes, but have you met with so much goodwill in your superiors and rivals, so much chivalry in your enemies and so little envy amongst your acquaintances that you feel it incumbent on you to protest against the idea of the part played by egoistic baseness in human nature? Do you not know how uncontrolled and unreliable the average human being is in all that concerns sexual life? Or are you ignorant of the fact that all the excesses and aberrations of which we dream at night are crimes actually committed every day by men who are wide

[1] It won't kill you.—Ed.

awake? What does psycho analysis do in this connection but confirm the old saying of Plato that the good are those who content themselves with dreaming of what others the wicked actually do?

And now look away from individuals to the great war still devastating Europe think of the colossal brutality cruelty and mendacity which is now allowed to spread itself over the civilized world Do you really believe that a handful of unprincipled place hunters and corrupters of men would have succeeded in letting loose all this latent evil if the millions of their followers were not also guilty? Will you venture even in these circumstances to break a lance for the exclusion of evil from the mental constitution of humanity?

You will accuse me of taking a one sided view of war and tell me that it has also called out all that is finest and most noble in mankind heroism self sacrifice and public spirit That is true but do not now commit the injustice from which psycho analysis has so often suffered of reproaching it that it denies one thing because it affirms another It is no part of our intention to deny the nobility in human nature nor have we ever done anything to disparage its value On the contrary I show you not only the evil wishes which are censored but also the censorship which suppresses them and makes them unrecognizable We dwell upon the evil in human beings with the greater emphasis only because others deny it thereby making the mental life of mankind not indeed better but incomprehensible If we give up the one sided ethical valuation then we are sure to find the truer formula for the relation of evil to good in human nature

Here the matter rests We need not give up the results of our work of dream interpretation even though we cannot fail to find them strange Perhaps later we shall be able to come nearer to understanding them by another path For the present let us hold fast to this dream distortion is due to the censorship exercised by certain recognized tendencies of the ego over desires of an offensive character which stir in us at night during sleep Obviously when we ask ourselves why it is just at night that they appear and what is the origin of these reprehensible wishes we find that there is still much to investigate and many questions to answer

It would however be wrong if we neglected to give due prominence at this point to another result of these investigations The dream wishes which would disturb our sleep are unknown to us we first learn about them by dream interpretation they are therefore to be designated *unconscious at the moment* in the sense in which we have used the term But we must recognize that they are also more than unconscious at the moment for the dreamer denies them as we have so frequently found, even after he has learnt of them through the interpretation of his dream Here we have a repetition of the case which we first met with when interpreting the slip of the tongue hic cough where the after dinner speaker indignantly assured us that neither then nor at any time had he been conscious of any feeling of disrespect towards his chief We ventured even then to doubt the value of this assertion and assumed instead that the speaker was permanently ignorant of the existence of this feeling within him We meet with the same situation every time we interpret a dream in which there is a high degree of distortion and this lends an added significance to our conception We are now prepared to assume that there are processes and tendencies in mental life of which we know nothing have known nothing have for a very long time perhaps even never known anything about at all This gives the term *unconscious* a fresh meaning for us the qualification *at the moment or temporary* is seen to be no essential attribute the term may also mean *permanently unconscious* not merely *latent at the moment* You see that later on we shall have to discuss this point further

TENTH LECTURE

SYMBOLISM IN DREAMS

WE HAVE found out that the distortion in dreams which hinders our understanding of them is due to the activities of a censorship directed against the unacceptable unconscious wish impulses But of course we have not asserted that the censorship is the only factor responsible for the distortion and as a matter of fact a further study of dreams lead to the discovery that there are yet other causes contributing to this effect that is as much as to say if the censorship were eliminated we should nevertheless be unable to understand dreams nor would the manifest dream be identical with the latent dream thoughts

This other cause of the obscurity of dreams this additional contribution to distortion is revealed by our becoming aware of a gap in our technique I have already admitted to you

that there are occa ons when persons being analysed really ha e no assoc t ons to single elements in their dreams To be sure this does n t happe so often as they declare that it does in very many in_tances the ass ciation may yet be elicited by perseverance but still there remain a cert in number of cases where a_oci tion fa ls altogether or if someth ng s finally extorted it is not what we need If this happens during psycho analyt c treatment t ha certain s gnifica te which does not con c rn us h but t al o occurs in the course of interpretai o of d eams in norm l people or whe e re i terp et g our own When we are con inced in s ch c rcumstanc s that no amount of pres i g i of any use we finally di cover th t th s u welcome co t ngency reg ularly present itself whe e spec al dre m elements a in q estio and we begin to rec ogni e the operati n of s me new princ ple whereas at first we thou ht we h d nly come across an e c ptional c se in which our tech niqu had failed

In this w y it comes bout that we try to interpret the e *silent* el ments and attempt to translate th m by drawing *upon our own* re sou ce It c nnot fail t trike us that we arri at a satisf ctory mea g in every in sta c n whi h we e ture o this s b t tut o wh eas th dream remains m an ngle s a d di co cted s lo g s we do not esolve t use this m thod The acc m latu of many exa tly simil r tances th n affo ds us the required rtainty o r expe me t hav g been tried at first w th o s derable diffid nce

I am p ese tin all this om hat n o tline but that s ely allowable f purpo es of instructio t fals fied by so do g b t me ly mad impl

We a e in this way t c tant transla tion f e es f d eam-elements j st as in popular books d am we fi d su h trans latio f rything that curs n dreams Y u will t ha e f rg tte that when we em pl y the m thod of fre assoc t on u h c ta t s b titut ns for dream-eleme ts e er make th ppea an e

Now you w ll t ce say that this mod of int rpretati e m to y u fa m re un e t n and open to criti m than even th forme m thod f f oc t n. But the t ll something more t be said when we ha coll ct d f m ctual xperi nc a ufficient number f h nstant tra slat s we e n tually realiz that w ould tually ha e filled in these porti ns of the int rp etati f om ur own knowledge and that they really could have been understood without us ng the dream er s *associations* How it is that we are bound to know their meaning is a matter which will be dealt w th in the econd half of our d scussion.

We call a constant relation of this k nd be tween a dream-element and its translat on a *symbol c* one and the dream-element it elf a *symbol* of the unconsc ous dream thought You will *remember* that ome time ago when we were exam nin the different relations which may exist between dream-elements and the

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very interesting points fo discuss on to which we will turn attention before sett ng forth our special observations on this subject Symbolism is pe haps the mo t remarkable part of our theory of dreams

F rst of all s ce the *relation* between a symbol and the idea symbolized *is an i vari* able one the latter being as it were a transla tion of th former ymbolism does in some mea ure realize the ideal f both ancie t a d popular dream interpretation one from wh ch we ha e moved ery far n our technique Symbols make it pos ble for us in certain c r cumstan es to int rpret a d eam without ques *tion g the dreamer* who *indeed in* a y case can tell us othi g about the symbols If the symbols c mmo ly appearing in dreams are kn wn nd al o the personality of the dreamer the co dit on nder which he li es and the impress ons in h s mind after wh ch his dream occurred we are often in a position to i terpret it traightaway to translate it at sight as it we e Such a feat flatt rs the anity of the interpret and mpres es the dreamer it is in plea ing c tr st to the labo s method of que t ni g the l tt B t do not let thi le d you away t s n part f our t sk to perform tricks nor s that m thod of interpretat on whi h s ba ed o a knowledge of symbol m on which can replace o even compa with that f f e ss c at on It is complementary to this latte and the result it yields are o ly us ful when appl d n connection w th the l tt As regard our k owledge f th dream e s mental s tu ti n, mo eov you m t c fl ct that y ha e n t nly to interpret d eam f peopl whom you kn w well that as a rule

you know nothing of the events of the previous day which stimulated the dream and that the associations of the person analysed are the very source from which we obtain our knowledge of what we call the mental situation

Further it is especially remarkable particularly with reference to certain considerations upon which we shall touch later that the most strenuous opposition has manifested itself again here over this question of the existence of a symbolic relation between the dream and the unconscious Even persons of judgment and standing who in other respects have gone a long way with psycho analysis have renounced their adherence at this point This behaviour is the more remarkable when we remember two things first that symbolism is not peculiar to dreams nor exclusively characteristic of them and in the second place that the use of symbolism in dreams was not one of the discoveries of psycho analysis although this science has certainly not been wanting in surprising discoveries If we must ascribe priority in this field to anyone in modern times the discoverer must be recognized in the philosopher K. A Scherner (1861) psycho analysis has confirmed his discovery although modifying it in certain important respects

Now you will wish to hear something about the nature of dream symbolism and will want some examples I will gladly tell you what I know but I confess that our knowledge is less full than we could wish

The symbolic relation is essentially that of a comparison but not any kind of comparison We must suspect that this comparison is subject to particular conditions although we can not say what these conditions are Not every thing with which an object or an occurrence can be compared appears in dreams as symbolic of it and on the other hand dreams do not employ symbolism for anything and every thing but only for particular elements of latent dream thoughts there are thus limitations in both directions We must admit also that we cannot at present assign quite definite limits to our conception of a symbol for it tends to merge into substitution representation etc and even approaches closely to allusion In one set of symbols the underlying comparison may be easily apparent but there are others in which we have to look about for the common factor the *tertium comparationis* contained in the supposed comparison Further reflection may then reveal it to us or on the other hand it may remain definitely hidden from us Again if the symbol is really a comparison it is remarkable that this comparison is not exposed by the process of free association and also that the dreamer knows nothing about it but makes use of it unawares nay more that he is actually unwilling to recognize it when it is brought to his notice So you see that the symbolic relation [illegible] iar kind [illegible] clear to [illegible] found [illegible] which will throw some light upon this unknown quantity

The number of things which are represented symbolically in dreams is not great The human body as a whole parents children brothers and sisters birth death nakedness—and one thing more The only typical that is to say regularly occurring representation of the human form as a whole is that of a *house* as was recognized by Scherner who even wanted to attribute to this symbol an overwhelming significance which is not really due to it People have dreams of climbing down the front of a house with feelings sometimes of pleasure and sometimes of dread When the walls are quite smooth the house means a man when there are ledges and balconies which can be caught hold of a woman Parents appear in dreams as *emperor* and *empress* *king* and *queen* or other exalted personages in this respect the dream attitude is highly dutiful Children and brothers and sisters are less tenderly treated being symbolized by *little animals* or *vermin* Birth is almost invariably represented by some reference to *water* either we are falling into water or clambering out of it saving someone from it or being saved by them i e the relation between mother and child is symbolized For dying we have setting out upon a *journey* or *travelling* by train while the state of death is indicated by various obscure and as it were timid allusions *clothes* and *uniforms* stand for nakedness You see that here the dividing line between the symbolic and the allusive kind of representation tends to disappear

In comparison with the poverty of this enumeration it cannot fail to strike us that objects and matters belonging to another range of ideas are represented by a remarkably rich symbolism I am speaking of what pertains to the sexual life—the genitals sexual processes and intercourse An overwhelming majority of symbols in dreams are sexual symbols A curious disproportion arises thus for the matters dealt with are few in number whereas the symbols for them are extraordinarily numerous

so that ea h of these few things can be ex pressed by many ymbols pract cally equ a le t When they are interpreted th refore the result of this pecul rity gi es universal ffense fo m contrast to the multifariou forms of its representation in dreams the interpretation of the symbols is very monotonous This is displeasin to everyo e wh com s to know of it but how can we help it?

As this is the first time in the course of these lectures that I ha e touched upon the exual life I owe you some explanation of the m nner in which I propose to treat thi subject Psycho analysis sees no occa ion for concealments r indirect allusions a d does not think it necessary to be a hamed of c nc rning itself with material so important t is of the opinion that it is right and proper t call everythin by its true nam hoping in this way the m re easily t avo d disturbin s ggest on The fact that I am peaking t a mixed udience can mak o difference in this No cience can be treated *in usum delph* or in a manne dapted to s hool gi ls the wom n present by appearing in this lect re-room ha e ta tly expre ed thei des r to be regarded on the same footin s th men

The mal genital organ is symbolically represented in dreams many diffe e t ways with most of which the c mmon dea u der lying th c mpari n s ea ily apparent I th first place the s cred number *thr* is symbolic of the whol m l genitalia. Its more o p cu ous and, to both se es more int resting part the penis, is symb lized primarily by obj cts whi h resemble t in form bein l g and up- ... *mbr llas b les t ees* ... the ... e ... body —that is t say pointed weapo t all sort *kni d ggers la s s b* fire-arm are imila ly sed *g ns pistols nd volvers* these last being very ppropriate symbol on ...

... haps the m st f eque tly occurring dream symbol y can n w ea ily tran lat t f yo rsel es. The s b titution f th mal o gan by bjects f om which wat fl ws is gain ... or other *mplements* are undoubtedly male sexual symbols based on an dea of the male organ wh ch is equally ea ily perceived.

The peculiar property of this member of be n able to raise it elf upright in defiance of the law of gravity part of the phenomenon of erect on leads to symbolic representation by means of *balloons aeroplanes* and, just recently *Zeppelins* But dreams ha e another much more imp ess ve way of symbol ng erection they make the organ of sex into the essential part of the whole person so that the *d amer h mself f es* Do not be upset by hear ing that dre ms of fly ng which we all kn w and which are often so beaut ful must be n terp eted as dreams of general sexual excitement, d eams of erection One psycho anal tic m e t gator P Federn has established th truth of thi interpretation beyond doubt but bes des th s Mou ly Vold, a man hi hly prai ed f h s sober judgment who carried out the ... h rms ... by h s own in est gations to the s... s on No mu t you think to object to this on the gr und that women can also have dream of flyi g you hould rather rem nd yoursel es that the purpose of dreams is wish-fulfilment and th t the wi h to be a man is frequently met with in w men, whether they are consci us of it r n t Further no one fam liar with anat my w ll be mi led by supposing that it is impos bl fo a woman to realize this wish by sensat ons imilar to those of a man for the w man s sexual organs include a small o e which resembles the pe s and this little organ the litoris does actually play during child hood and in the years before sexual intercourse th ame part as the large male o gan

Mal sexual symbols les easy to und rstand ar c rtain *eptil s a d fish s* abo e all th famous ymbol f the *serp t* Why *hat nd cloaks* a u ed in the ame way is c rta nly difficult t d e but thei symbolic meani g is quit unq est onable Finally t may be a ked wh th r the ep se tation of the male orga by some ther member such as th *ha d* or th *foot* m y be termed symbolic I th k th c text in which thi s wont to occur d the femal counterparts with which we meet f ce this c ncl s o upo us

Th female gen talia ar symbol cally rep e ent d by ll ch objects as shar with them th property of enclo g a space or ar capa

ble of acting as receptacles such as *pits hol lows and caves* and also *jars and bottles* and *boxes* of all sorts and sizes *chests coffers pockets* and so forth *Ships* too come into this category Many symbols refer rather to the uterus than to the other genital organs thus *cupboards stoves* and above all *rooms* Room symbolism here links up with that of houses whilst *doors and gates* represent the genital opening Moreover material of different kinds is a symbol of woman—*wood paper* and ob jects made of these such as *tables* and *books* From the animal world *snails and mussels* at any rate must be cited as unmistakable female symbols of the parts of the body the *mouth* as a representation of the genital opening and amongst buildings *churches and chapels* are symbols of a woman You see that all these symbols are not equally easy to understand

The breasts must be included amongst the organs of sex these as well as the larger hemi spheres of the female body are represented by *apples peaches and fruit* in general The pubic hair in both sexes is indicated in dreams by *woods and thickets* The complicated topogra phy of the female sexual organs accounts for their often being represented by a *landscape* with rocks woods and water whilst the im posing mechanism of the male sexual apparatus lends it to symbolization by all kinds of com plicated and indescribable *machinery*

Yet another noteworthy symbol of the fe male genital organ is a *jewel case* whilst *jewel* and *treasure* are used also in dreams to repre sent the beloved person and *sweetmeats* fre quently stand for sexual pleasures Gratification derived from a person s own genitals is indi cated by any kind of *play* including playing the piano The symbolic representation of onanism by *slid ng or gliding* and also by *pulling off a branch* is very typical A particularly remark able dream symbol is the *falling out* or *extrac tion of teeth* the primary significance of this is certainly castration as a punishment for onan ism Special representations of sexual inter course are less frequent in dreams than we should expect after all this but we may men tion in this connection rhythmical activities such as *dancing riding* and *climbing* and also *experiencing some violence* e g being run over To these may be added certain manual occu pations and of course being threatened with weapons

You must not imagine that these symbols are either employed or translated quite simply on all sides we meet with what we do not expect For instance it seems hardly credible that there is often no sharp discrimination of the different sexes in these symbolic representa tions Many symbols stand for sexual organs in general whether male or female for in stance a *little* child or a *little* son or daughter At another time a symbol which is generally a male one may be used to denote the female sexual organ or vice versa This is incompre hensible until we have acquired some knowl edge of the development of conceptions about sexuality amongst human beings In many cases this ambiguity of the symbols may be apparent rather than real and moreover the most strik ing amongst them such as weapons pockets and chests are never used bisexually in this way

I will now give a brief account beginning with the symbols themselves instead of with the objects symbolized to show you from what spheres the sexual symbols have for the most part been derived and I will add a few re marks relating particularly to those in which the attribute in common with the thing sym bolized is hard to detect An instance of an ob scure symbol of this kind is the *hat* or per hap head coverin s in general this usually has a masculine significance though occasionally a feminine one In the same way a *cloak* be tokens a man though perhaps sometimes with out special reference to the organs of sex It is open to you to ask why this should be so A *tie* being an object which hangs down and is not worn by women is clearly a male symbol, whilst *underlinen* and *linen* in general stands for the female *Clothes and uniforms* as we have heard represent nakedness or the human form *shoes and slippers* symbolize the female genital organs *Tables and wood* we have men tioned as being puzzling but nevertheless cer tain female symbols the *act of mounting lad ders* steep places or stairs is indubitably sym bolic of sexual intercourse On closer reflection we shall notice that the rhythmic character of this climbing is the point in common between the two and perhaps also the accompanying increase in excitation—the shortening of the breath as the climber ascends

We have already recognized that *landscapes* represent the female sexual organs mountains and rocks are symbols of the male organ *gar dens* a frequently occurring symbol of the fe male genitalia *Fru t* stands for the breasts not for a child *W ild a mals* denote human beings

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whose senses are excited and, hence evil impulses or passions. *Blossoms and flowers* represent the female sexual organ, more particularly in virginity. In this connection you will recollect that the blossoms are really the sexual organs of plants.

We already know how rooms are used symbolically. This representation may be extended so that *windows and doors* (entrances and exits from rooms) come to mean the openings of the body, the fact of rooms being *open or closed* also accords with this symbolism, the *key* which opens them, is certainly a male symbol.

This is some material for a study of dream symbolism. It is not complete and could be both extended and made deeper. However I think it will seem to you more than enough, perhaps you may dislike it. You will ask, Do I then really live in the midst of sexual symbols? Are all the objects round me, all the clothes I wear, all the things I handle, always sexual symbols and nothing else? There really is good reason for surprised questions and the first of these would be: How do we profess to arrive at the meaning of these dream-symbols about which the dreamer himself can give us little or no information.

My answer is that we derive our knowledge from widely different sources, from fairy tales and myths, jokes and witticisms, from folk lore, i.e. from what we know of the manners and customs, sayings and songs of different peoples, and from poetic and colloquial usage of language. Everywhere in these various fields the same symbolism occurs, and in many of them we can understand it without being taught anything about it. If we consider these various sources individually, we shall find so many parallels to dream-symbolism that we are bound to be convinced of the correctness of our interpretations.

The human body is, we said, according to Scherner frequently symbolized in dreams by a house; by an extension of this symbolism windows, doors and gates stand for the entrances to cavities in the body, and the façades may either be smooth, or may have balconies and ledges to hold on to. The same symbolism is met with in colloquialisms; for instance, we speak of a *thatch of hair* or a *tile hat*, or say of someone that he is not right *in the upper storey*. In anatomy too we speak of the openings of the body as its *portal*.

We may at first find it surprising that parents appear in our dreams as kings and emperors and their consorts, but we have a parallel to this in fairy tales. Does it not begin to dawn upon us that the many fairy tales which begin with the words "Once upon a time there were a king and queen," simply mean, "Once upon a time there were a father and mother"? In family life the children are sometimes spoken of jestingly as *princes*, and the eldest son as the *crown prince*. The king himself is called the *father* of his people. Again in some parts little children are often playfully spoken of as *little animals*, e.g. in Cornwall, as *little toad*, or in Germany as *little worm*, and, in sympathizing with a child, Germans say *poor little worm*.

Now let us return to the house symbolism. When in our dreams we make use of the projections of houses as supports, does that not suggest a well known, popular German saying with reference to a woman with a markedly developed bust: "She has something for one to hold on to" *(Die hat etwas zum Anhalten)*, whilst another colloquialism in the same connection is "She has plenty of wood in front of her house" *(Die hat viel Holz vor dem Hause)*, as though our interpretation were to be borne out by this when we say that wood is a female maternal symbol.

There is still something to be said on the subject of wood. It is not easy to see why wood should have come to represent a woman or mother, but here a comparison of different languages may be useful to us. The German

named Madeira, and this name was given to it by the Portuguese when they discovered it, because at that time it was covered with dense forests, for in Portuguese the word for wood is *madeira*. But you cannot fail to notice that this *madeira* is merely a modified form of the Latin *materia*, which again signifies material in general. Now *materia* is derived from *mater* = mother, and the material out of which anything is made may be conceived of as giving birth to it. So in the symbolic use of wood to represent woman or mother we have a survival of this old idea.

Birth is regularly expressed by some connection with water; we are plunging into or emerging from water, that is to say, we give birth or are being born. Now let us not forget that this

symbol has a twofold reference to the actual facts of evolution Not only are all land mammals from which the human race itself has sprung descended from creatures inhabiting the water—this is the more remote of the two considerations—but also every single mammal every human being has passed the first phase of existence in water—that is to say as an embryo in the amniotic fluid of the mother s womb—and thus at birth emerged from water I do not maintain that the dreamer knows this on the other hand I contend that there is no need for him to know it He probably knows something else from having been told it as a child but even this I will maintain has contributed nothing to symbol formation The child is told in the nursery that the stork brings the babies but then where does it get them? Out of a pond or a well—again out of the water One of my patients who had been told this as a child (a little count as he was then) afterwards disappeared for a whole afternoon and was at last found lying at the edge of the castle lake with his little face bent over the clear water eagerly gazing to see whether he could catch sight of the babies at the bottom of the water

In the myths of the births of heroes a comparative study of which has been made by O Rank—the earliest is that of King Sargon of Akkad about 2800 B C—exposure in water and rescue from it play a major part Rank perceived that this symbolizes birth in a manner analogous to that employed in dreams When anyone in his dream rescues somebody from the water he makes that person into his mother or at any rate *a* mother and in mythology whoever rescues a child from water confesses herself to be its real mother There is a well known joke in which an intelligent Jewish boy when asked who was the mother of Moses answers immediately The Princess He is told No she only took him out of the water That s what *she* said he replies showing that he had hit upon the right interpretation of the myth

Going away on a journey stands in dreams for dying similarly it is the custom in the nursery when a child asks questions as to the whereabouts of someone who has died and whom he mis es to tell him that that person has gone away Here again I deprecate the idea that the dream symbol has its origin in this evasive reply to the child The poet uses the same symbol when he speaks of the other side as the undiscovered country from whose bourne *no traveller* returns Again in every day speech it is quite usual to peak of the la journey and everyone who is acquainted wi h ancient rites knows how seriously the idea of a journey into the land of the dead was taken, for instance in ancient Egyptian belief In many cases the *Book of the Dead* survives, which was given to the mummy like a Baedeker to take with him on the last journey Since burial grounds have been placed at a d tance from the houses of the living the last journey of the dead has indeed become a reality

Nor does sexual symbolism belong only to dreams You will all know the expression a *baggage* as applied contemptuously to a woman but perhaps people do not know that they are using a genital symbol In the New Testamen we read The woman is the weaker *vessel* The sacred writin s of the Jews the style of which so closely approaches that of poetry are full of expressions symbolic of sex which have not always been correctly interpreted and the exegesis of which e g in the Song of Solomon, has led to many misunderstandings In later Hebrew literature the woman is very frequently represented by a house the door standing for the genital opening thus a man complains when he finds a woman no longer a virgin that he has found the door open The symbol *table* for a woman also occurs in this literature the woman says of her husband I pread the table for him but he overturned it Lame children are said to owe their infirmity to the fact that the man overturned the table I quote here from a treatise by L Levy in Brunn *Sexual Symbolism in the B ble and the Talmud*

That ships in dreams signify women is a belief in which we are supported by the etymologists who assert that *ship (Schiff)* was originally the name of an earthen vessel and is the same word as *Schaff* (a tub or wooden vessel) That an oven stands for a woman or the mother s womb is an interpretation confirmed by the Greek story of Periander of Corinth and his wife Melissa According to the version of Herodotus the tyrant adjured the shade of his wife whom he had loved passionately but had murdered out of jealousy to tell him something about herself whereupon the dead woman identified herself by reminding him that he Periander had put his bread into a cold oven thus expressing in a disgui ed form a circumstance of which everyone else was ignorant In the *Anthropophyteia* edited by F S Kraus a work which is an indispensable textbook on

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everything concerning the sexual life of different persons, we read that in a certain part of Germany people say of a woman who is delivered of a child that her oven has fallen to pieces. The kindling of fire and everything connected with this is permeated through and through with sexual symbolism, the flame always standing for the male organ and the fire-place or the hearth for the womb of the woman.

If you have chanced to wonder at the frequency with which landscapes are used in dreams to symbolize the female sexual organs, you may learn from mythologists how large a part has been played in the ideas and cults of ancient times by *Mother Earth* and how the whole conception of agriculture was determined by this symbolism. The fact that in dreams a room represents a woman you may be inclined to trace to the German colloquialism by which *Frauenzimmer* (lit. woman's room) is used for *Frau*, that is to say the human person is represented by the place assigned for her occupation. Similarly we speak of the Porte, meaning thereby the Sultan and his government, and the name of the ancient Egyptian ruler Pharaoh, merely means *great court*. (In the ancient Orient the courts between the double gates of the city were places of assembly like the market place in classical times.) But I think this derivation is too superficial, and it strikes me as more probable that the room came to symbolize woman on account of its property of enclosing within it the human being. We have already met with the house in this sense; from mythology and poetry we may take towns, citadels, castles and fortresses to be further symbols for women. It would be easy to decide this point by reference to the dreams of people who neither speak nor understand German. Of late years I have mainly treated foreign patients, and I think I recollect that in their dreams rooms stand in the same way for women, even though there is no word analogous to our *Frauenzimmer* in their language. There are other indications that symbolism may transcend the boundaries of language, a fact already maintained by the old dream-interpreter, Schubert, in 1862. Nevertheless, none of my patients were wholly ignorant of German, so that I must leave this question to be decided by those analysts who can collect instances in other countries from persons who speak only one language.

Amongst the symbols for the male sexual organ, there is scarcely one which does not appear in jests or in vulgar or poetic phrases, especially in the old classical poets. Here, however, we meet not only with such symbols as occur in dreams but also with new ones, e.g., the *implements* employed in various kinds of work, first and foremost, the *plough*. Moreover, when we come to male symbols, we tread on very extensive and much-contested ground which, in order not to waste time we will avoid. I should just like to devote a few remarks to the one symbol which stands, as it were, by itself. I refer to the number *three*. Whether this number does not in all probability owe its sacred character to its symbolic significance is a question which we must leave undecided, but it seems certain that many tripartite natural *objects*, e.g., the clover leaf, are used in coats-of-arms and as emblems on account of their symbolism. The so-called French Lily with its three parts and, again, the *triscelles*, that curious coat-of-arms of two such widely separated islands as Sicily and the Isle of Man (a figure consisting of three bent legs projecting from a central point) are supposed to be merely disguised forms of the male sexual organ, images of which were believed in ancient times to be the most powerful means of warding off evil influences (*apotropaea*) connected with this is the fact that the lucky *charms* of our own time may all be easily recognized as genital or sexual symbols. Let us consider a collection of such charms in the form of tiny silver pendants: a four-leaved clover, a pig, a mushroom, a horse shoe, a ladder and a chimney-sweep. The four leaved clover has taken the place of that with three leaves, which was really more appropriate for the purpose; the pig is an ancient symbol of fruitfulness; the mushroom undoubtedly symbolizes the penis: there are mushrooms which derive their name from their unmistakable resemblance to that organ (*Phallus impudicus*); the horseshoe reproduces the contour of the female genital opening, while the chimney-sweep with his ladder belongs to this company because his occupation is one which is vulgarly compared with sexual intercourse. (Cf. *Anthropophyteia*.) We have learnt to recognize his ladder in dreams as a sexual symbol; expressions in language show what a completely sexual significance the word *steigen* (to mount) has as in the phrases *Den Frauen nachsteigen* (to run after women) and *ein alter Steiger* (an old roué). So in French, where the word for step is *la marche*, we find the quite analogous expression for an old rake *un vieux marcheur*. Probably the fact that with many of the larger animals sexual intercourse necess

This is certainly so with English patients.—Tr.

tates a mounting or *climbing upon* the female has something to do with this association of ideas

Pulling off a branch to symbolize onanism is not only in agreement with vulgar descriptions of that act but also has far reaching parallels in mythology But especially remarkable is the representation of onanism or rather of castration as the punishment for onanism by the falling out or extraction of teeth for we find in folk lore a counterpart to this which could only be known to very few dreamers I think that there can be no doubt that circumcision a practice common to so many peoples is an equivalent and replacement of castration And recently we have learnt that certain aboriginal tribes in Australia practice circumcision as a rite to mark the attaining of puberty (at the celebration of the boy s coming of age) whilst other tribes living quite near have substituted for this practice that of knocking out a tooth

I will end my account with these examples They are only examples we I now more about this subject and you can imagine how much richer and more interesting a collection of this sort might be made not by dilettanti like our selves but by real experts in mythology anthropology philology and folk lore We are forced to certain conclusions which cannot be exhaustive but nevertheless will give us plenty to think about

In the first place we are confronted with the fact that the dreamer has at his command a symbolic mode of expression of which he knows nothing and does not even recognize in his waking life This is as amazing as if you made the discovery that your housemaid understood Sanscrit though you know that she was born in a Bohemian village and had never learnt that language It is not easy to bring this fact into line with our views on psychology We can only say that the dreamer s knowledge of symbolism is unconscious and belongs to his unconscious mental life but even this assumption does not help us much Up till now we have only had to assume the existence of unconscious tendencies which are temporarily or permanently unknown to us but now the question is a bigger one and we have actually to believe in unconscious knowledge thou ht relations and comparisons between different objects in virtue of which one idea can constantly be substituted for an other These compari ons are not instituted afresh every time but are ready to hand perfect for all time this we infer from their identity in different persons even probably in spite of linguistic differences

Whence is our knowledge of this symbolism derived? The usages of speech cover only a small part of it whilst the manifold parallels in other fields are for the most part unknown to the dreamer we ourselves had to collate them laboriously in the first instance

In the second place these symbolic relations are not peculiar to the dreamer or to the dream work by which they are expressed for we have discovered that the same symbolism is employed in myths and fairy tales in popular sayings and songs in colloquial speech and poetic phantasy The province of symbolism is extraordinarily wide dream symbolism is only a small part of it it would not even be expedient to attack the whole problem from the side of dreams Many of the symbols commonly occurring elsewhere either do not appear in dreams at all or appear very seldom on the other hand many of the dream symbols are not met with in every other department but as you have seen only here and there We get the impression that here we have to do with an ancient but obsolete mode of expression of which different fragments have survived in different fields one here only another there only a third in various spheres perhaps in slightly different forms At this point I am reminded of the phantasy of a very interestin insane patient who had ima ined a *primordial language (Grundsprache)* of which all these symbols were survivals

In the third place it must strike you that the symbolism occurring in the other fields I have named is by no means confined to sexual themes whereas in dreams the symbols are almost exclusively used to represent sexual objects and relations This again is hard to account for Are we to suppose that symbols originally of sexual si nificance were later employed differently and that perhaps the decline from symbolic to other modes of representation is connected with this? It is obviously impossible to answer these questions by dealing only with dream symbolism all we can do is to hold fast to the supposition that there is a specially close relation between true symbols and sexuality

An important clue in this connection has recently been given to us in the view expressed by a philologist (H Sperber of Upsala who works independently of psycho analysis) that sexual needs have had the largest share in the origin and development of language He says

that the first sounds uttered were a means of communication and of summoning the sexual partner and that, in the later development, the elements of speech were used as an accompaniment to the different kinds of work carried on by primitive man. This work was performed by associated efforts, to the sound of rhythmically repeated utterances, the effect of which was to transfer sexual interest to the work. Primitive man thus made his work agreeable, so to speak, by treating it as the equivalent of and substitute for sexual activities. The word uttered during the communal work had therefore two meanings, the one referring to the sexual act, the other to the labour which had come to be equivalent to it. In time the word was dissociated from its sexual significance and its application confined to the work. Generations later the same thing happened to a new word with sexual signification, which was then applied to a new form of work. In this way a number of root words arose which were all of sexual origin but had all lost their sexual meaning. If the statement here outlined be correct, a possibility at least of understanding dream-symbolism opens out before us. We should comprehend why it is that in dreams, which retain something of these primitive conditions, there is such an extraordinarily large number of sexual symbols and why weapons and tools in general stand for the male and materials and things worked on for the female. The symbolic relations would then be the survival of the old identity in words; things which once had the same name as the genitalia could now appear in dreams as symbolizing them.

Further, our parallels to dream-symbolism may assist you to appreciate what it is in psycho-analysis which makes it a subject of general interest in a way that was not possible to either psychology or psychiatry: psycho-analytic work is so closely intertwined with so many other branches of science, the investigation of which gives promise of the most valuable conclusions: with mythology, philology, folk-lore, folk psychology and the study of religion. You will not be surprised to hear that a publication has sprung from psycho-analytic soil, of which the exclusive object is to foster these relations. I refer to *Imago*, first published in 1912 and edited by Hans Sachs and Otto Rank. In its relation to all these other subjects psycho-analysis has in the first instance given rather than received. True, analysis reaps the advantage of receiving confirmation of its own results, seemingly so strange, again in other fields; but on the whole it is psycho-analysis which supplies the technical methods and the points of view, the application of which is to prove fruitful in these other provinces. The mental life of the human individual yields, under psycho-analytic investigation, explanations which solve many a riddle in the life of the masses of mankind or at any rate can show these problems in their true light.

I have still given you no idea of the circumstances in which we may arrive at the deepest insight into that hypothetical *primordial language* or of the province in which it is for the most part retained. As long as you do not know this you cannot appreciate the true significance of the whole subject. I refer to the province of neurosis; the material is found in the symptoms and other modes of expression of nervous patients, for the explanation and treatment of which psycho-analysis was indeed devised.

My fourth point of view takes us back to the place from which we started and leads into the track we have already marked out. We said that even if there were no dream-censorship we should still find it difficult to interpret dreams, for we should then be confronted with the task of translating the symbolic language of dreams into the language of waking life. Symbolism, then, is a second and independent factor in dream-distortion, existing side by side with the censorship. But the conclusion is obvious that it suits the censorship to make use of symbolism, in that both serve the same purpose: that of making the dream strange and incomprehensible.

Whether a further study of the dream will not introduce us to yet another contributing factor in the distortion, we shall soon see. But I must not leave the subject of dream-symbolism without once more touching on the puzzling fact that it has succeeded in rousing such strenuous opposition amongst educated persons, although the prevalence of symbolism in myth, religion, art and language is beyond all doubt. Is it not probable that, here again, the reason is to be found in its relation to sexuality?

ELEVENTH LECTURE

The Dream-Work

When you have successfully grasped the dream-censorship and symbolic representation, you will not, it is true, have mastered dream-distortion in its entirety, but you will nevertheless be in a position to understand most dreams.

To do so you will make use of the two complementary methods you will call up the dreamer s associations till you have penetrated from the substitute to the thought proper for which it stands and you will supply the meaning of the symbols from your own knowledge of the subject We will speak later of certain doubtful points which may arise in the process

We can now return to a task which we attempted earlier with inadequate equipment when we were studying the relations between dream elements and the thoughts proper underlying them We then determined the existence of four such main relations substitution of the part for the whole hints or allusions symbolic connection and plastic word representation (images) We will now try to deal with this subject on a larger scale by a comparison of the *manifest* dream content as a whole with the *latent* dream as laid bare by our interpretation

I hope you will never again confuse these two things If you succeed in distinguishing between them you will have advanced further towards an understanding of dreams than in all probability most of the readers of my *Interpretation of Dreams* have done [illegible]

[illegible] cess which seeks to progress from the manifest to the latent thoughts is our work of interpretation the work of interpretation therefore aims at demolishing the dream work In dreams of the infantile type in which the obvious wish fulfilments are easily recognized the process of dream work has nevertheless been operative to some extent for the wish has been transformed into a reality and usually the thoughts also into visual images Here no interpretation is necessary we only have to retrace both these transformations The further operations of the dream work as seen in the other types of dreams we call *dream distortion* and here the original ideas have to be restored by our interpretative work

Having had the opportunity of comparing many dream interpretations I am in a position to give you a comprehensive account of the manner in which the dream work deals with the material of the latent dream thoughts But please do not expect to understand too much it is a piece of description which should be listened to quietly and attentively

The first achievement of the dream work is CONDENSATION by this term we mean to convey the fact that the content of the manifest dream is less rich than that of the latent thoughts is as it were a kind of abbreviated translation of the latter Now and again condensation may be lacking but it i present as a rule and is often carried to a very high degree It never works in the opposite manner i e it never happens that the manifest dream is wider in range or richer in content than is the latent dream Condensation is accomplished in the following ways (1) certain latent elements are altogether omitted (2) of many complexes in the latent dream only a fragment passes over into the manifest content (3) latent elements sharing some common characteristic are in the manifest dream put together blended into a single whole

If you prefer to do so you can reserve the term condensation for this last process the effects of which are particularly easy to demonstrate Taking your own dreams you will be able without any trouble to recall instances of the condensation of different persons into a single figure Such a composite figure resembles A in appearance but is dressed like B pursues some occupation which recalls C and yet all the time you know that it is really D The composite picture serves of course to lay special emphasis upon some characteristic common to the four people And it is possible also for a composite picture to be formed with objects or places as with persons provided only that the single objects or places have ome common attribute upon which the latent dream lays stress It is as though a new and fugitive concept were formed of which the common attribute is the kernel From the superimposition of the separate parts which undergo condensation there usually results a blurred and indistinct picture as if several photographs had been taken on the same plate

The formation of such composite figures must be of great importance in the dream work for we can prove that the common properties necessary to their formation are purposely manufactured where at first sight they would seem to be lacking as for example by the choice of some particular verbal expression for a thought We have already met with instances of condensation and composite formation of this sort they played an important part in originating many slips of the tongue You will remember the case of the young man who wished to insort a lady (*beleidigen* = insult *begleiten* = escort composite word *begleidigen*) Besides there are jokes in which the

technique is traceable t c ndensat on of this sort. Apart from this however we may en ture to as.ert that this process is s mething quite unusual a d strange It is true that in ma y a creation of phantasy we meet with counterparts to th formation f the compos te perso s of o r dreams mpo e t parts wh ch do t belong t ne an the n reality be ng readily united into a single wh l by phantasy as, f instance in the cent urs and fabul us a.imals of ancient mythol gy r of Boecklin s pictures. *C e t ve phantasy* can in fa t m ent othing ew but can only ut up elements from different o es But the peculiar thing about the way in which the dream w k p o ceeds is this ts material onsi.ts of thou.hts, som of which may be bjectionable and disagreeable b t which nevertheless are correctly f rmed a d expres ed The dream work transmutes these thou.hts int another form and t is curious nd inc mprehensible that in th s process f tran lati n—of endering them as it were into n ther script o language—the means of ble ding and c mbining are emplo ed. The tran.lat r e dea o i ther cases m t surely be to respect the distinct ons bserved in the text and especially to different ate be tween things which are milar but n t th same the dream w k on the co trary tri es t ondense two differe t th ughts by lecting after the mann of wit an ambigu s w rd which can suggest both tho ght We mu t ot expect to und rstand this characterist c straight away but t may a.sum gre t significance f r our con eption f the dre m wo k

Althou.h ond nsat on rend rs the dream bscure yet t doe n t g ve th mpress f

manifest elements Again when we come to interpret dreams we see that the associations to a single manifest element do not commo ly make their appearance in orderly success on we often ha e to wait until we have the int r pretation of the whole dream.

The dream work, then follows a very un usual mode of transcript on for the dream tho ghts not a tran.lation word for wo d, or gn fo sign nor yet a process of select on acco ding to s me defin te rule for instance as though the c nsonants only of the words were reproduced a d the vowels omitted nor again what on m ht call a proce s of representation one element being always p cked out to represent several others It works by a different and much more complicated method

The second ach evement of the dream wo k is DIS LACEMENT Fortunately here we are not breakin pe fectly f esh ground indeed we know that it is e ti ely the work of the dream ensorsh p D splacement takes two forms first a latent element may be *replaced* not by a part

we gi ing th dream fore gn appearance

Substitutio by allu on is familiar to us in ou waki g th ughts also but with a differen e f it s essential in th latter that the allus on should be as ly comp ehens bl a d that the co te t of the sub titute should be sociated to that of th thou ht proper Allus on is also frequ ntly mployed in wit where the con diti of ociati n in ontent is di pensed w th and epl ced by unfamiliar external assoc ations s h as similarity of sound, am

lat t trains f thou ht to be united in a gle manifest dream so that w arri e t an pparently dequate interpretat on f a d eam and yet look s cond poss ble meaning

M reove one of th ff cts f o d sation upo th relation.hip betwee the man fest a d the la ent d eam is th t th ect be t een th l ment of the and f the the owhe rema mple on fo by ki d f interla in a manifest leme t repr sents simultaneo sly several latent es and con versely latent thou ht may ent r int se eral

allus by di.plac m nt i unrestri t d by eith r l mitation It is c nn cted most uper ficially d m t rem tely w th th element fo whi h t stands d for that reason s n t readily *mp h s bl* and when the connec ti tra d the int rpretati n gives the mp ss *of* an unsucces f l joke of *for ed* f r f tched and *d gg d in* xplanati n. Th bj ct of th dream-cens rship is only obtained when t has succ ed d in making it impo sibl t tra the th u.ht prope ba k from th allus on.

Displacement of accent is not a legitimate device if our object be the expression of thought though we do sometimes admit it in waking life in order to produce a comic effect I can to some extent convey to you the impression of confusion which then results by reminding you of an anecdote according to which there was in a certain village a smith who had committed a capital offence The court decided that the smith was guilty but since he was the only one of his trade in the village and therefore indispensable whereas there were three tailors living there one of these three was hanged in his place!

The third achievement of the dream work is the most interesting from the psychological point of view It consists in the transformation of thoughts into *visual images* Let us be quite clear that not everything in the dream thou hts is thus transformed much keeps its original form and appears also in the manifest dream as thought or knowledge on the part of the dreamer again translation of them into visual images is not the only possible transformation of thoughts But it is nevertheless the essential feature in the formation of dreams and as we know this part of the dream work is if we except one other case the least subject to variation for single dream elements moreover *plastic word representation* is a process already familiar to us

Obviously this achievement is by no means an easy one In order to get some idea of its difficulty ima ine that you had undertaken to replace a political leading article in a newspaper by a series of illustrations you would have to abandon alphabetic characters in favour of hieroglyphics The people and concrete objects mentioned in the article could be easily represented perhaps even more satisfactorily in pictorial form but you would expect to meet with difficulties when you came to the portrayal of all the abstract words and all those parts of speech which indicate relations between the various thoughts e g particles conjunctions and so forth With the abstract words you would employ all manner of devices for instance you would try to render the text of the article into other words more unfamiliar perhaps but made up of parts more concrete and therefore more capable of such representation This will remind you of the fact that most abstract words were originally concrete their original significance having faded and therefore you will fall back on the original concrete meaning of these words wherever possible So you will be glad that you can represent th possessing of an object as a literal physical *sitting upon* it (possess=*potis+sedeo*) This is just how the dream work proceed In such circumstances you can hardly demand gre accuracy of representation neither will you quarrel with the dream work for replacing an element which is difficult to reduce to pictorial form such as the idea of breakin marria vows by some other kind of breaking e that of an arm or leg In this way you will to som extent succeed in overcoming the awkwardness of rendering alphabetic characters into hieroglyphs

When you come to represent those parts of speech which indicate thou ht relations e g *because therefore but* and so on you have no such means as those described to assist you so that the e parts of the text must be lost so far as your translation into pictorial form is concerned Similarly the content of the dream

Whilst co ti g the p g my eye h ppe ed to f ll p n a ew pape p r ph wh ch I reproduce h re s aff d ng une pect d co fi m tio f the above w ds

DIVINE RETRIBUTION

A BROKEN ARM FOR A BROKEN MARRIAGE VOW

F au A M the w fe f s ld th reserve a c s d F u Cleme t e K f f thi l ess to her hu b d In h c u t o sh stat d th t F K had had a ll t el t h p w th K rl M d g he h sba d b c at th f t wh l h w se d g he a mu h as y wus mo th B des this sh b d l dy ece ed l e sum of m y f m he (F M) h b d wh le h s fe d ch ld n h d t l e l h g d m ry S me l h b ba d's mr des h d f m d h that he d Fra K h d

1

Ye te d y bef a m gist t l th Le pold tadt F a K d d k ow g M t ll y i t m t rel t b tw th m w re o t f th q t he sa d Albe t e M w t h we e g e d ce of h g urp sed F u K th t f k g th a h b d

M wh h d b ll d as w t s m rl proceed g h d th d led y i t mat rel ti ns th th c d Y t d y l tt w h ded t th m g t te t wh ch th w t t ted h f me d l d

u y w

s I feel mpell d t l y f ll f ss o bef re th t f I h e b k my l ft m d g d th God p hm t f my ff

Th j dg d d th t th pe l ll had bee mm tt d t lo g g f th t t st d wh re upo th cc se w thdrew h ccusat d the cc d w d sch g d

themes is resolved by the dream work into its raw material consisting of objects and activities. You may be satisfied if there is any possibility of indicating somehow by a more minute elaboration of the images certain relations which cannot be represented in themselves. In a precisely similar manner the dream work succeeds in expressing much of the content of the latent thoughts by means of peculiarities in the *form* of the manifest dream, by its distinctness or obscurity, its division into various parts, etc. The number of parts into which a dream is divided corresponds as a rule with the number of its main themes, the successive trains of thought in the latent dream; a short preliminary dream often stands in an introductory or causal relation to the subsequent detailed main dream, while a subordinate dream thought is represented by the interpolation into the manifest dream of a change of scene and action. The form of dreams, then, is by no means unimportant in itself and itself demands interpretation. Several dreams in the same night often have the same meaning and indicate an endeavour to control more and more completely a stimulus of increasing urgency. In a single dream a specially difficult element may be represented by doublings, i.e., by more than one symbol.

If we continue the comparison of dream thoughts with the manifest dreams representing them, we discover in all directions things we would never have expected, e.g. that even nonsense and absurdity in dreams have their meaning. In fact at this point the contrast between the medical and the psycho-analytic view of dreams becomes more marked than ever before. According to the medical view the dream is absurd because while dreaming our mental activity has renounced its functions; according to our view, on the other hand, the dream becomes absurd when it has to represent a criticism implicit in the latent thoughts—the opinion: It is absurd. The dream I *told you*, about the visit to the theatre (three tickets for one florin and a half) is a good example of this. The opinion thus expressed was as follows: It was *absurd* to marry so early.

Similarly we find out when we interpret dreams what is the real meaning of the doubts and uncertainties so frequently mentioned by dreamers whether a certain element did actually appear in the dream, whether it was really this and not rather something else. As a rule there is nothing in the latent thoughts corresponding with these doubts and uncertainties; they originate wholly through the operation of the censorship and are comparable to a not entirely successful attempt at erasure.

One of our most surprising discoveries is the manner in which opposites in the latent dream are dealt with by the dream work. We know already that points of agreement in the latent material are replaced by condensation in the manifest dream. Now contraries are treated in just the same way as similarities, with a marked preference for expression by means of the same manifest element. An element in the manifest dream which admits of an opposite may stand simply for itself or for its opposite, or for both together; only the sense can decide which translation is to be chosen. It accords with this that there is no representation of a No in dreams, or at least none which is not ambiguous.

A welcome analogy to this strange behaviour of the dream work is furnished in the development of language. Many philologists have maintained that in the oldest languages opposites such as strong—weak, light—dark, large—small, were expressed by the same root word (*the antithetical sense of primal words*). Thus in old Egyptian *ken* stood originally for both strong and weak. In speaking, misunderstanding was guarded against in the use of such ambivalent words by the intonation and accompanying gestures; in writing, by the addition of a so-called determinative, that is to say of a picture which was not meant to be expressed orally. Thus *ken* = strong was written in such a way that after the letters there was a picture of a little man standing upright; when *ken* meant "weak," there was added the picture of a man in a slack, crouching attitude. Only at a later period did the two opposite meanings of the same primal word come to be designated in two different ways by slight modifications of the original. Thus from *ken* meaning strong—weak were derived *two words*: *ken* = strong, and *kan* = "weak." Nor is it only the oldest languages, in the last stages of their development, which have retained many survivals of these early words capable of meaning either of two opposites, but the same is true of much younger languages, even those which are today still living. I will quote some illustrations of this taken from the work of C. Abel (1884).

In Latin, such ambivalent words are *altus* = high—deep, *sacer* = sacred or accursed.

As examples of modifications of the original root, I quote

clamare = to shout *clam* = quietly silently secretly
siccus = dry *succus* = juice

and in German *Stimme* = voice *stumm* = dumb

A comparison of kindred languages yields a large number of examples

English lock = to shout German *Loch* = hole *Lucke* = gap
English cleave German *kleben* = to stick adhere

The English word without originally carrying with it both a positive and a negative connotation is today used in the negative sense only but it is clear that with has the signification not merely of adding to but of depriving of from the compounds with draw withhold (cf the German *wieder*)

Yet another peculiarity of the dream work has its counterpart in the development of language In ancient Egyptian as well as in other later languages the sequence of sounds was transposed so as to result in different words for the same fundamental idea Examples of this kind of parallels between English and German words may be quoted

Topf (pot)—pot Boat—tub Hurry—*Ruhe* (rest)
Balken (beam)—*Kloben* (club) wait—*tauwen* (to wait)

Parallels between Latin and German

capere—*packen* (to seize) *ren*—*Niere* (kidney)

Such transpositions as have taken place here in the case of single words are made by the dream work in a variety of ways The inversion of the meaning i e substitution by the opposite is a device with which we are already familiar but besides this we find in dreams inversion of situations or of the relations existing between two persons as though the scene were laid in a topsy turvy world In dreams often enough the hare chases the hunter Again inversion is met with in the sequence of events so that in dreams cause follows effect which reminds us of what sometimes happens in a third rate theatrical performance when first the hero falls and then the shot which kills him is fired from the wings Or there are dreams in which the whole arrangement of the elements is inverted so that in interpreting them the last must be taken first and the first last in order to make sense at all You remember that we also found this in our study of dream symbolism in which the act of plunging or falling into water has the same meaning as that of emerging from water namely giving birth or being born and going up steps or a ladder means the same as coming down them We can not fail to recognize the advantage reaped for dream distortion by this freedom from restrictions in representing the dream thoughts

These features of the dream work may be termed *archaic* They cling to the primitive modes of expression of languages or scripts and yield the same difficulties which we shall touch upon later in the course of some critical observations on this topic

Now let us consider some other aspects of the subject Clearly what has to be accomplished by the dream work is the transformation of the latent thoughts as expressed in words into perceptual forms most commonly into visual images Now our thoughts originated in such perceptual forms their earliest material and the first stages in their development consisted of sense impressions or more accurately of memory pictures of these It was later that words were attached to these pictures and then connected so as to form thoughts So that the dream work subjects our thoughts to a *regressive* process and retraces the steps in their development in the course of this regression all new acquisitions won during this development of memory pictures into thoughts must necessarily fall away

This then is what we mean by the dream work Besides what we have learnt of its processes our interest in the manifest dream is bound to recede far into the background I will however devote still a few more remarks to the manifest dream for after all that is the only part of the dream with which we have any direct acquaintance

It is natural that the manifest dream should lose some of its importance in our eyes It must strike us as a matter of indifference whether it is carefully composed or split up into a succession of disconnected pictures Even when the outward form of the dream is apparently full of meaning we know that this appearance has been arrived at by the process of dream-distortion and can have as little organic connection with the inner content of the dream as exists between the *façade* of an Italian church and its general structure and ground plan At times however this *façade* of the dream has a

B th es of cl e t ll al E gl h t cl e (= sep te) d t cl t (= db) —TR.

means too reproduces an important part of the latent thoughts with little or no distortion. But we cannot know this until we have interpreted the dream and thus arrived at an opinion with regard to the degree of distortion present. A similar doubt obtains where two elements seem to be closely connected; such connection may contain a valuable hint that the corresponding elements in the latent dream are similarly related, but at other times we can convince ourselves that what is connected in thought has become widely separated in the dream.

In general we must refrain from attempting to explain one part of the manifest dream by another part, as though the dream were a coherent conception and a pragmatic representation. It is in most cases comparable rather to a piece of Breccia stone composed of fragments of different kinds of stone cemented together in such a way that the markings upon it are not those of the original pieces contained in it. There is, as a matter of fact, one mechanism in the dream work, known as secondary elaboration, the object of which is to combine the immediate results of the work into a single and fairly coherent whole; during this process the material is often so arranged as to give rise to total misunderstanding, and for this purpose any necessary interpolations are made.

On the other hand, we should not overrate the dream work or attribute to it more than is its due. Its activity is limited to the achievements here enumerated: condensation, displacement, plastic representation and secondary elaboration of the whole dream; these are all that it can effect. Such manifestations of judgment, criticism, surprise or deductive reasoning as are met with in dreams are not brought about by the dream work and are only very rarely the expression of subsequent reflection about the dream; but are for the most part fragments of the latent thoughts introduced into the manifest dream with more or less modification and in a form suited to the context. Again, the dream work cannot create conversation in dreams; save in a few exceptional cases it is imitated from, and made up of, things heard or even said by the dreamer himself on the previous day which have entered into the latent thoughts as the material or incitement of his dream. Neither do mathematical calculations come into the province of the dream work; anything of the sort appearing in the manifest dream is generally a mere combination of numbers, a pseudo-calculation, quite absurd as such and again only a copy of some calculation comprised in the latent thoughts. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the interest which was felt in the dream work soon becomes directed instead toward the la

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theoretical consideration of them by letting our interest stray so far that we altogether substitute the latent thoughts for the dream as a whole and make some pronouncement on the latter which is only true of the former. It is strange that the findings of psycho-analysis could be so misused as to result in confusion between the two. The term *dream* can only be applied to the *results of the dream work*, i.e. to the *form* into which the latent thoughts have been rendered by the dream work.

This work is a process of a quite peculiar type; nothing like it has hitherto been known in mental life. This kind of condensation, displacement, and regressive translation of thoughts into images is a novelty, the recognition of which in itself richly rewards our efforts in the field of psycho-analysis. You will again perceive from the parallels to dream work the connections revealed between psycho-analytic and other research, especially in the fields of the development of speech and thought. You will only realize the further significance of the insight so acquired when you learn that the mechanism of the dream work is a kind of model for the formation of neurotic symptoms.

I know too that it is not possible for us yet

—if this indeed is the nature of the latent dream thoughts—and to the promise dream interpretation gives of an approach, wider than we ever guessed it, to the knowledge of the unconscious life of the mind.

Now however I think the time has come to give you individual examples of various short dreams which will illustrate the points for which I have already prepared you.

TWELFTH LECTURE

Examples of Dreams and Analysis of Them

You must not be disappointed if I present you once more with *fragments* of dream interpretations, instead of inviting you to participate in the interpretation of one fine long dream. You

clamare=to shout *clam*=quietly silently secretly

siccus=dry *succus*=juice

and in German *Stimme*=voice *stumm*=dumb

A comparison of kindred languages yields a large number of examples

English lock=to shut German *Loch*=hole *Lucke*=gap

English cleave German *kleben*=to stick adhere

The English word without originally carrying with it both a positive and a negative connotation is today used in the negative sense only but it is clear that with has the signification not merely of adding to but of depriving of from the compounds with draw withhold (cf the German *wieder*)

Yet another peculiarity of the dream work has its counterpart in the development of language In ancient Egyptian as well as in other later languages the sequence of sounds was transposed so as to result in different words for the same fundamental idea Examples of this kind of parallels between English and German words may be quoted

Topf (pot)—pot Boat—tub Hurry—*Ruhe* (rest)

Balken (beam)—*Kloben* (club) wait—*tauen* (to wait)

Parallels between Latin and German

capere—*packen* (to seize) *ren*—*Niere* (kidney)

Such transpositions as have taken place here in the case of single words are made by the dream work in a variety of ways The inversion of the meaning i e substitution by the opposite is a device with which we are already familiar but besides this we find in dreams inversion of situations or of the relations existing between two persons as though the scene were laid in a topsy turvy world In dreams often enough the hare chases the hunter Again inversion is met with in the sequence of events so that in dreams cause follows effect which reminds us of what sometimes happens in a third rate theatrical performance when first the hero falls and then the shot which kills him is fired from the wings Or there are dreams in which the whole arrangement of the elements is inverted so that in interpreting them the last must be taken first and the first last in order to make sense at all You remember that we also found this in our study of dream symbolism in which the act of plunging or falling into water has the same meaning as that of emerging from water namely giving birth or being born and going up steps or a ladder means the same as coming down them We cannot fail to recognize the advantage reaped for dream-distortion by this freedom from restrictions in representing the dream thoughts

These features of the dream work may be termed *archaic* They cling to the primitive modes of expression of languages or scripts and yield the same difficulties which we shall touch upon later in the course of some critical observations on this topic

Now let us consider some other aspects of the subject Clearly what has to be accomplished by the dream work is the transformation of the latent thoughts as expressed in words into perceptual forms most commonly into visual images Now our thoughts originated in such perceptual forms their earliest material and the first stages in their development consisted of sense impressions or more accurately of memory pictures of these It was later that words were attached to these pictures and then connected so as to form thoughts So that the dream work subjects our thoughts to a *regressive* process and retraces the steps in their development in the course of this regression all new acquisitions won during this development of memory pictures into thoughts must necessarily fall away

This then is what we mean by the dream work Besides what we have learnt of its processes our interest in the manifest dream is bound to recede far into the background I will however devote still a few more remarks to the manifest dream for after all that is the only part of the dream with which we have any direct acquaintance

It is natural that the manifest dream should lose some of its importance in our eyes It must strike us as a matter of indifference whether it is carefully composed or split up into a succession of disconnected pictures Even when the outward form of the dream is apparently full of meaning we know that this appearance has been arrived at by the process of dream-distortion and can have as little organic connection with the inner content of the dream as exists between the *façade* of an Italian church and its general structure and ground plan At times however this *façade* of the dream has a

Both senses of cleave [illegible] till [illegible] E[illegible] lea[illegible] (=separate) [illegible] cle[illegible] (= [illegible]) —TR.

and our task in interpreting is to reinsert these connections which have been omitted.

2. My writings on the subject of dreams have placed me to some extent in the position of public consultant on the question and for many years now I have received letters from the most diverse quarters communicating dreams to me or asking for my opinion. Naturally I am grateful to all those who have given me sufficient material with their dreams to make an interpretation possible or have themselves volunteered one. The following dream of a medical student in Munich dating from 1910 belongs to this category and I quote it because it may prove to you how hard it is generally speaking to understand a dream until the dreamer has given us what information he can about it. For I have a suspicion that in the bottom of your hearts you think that the translation of the symbols is the ideal method of interpretation and that you would like to discard that of free association. I want therefore to clear your minds of so pernicious an error.

July 13th, 1910. Towards morning I had the following dream: *I was bicycling down a street in Tübingen when a brown dachshund came running after me and caught hold of one of my heels. I rode a little further and then dismounted, sat down on a step and began to beat the creature off for it had set its teeth in my heel.* (The dog's biting me and the whole scene roused no unpleasant sensations.) *Two elderly ladies were sitting opposite watching me with grinning faces. Then I woke up, and, as has frequently happened before, with the transition to waking consciousness the whole dream was clear to me.*

In this instance symbolism cannot help us much, but the dreamer goes on to tell us: "I recently fell in love with a girl, just from seeing her in the street, but I had no means of introduction to her. I should have liked best to make her acquaintance through her dachshund, for I am a great animal-lover myself and was attracted by seeing she was one too." He adds that several times he had separated fighting dogs very skilfully, often to the amazement of the onlookers. Now we learn that the girl who has taken his fancy was always seen walking with this particular dog. She however has been eliminated from the manifest dream; only the dog associated with her has remained. Possibly the elderly ladies who grinned at him represented her, but the rest of what he tells us does not clear up this point. The fact that he was riding a bicycle in the dream was a direct repetition of the situation as he remembered it, for he had not met the girl with the dog except when he was bicycling.

3. When a man has lost someone dear to him, for a considerable period afterwards he produces a special type of dream in which the most remarkable compromises are effected between his knowledge that that person is dead and his desire to call him back to life. Sometimes the deceased is dreamt of as being dead, and yet still alive because he does not know that he is dead, as if he would only really die if he did know it; at other times he is half dead and half alive and each of these conditions has its distinguishing marks. We must not call these dreams merely nonsensical, for to come to life again is no more inadmissible in dreams than in fairy-tales in which it is quite a common fate. As far as I have been able to analyse such dreams, it appeared that they were capable of a reasonable explanation, but that the pious wish to recall the departed is apt to manifest itself in the strangest ways. I will submit a dream of this sort to you which certainly sounds strange and absurd enough, and the analysis of which will demonstrate many points already indicated in our theoretical discussions. The dreamer was a man who had lost his father some years previously.

My father was dead, but had been exhumed and looked ill. He went on living, and I did all I could to prevent his noticing it. Then the dream goes on to other matters apparently very remote.

That the father was dead we know to be a fact, but the exhumation had not taken place in reality; indeed the question of real fact has nothing to do with anything that follows. But the dreamer went on to say that after he returned from his father's funeral one of his teeth [illegible]

was not the way to treat a tooth; one must have patience with it. I will put something in it," he said, "to kill the nerve and you must come back in three days time when I will take it out again." "This 'taking out,'" said the dreamer suddenly, "is the exhuming."

Now was he right? True the parallel is not exact, for it was not the tooth which was taken out but only a dead part of it. As a result of experience however we can well credit the dream work with inaccuracies of this sort. We

will say that after so much preparation you surely have a right to expect that and you will express your conviction that after successful interpretations of so many thousands of dreams it should long ago have been possible to collect a number of striking examples by which the truth of all our assertions about the dream work and dream thoughts could be demonstrated Yes but there are too many difficulties in the way of fulfilling this wish of yours

In the first place I must confess that there is nobody who makes the interpretation of dreams his main business In what circumstances then do we come to interpret them? At times we may occupy ourselves for no particular purpose with the dreams of a friend or we may work out our own dreams over a period of time in order to train ourselves for psycho analytic work but chiefly we have to do with the dreams of nervous patients who are undergoing psycho analytic treatment These last dreams provide splendid material and are in no respect inferior to those of healthy persons but the technique of the treatment obliges us to subordinate dream interpretation to therapeutic purposes and to desist from the attempt to interpret a large number of the dreams as soon as we have extracted from them something of use for the treatment Again many dreams which occur during the treatment elude full interpretation altogether since they have their ori in in the whole mass of material in the mind which is as yet unknown to us it is not possible to understand them until the completion of the cure To relate such dreams would necessarily involve revealing all the secrets of a neurosis this will not do for us since we have taken up the problem of dreams in preparation for the study of the neuroses

Now I expect you would willingly dispense with this material and would prefer to listen to the explanation of dreams of healthy persons or perhaps of your own But the content of these dreams makes that impossible One cannot expose oneself nor anyone whose confidence has been placed in one so ruthlessly as a thorough interpretation of a dream would necessitate for as you already know they touch upon all that is most intimate in the personality Apart from the difficulty arising out of the nature of the material there is another difficulty as regards relating the dreams You are aware that the dream seems foreign and strange to the dreamer himself how much more so to an outsider to whom his personality is unknown The literature of psycho analysis shows no lack of good and detailed dream analyses I myself have published some which formed part of the history of certain pathological cases Perhaps the best example of a dream interpretation is that published by O Rank consisting of the analysis of two mutually related dreams of a young girl These cover about two pa es of print while the analysis of them runs into 76 pages It would need almost a whole term s lectures in order to take you through a work of this magnitude If we selected some fairly long and considerably distorted dream we should have to enter into so many explanations to adduce so much material in the shape of associations and recollections and to go down so many sidetracks that a single lecture would be quite inadequate and would give no clear idea of it as a whole So I must ask you to be content if I pursue a less difficult course and relate some fragments from dreams of neurotic patients in which this or that isolated feature may be recognized Symbols are the easiest features to demonstrate and after them certain peculiarities of the regressive character of dream representation I will tell you why I regard each of the following dreams as worth relating

1 A dream consistin only of two short pictures *The dreamer s uncle was smoking a cigarette although it was Saturday A woman was fondling and caressing the dreamer as though he were her child*

With reference to the first picture the dreamer (a Jew) remarked that his uncle was a very pious man who never had done and never would do anything so sinful as smokin on the Sabbath The only association to the woman in the second picture was that of the dreamer s mother These two pictures or thoughts must obviously be related to one another but in what way? Since he expressly denied that his uncle would in reality perform the action of the dream the insertion of the conditional *if* will at once suggest itself If my uncle that deeply religious man were to smoke a cigarette on the Sabbath then I myself might be allowed to let my mother fondle me Clearly that is as much as to say that being fondled by the mother was something as strictly forbidden as smoking on the Sabbath is to the pious Jew You will remember my telling you that in the dream work all relations among the dream thoughts disappear the thoughts are broken up into their raw material

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July 1 th, 19 0. Towards morning I had the following dream *I was bicycling down street in T ... when a brown d chshund ... running ... er me and caught ... of one ... I ... furher and then dismounted sat down on step and be ... but ... of ... I ... my ...* (The dog ... and the whole scene roused no ... sensations.) *Two ... ladies were sitting opposite ... me with grinning face Then I woke ... and as has frequently happened before ... the ... waking consciousness ... whole dream was clear ...*

In this instance symbolism cannot help us much, but the dreamer goes on to tell us "I recently fell in love with girl, just from seeing her in the street but I had n means f introduction t her I ould have liked best to make her acquaintance through her da hshund, for I am a great animal-lover myself and was attracted by seeing ...e was one too. H dds tha several times he had separated fighting dogs very skilfully often to the amazement the onlookers. N w w learn that the girl who had taken his fancy was always seen walking with this particular dog. She however has been eliminated from the manifest dream only the dog associated with her has remained. Possibly the elderly ladies who grinned t him represented her but the rest of wha he t lls us does not clear up this point. The f ct that he was riding a bicycle in the dream was a direct repetition of the s...uation as he remembered it, for he had not met the girl with the dog except when he was bicycling

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My f her was d ... but had been exhum d ... I ... ed ill He wen on living and I did all I could t prevent his ... t Then the dream goes on to other matters apparently very rem e.

That the father was dead we know to be a f ct but th exhumation had no taken place in reality indeed the question of real fact has nothing t do with an thing that follows. But the dreamer wen on t say that af er he returned from his f her s funeral one of his teeth began to ache H wanted to treat t according to the Jewish precept If thy tooth offend thee, pluck t out, and accordingly went to the dentist. The latt however said that that was n the way to treat tooth one must have patience with t. I will put something in it, he said, "to kill the nerve, and you must come back in three da tim when I will take t out again. "This 'taking out, said the dreamer suddenly "is the exhuming"

Now was he right True the para... l is not exact, for it was n t the tooth which was taken out but only a dead part f ... As result of experience, however we can well credit the dream work with inaccuracies of this sort. We

must suppose that the dreamer had by a process of condensation combined the dead father with the tooth which was dead and which he yet retained No wonder then that an absurdity was the result in the manifest dream for obviously not all that was said about the tooth could apply to the father What then are we to regard as the *tertium comparationis* between the father and the tooth what common factor makes the comparison possible?

Such a factor must have existed for the dreamer went on to observe that he knew the saying that if one dreams of losing a tooth it means that one is about to lose a member of his family

We know that this popular interpretation is incorrect or at least correct only in a very distorted sense We shall therefore be the more surprised actually to discover the subject thus touched upon behind the other elements of the dream content

Without being pressed further the dreamer then began to talk of his father s illness and death and of the relations which had existed between father and son The illness had been a long one and the care and

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and on his strict observance of the Jewish law Does not a certain contradiction strike us here in the thoughts relating to the dream? He had identified the tooth with the father He wanted to treat the former according to the Jewish law which commanded that a tooth which causes pain and annoyance should be plucked out His father he also wanted to treat according to the precepts of the law but here the command was that he must pay no heed to expense and annoyance must take the whole burden upon himself and not allow any hostile intention to arise against the cause of the trouble Would not the agreement between the two situations be much more convincing if he had really gradually come to have the same feelings towards his sick father as he had towards his diseased tooth that is to say if he had wished for death to put a speedy end to his father s superfluous painful and costly existence?

I have no doubt that this was in reality his attitude towards his father during the protracted illness and that his ostentatious assertions of filial piety were designed to divert his mind from any recollections of the sort Under conditions such as these it is no uncommon thing for the death wish against the father to be roused and to mask itself with some ostensibly compassionate reflection such as It would be a blessed release for him But I want you particularly to notice that here in the latent thoughts themselves a barrier has been broken down The first part of the thoughts was we may be sure only temporarily unconscious that is during the actual process of the dream work the hostile feelings towards the father on the other hand had probably been permanently so possibly dating from childhood and having at times during the father s illness, crept as it were timidly and in a disguised form into consciousness We can maintain this with even greater certainty of other latent thoughts which have unmistakably contributed to the content of the dream There are it is true no indications in it of hostile feelings toward the father but when we enquire into the origin of such hostility in the life of the child we remember that fear of the father arises from the fact that in the earliest years of life it is he who opposes the sexual activity of the boy as he is usually compelled to do again after puberty from motives of social expediency This was the relation in which our dreamer stood to his father his affection for him had been tinged with a good deal of respect and dread the source of which was early sexual intimidation.

We can now explain the further phrases in the dream from the onanism complex *He looked ill* was an allusion to another remark of the dentist s—that it did not look well for a tooth to be missing just there—but it also refers at the same time to the *looking ill* by which the young man during the period of puberty betrays or fears lest he might betray his excessive sexual activity It was with a lightening of his own heart that in the manifest dream the dreamer transferred the look of illness from himself to his father an inversion with which you are familiar as a device of the dream work *He went on living* accords both with the wish to recall the father to life and the promise of the dentist to save the tooth. The phrase *I did everything I could to prevent his noticing* is extremely subtly designed to lead us to complete it with the words that he was dead The only completion of them that really makes sense however is again to be traced to the onanism complex where it is a matter of course that the young man should do all he can to conceal his sexual life from his father Finally I would remind you that the

so-called "tooth ache dreams always refer to on..ism and the pun hment for it that is feared.

You see how this incomprehens'ble dream is bu.t up by a p ce of remarkabl and mi lead ng co densat o by om ttin from t all the thou.ht that belon to the c re of th latent trai f thought a d by the creation of amb guous bstitute formations to represent those tho hts whi h were deepest and most rem e in time.

4. We ha e alre dy tried repeat dly to get to the bottom of th e prosaic and banal d eams hich have othin ab urd o strange in th m but which ugge t th qu tion Why should we dream bo t s ch tri l tes t all I w'll t. refore qu te a fresh example f thi rt in the hape of three dreams conne ted with o e an ther a d dreamt by a young lady in the course of a sin le n ght

( ) She was goi g th o gh the h ll in he k us c d s ruck her he d on a low h ging cham' er with such f c as to d aw blood Th ep sode d d t rem nd her f a thing t.at had ct ally happened he remarks led in qui another d rect You kn w how ter ribly my ha is coming t W ll terday my mother said t m My d child if it goes like thi your h ad will oon be s bald s ou b tt cks. W ee here that the h ad stands f th ther e d of the body N fur th a s tance is required t und rsta d the symbolism f th chand lie all by ts c pa bl f l matio re mbols f the male o gan. The real s bject of th dream then a bleedir t th l we end of the body aused by tact with th pen s Thi might till ha e othe meanings th dreamer further as oc t on h w that th dream has t do with the beli f that m n.truat results from sexual terc rse with man a t on bout exu l m tt wh h s b o m ns u comm n mongst immat e gi l

(b Th d mer aw tr yard a deep k wh k k k ew h d b en c is d by the r t g f t H rem k this point was th t the t ee wa m si g me ning that he did t see the tree in the dre m but th sam thra e serves t express a other th ht .u h lea es us d bt t th symbolic erpre.at n. Th dream refers t an the f l t on the bject f se t th be h f that gi ls m ll had the m gen tal ra bo s d that th lat onf rmatio f th rga has been b ught bo t by c stra ti (uproot g th tree)

(c) The dreamer was standing in front of he writ g table d awer wh ch she k ows so well that if a yo e to ched it she wo ld im med ately be aware of it The writing table drawer like ll drawers chest and boxes is a symbol of the female genital. She knew that when sexual intercourse (or as she thou ht any contact at all) has t ken place the genital hows certa n indications of the fact and she had lo g had a fear of bein co cted of this I think that in all three dreams the main empha s lies on th idea of *k owing* She had in mind th time of childi h in estigations into exual matters of the results of which she had been very proud t the time

Here is an th r example of symbolism. But this time I must preface it with a hort account of the me tal s tuat on in which the dream occurred A man and a woman who were i love had spent a night togeth he described her ture as maternal she was one of those women wh se des re t have a child comes out irresist'bly d ring caresses The cond t ons of th meeting however mad it necessary to t k precaution to prevent the semen from e tering the womb On wakin the next morn ing the woman related the following dream

An fficer with a ed cap was purs g her the st et She fled f om h m and a up the staircas with h m after her B eathl s she each d her oms a d slammed and lo k d the d o behind her The man emained o ts d a d peepi g th o gh the keyhol the door sh saw h m sitt g on a bench o t d w epi g

I the p rsu t by the officer with the r d cap and the breathles cl mbin of the sta rs o will ec gnize th repre entat on of the sexual act That the dreamer shut her pursue out may erve as an example of the de ce of in ers o o frequently emplo ed in dream fo in reality t was the man who withdrew before the mpl t n f th xual act In the same w y h has p jected he own feelin f grief on t h r part er f t h wh weep n the d am hi tears at th same time alluding t th s minal fluid

You will certa l ha e heard it sa d at some t me o th r that psycho-analysis mainta that ll dreams ha e a sexual meani You are now in a posit yoursel es to f rm an pinio a t th false ess f this rep oach. Y u ha learnt f w h fulfilment d eams, d h w th th gratificat on f the mo t bvi- us needs—hu th rst and th longi g f r liberty—c mfort-d ms and impatient dreams as w ll as tho e which are frankly

avaricious and egoistical You may however certainly bear it in mind that according to the results of psycho analysis dreams in which a marked degree of distortion is pre ent *mainly* (but here again not exclusively) give expression to sexual desires

6 I have a special motive in giving many instances of the use of symbols in dreams In our first lecture I complained of the difficulty of demonstrating my statements in such a way as to carry conviction with regard to the findings of psycho analysis and since then you have doubtless agreed with me Now the separate propositions of psycho analysis are never theless so intimately related that conviction on a single point easily leads to acceptance of the greater part of the whole theory It might be said of psycho analysis that if you give it your little fin er it will soon have your whole hand If you accept the explanation of errors as satisfactory you cannot logically stop short of belief in all the rest Now dream symbolism provides another equally good approach to such acceptance I will recount to you a dream which has already been published of a woman of the poorer classes whose husband was a watchman and of whom we may be sure that she had never heard of dream symbolism and psycho analysis You can then jud e for yourselves whether the interpretation arrived at with the help of sexual symbols can justly be called arbitrary or forced

Then someone broke into the house and in terror she cried for a watchman But the watchman accompanied by two tramps had gone into a church which had several steps leading up to it Behind the church there was a mountain and up above a thick wood Th watc

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y with him had ap ons twisted round their hips like sacks A path led from the church to the mountain and was over grown on both sides with grass and bushes which grew denser and dense and at the top of the mountain there was a regular wood

You will reco nize without any trouble the symbols here employed the male organ is represented by the trinity of *three* persons appearing whilst the female sexual organs are symbolized by a landscape with a chapel a mountain and a wood and once more you have the act of going up steps as symbolic of the sexual act The part of the body called in the dream *a mountain* is similarly termed in anatomy the *mons veneris*

7 I will tell you another dream which is to be explained in the light of symbolism a dream moreover which is noteworthy and convincing from the fact that the dreamer himself translated all the symbols though he brought no previous theoretical knowledge to the interpretation This is a very unusual circumstance and we have no accurate idea of the conditions which give rise to it

He was walking with his father in a pl which must have been the Prater for they saw the Rotunda with a little building in front of it to which was made fast a captive balloon which looked rather slack His father asked him what it was all for the son wondered at his asking but explained it nevertheless Then they came to a cou t yard where a large sheet of metal lay spread out His father wanted to break off a big piece but looked round first in case anyone should notice him He said to his son that all the same he need only tell the o er seer and then he could take it straightaway Some steps led down from this court to a shaft the sides of which were upholstered with some soft stuff something like a leather armchair At the bottom of this shaft was a rather long platform and beyond it another shaft

The following is the dreamer s own interpretation The Rotunda stands for my genitals and the captive balloon in front of it for the penis which I have had to complain of for being limp A more detailed translation would then run thus the rotunda stands for the buttocks (regularly included by children amongst the genitals) the smaller structure in front is the scrotum In the dream his father asks him what all this is i e what are the purpo e and function of the genital To invert this situation so that the son asks the questions is an obvious id a and since these questions were never a ked in reality we must construe the dream thoughts as a wi h or take them in a conditional sense If I had asked my father to expla n The sequel to this thought we hall find pre ently

The court yard where the sheet metal lay is not in the first place to be explained symbolically but is a reference to the father s place of busine s From motives of discretion I have substituted *sheet metal* for the actual material dealt with by him but otherwise I have made no alteration in the words of the dream The dreamer had entered his father s bu iness and had been much scandal zed by the extremely questionable practices upon which the high

profits largely depended Hence the sequel to the dream thou,ht me t o ed above wo ld run (If I had asked him) he w uld ha e dece ed m as h decei es his cu tomers The dreamer himself gi es a seco d explanati n for the pull ing off the p ece of m tal which serves to represent commer al disho e ty it m an he says, the practice of mastu bati n. Not o ly is this an explan ti n with which we ha e long been familia b t it is well cco danc with th mt rp etat n that the s cret practice of ma t b t n h uld be exp essed by the p- posit idea (*W e may do t openly'*) So the fact that this pra tice is imputed to the father as was the que ti ning in the first cene of the *dream is exactly what we should expect* The dreamer immediately interpreted the shaft on a count of the soft uphol t ing of the walls

se d shaft, w explained by th dream r

t

by a f eame with ma k d polyg m us te u encies bec se they m y serve t illustrate the tatement that th dreame s wn person is prese t in ev ry d eam even when t s disguised th manife t o tent The trunks in th dreams re f mal ymbols

(a) Th d e mer was g g on a journey and his l gg g w ben g t ken to the tat on a carri g Ther wer mber of tru k pil d one on the t p of the other nd amo g t them tw larg black bo l k th s of commer cial t av ller H said ons l gly to s meon Tou e th e only goi g s far as the stat on

H does m tter f fact tra el with great deal f l ggage and h also bri gs ma y st ries bo t wom t th treatm t Th two bla k tru k t d f two da k women wh at the mom t e pl ying th pri cipal part in h l f One f them wa t d t follow him t V enna b t on my dvice h had t l graphed to put h ff

(b) A ne t a cust ms hous A fellow- t ller pen d his trunk nd said noncha lantly smok g cig ett Ther is th g t d clare that The cust ms ficial seem d to bel eve him but felt in the trunk aga n and found a st ictly proh b ted art cle The t avel le the said n a resigned way W ell it can t be helped The dreamer himself is the traveller and I am the official He is generally very stra ghtforward with me but had made up his mind to conceal from me a relation which he had recently formed with a lady for he as sumed quite correctly that I knew her He displaces on t a strang r the embarras ing itua t o of being detected so that he himself does not seem to come into the dream at all.

9 Here we have an example of a symbol which I have not y t mentio ed

The d eamer met his sister with two friends who were themselves sisters He sh ok hands with these two b t not with his sister

The e was n real ep sode connected with thi in his mind I tead hi thoughts went back t a time when his bservations led h m to wo d r why a girl s breasts are so late in dev lop ng The two sisters therefore stand for the breasts he would have liked t grasp th m with his hand if only it had not been his ister

10. Here is n example of death symbolism in dreams *The dreame was crossi g a very h gh st ep iron bridge with two people whose names he knew but forgot on w k g Suddenly both of them had v shed and he saw a ghostly ma a cap and an o e all He asked h m whether he were the telegraph messe ger No O the co chma ? No He then went on* and in th d eam had a fe lin f great dread on w king he f llowed t up w th the pha ta y that the iron bridge suddenly broke and that he f ll into the bys

When stres is la d upo the f ct th t people in a dream re unknown to the dreamer or that h has f gotten the r names they are s a rul persons with whom h is ntimately con n cted The dre mer was o e of a family of three hildren f h had e er wi hed f th death f th oth tw t would be ly ju that h sh uld be vi ted w th the f of death W th refer ce to the t legraph messenge h rema k d that they always bring bad new

Uhland s poem of th vo ag of King Ka and recalled a d g ro s sail n lak w tw compan ns when he pl y d the part the kin in the poem The iron bridge sugges

to him a recent accident also the stupid saying Life is a suspension bridge

11 The following may be regarded as another example of a death dream

An unknown gentleman was leaving a black edged visiting card on the dreamer

1 I give another dream which will interest you from several points of view it is to be traced partly however to a neurotic condition in the dreamer

He was in a train which stopped in the open country He thought there was going to be an accident and that he must make his escape so he went through all the compartments killing everyone he met—driver guard and so on

This dream recalls a story told him by a friend On a certain Italian line an insane man was being conveyed in a small compartment but by some mistake a passenger was allowed to get in with him The madman murdered the other traveller Thus the dreamer identified himself with this insane man his reason being that he was at times tormented by an obsession that he must make away with everyone who shared his knowledge Then he himself found a better motivation for the dream The day before he had seen at the theatre a girl he had meant to marry but had given up because she gave him cause for jealousy Knowing the intensity which jealousy could assume in him he would really have been mad to want to marry her That is to say he thought her so unreliable that his jealousy would have led him to murder everyone who got in his way The going through a number of rooms or as here compartments we have already learnt to know as a symbol of marriage (the expression of monogamy according to the rule of opposites)

With reference to the train s stopping in the open country and the fear of an accident he told the following story

Once when such a sudden halt occurred on the line outside a station a young lady who was in the carriage said that perhaps there was going to be a collision and that the best thing to do was to raise the legs high This phrase raise the legs had associations with many walks and excursions into the country which he had shared with the girl mentioned above in the happy early days of their love Here was a new argument for the contention that he would be mad to marry her now nevertheless my knowledge of the situation led me to regard it as certain that there existed in him all the same the desire to fall a victim to this form of madness

THIRTEENTH LECTURE

Archaic and Infantile Features in Dreams

Let us start afresh from our conclusion that under the influence of the censorship the dream work translates the latent dream thoughts into another form These thoughts are of the same nature as the familiar conscious thoughts of waking life the new form in which they are expressed is owing to many peculiar characteristics incomprehensible to us We have said that it goes back to phases in our intellectual development which we have long outgrown—to hieroglyphic writing to symbolic connections possibly to conditions which existed before the language of thought was evolved On this account we called the form of expression employed by the dream work *archaic* or *regressive*

From this you may draw the inference that a more profound study of the dream work must lead to valuable conclusions about the initial stages of our intellectual development of which at present little is known I hope it will be so but so far this task has not been attempted The era to which the dream work takes us back is *primitive* in a two fold sense in the first place it means the early days of the *individual*—his childhood—and secondly in so far as each individual repeats in some abbreviated fashion during childhood the whole course of the development of the human race the reference is *phylogenetic* I believe it not impossible that we may be able to discriminate between that part of the latent mental processes which belongs to the early days of the individual and that which has its roots in the infancy of the race It seems to me for instance that symbolism a mode of expression which has never been individually acquired may claim to be regarded as a racial heritage

This however is not the only archaic feature in dreams You are all familiar from actual experience with the peculiar *amnesia of childhood* to which we are subject I mean that the first years of life up to the age of five six, or eight have not left the same traces in memory as our later experiences True we come across individuals who can boast of continuous recollection from early infancy to the present time but it is incomparably more common for the opposite a blank in memory to be found In my opinion this has not aroused suf

ficient surprise At two years old the child can speak well and soon shows his capacity for adapting himself to complicated mental situations, and, moreover says things which he himself has forgotten when they are repeated to him years later And yet memory is more efficient in early years being less overburdened than it is later Again, there is no reason to regard the function of memory as an especially high or difficult form of mental activity on the contrary excellent memory may be found in people who are yet on a very low plane intellectually

But I must draw your attention to a second peculiarity based upon the first—namely that from the oblivion in which the first years of childhood are shrouded certain clearly retained recollections emerge mostly in the form of plastic images for the retention of which there seems no adequate ground. Memory deals with the mass of impressions received in later life by a process of selection, retaining what is important and omitting what is not but with the recollections retained from childhood this is not so They do not necessarily reflect important experiences in childhood, not even such as must have seemed important from the child's standpoint, but are often banal and meaningless in themselves that we can only ask ourselves in amazement why just this particular detail has escaped oblivion. I have tried, with the help of analysis, to attack the problem of childhood amnesia and of the fragments of recollection which break through it and have come to the conclusion that, whatever may appear to the contrary the child no less than the adult only retains in memory what is important but that what is important is represented (by the processes of condensation and, more especially of displacement already familiar to you) in the memory by something apparently trivial. For this reason I have called these childhood recollections *screen memories* thorough analysis can evolve from them all that has been forgotten.

It is a regular task in psycho-analytic treatment to fill in the blank in infantile memories and, in so far as the treatment is successful to any extent at all (very frequently therefore) we are enabled to bring to light the content of those early years long buried in oblivion. These impressions have never really been forgotten but were only inaccessible and latent, having become part of the unconscious But sometimes it happens that they emerge spontaneously from the unconscious, and it is in connection with dreams that this happens. It is clear that the dream life knows the way back to these latent, infantile experiences. Many good illustrations of this are to be found in psycho-analytical literature, and I myself have been able to furnish a contribution of this sort. I once dreamt in a particular connection of someone who had evidently done me a service and whom I saw plainly He was a one-eyed man short, fat and high shouldered from the context I gathered that he was a doctor Fortunately I was able to ask my mother who was still living what was the personal appearance of the doctor who *attended us at the place* where I was born and which I left at the age of three she told me that he had only one eye and was short, fat and high shouldered I learnt also of the accident which was the occasion of this doctor's being called in and which I had forgotten This command of the forgotten material of the earliest years of childhood is thus a further *archaic* feature of dreams

This knowledge has a bearing on another of the problems which up to the present have proved insoluble You will remember the astonishment caused by our discovery that [illegible]

[illegible]

essary Supposing now that we have interpreted a dream of this sort and the circumstances are specially favourable in that the dreamer does not quarrel with the interpretation itself he does nevertheless in variably ask how any such wish could come into his mind, since it seems quite foreign to him and he is conscious of desiring the exact opposite We need have no hesitation in pointing out to him the origin of the wish he repudiates these evil impulses may be traced to the past often indeed to a past which is not so very far away It may be demonstrated that he once knew and was conscious of them, even if this is no longer so A woman who had a dream meaning that she wished to see her only daughter (then seventeen years old) lying dead found, with our help that at one time she actually had cherished this death wish. The child was the offspring of an unhappy marriage, which ended in the speedy separation of husband and wife. Once when the child was as yet unborn the mother in an access of rage after a violent scene with her husband, beat her body with her clenched fists

in order to kill the baby in her womb How many mothers who today love their children tenderly perhaps with excessive tenderness yet conceived them unwillingly and wished that the life within them might not develop further and have indeed turned this wish into various actions fortunately of a harmless kind The later death wish against beloved persons which appears so puzzling thus dates from the early days of the relationship to them

A father whose dream when interpreted shows that he wished for the death of his eldest and favourite child is in the same way obliged to recall that there was a time when this wish was not unknown to him The man whose marriage had proved a disappointment often thought when the child was still an infant that if the little creature who meant nothing to him were to die he would again be free and would make better use of his freedom A large number of similar impulses of hate are to be traced to a similar source they are recollections of something belonging to the past something which was once in consciousness and played its part in mental life From this you will be inclined to draw the conclusion that such dreams and such wishes would not occur in cases where there have been no changes of this sort in the relations between two persons that is to say where the relation has been of the same character from the beginning I am prepared to grant you this conclusion only I must warn you that you have to consider not the literal meaning of the dream but what it signifies on interpretation It may be that the manifest dream of the death of some beloved person was only using this as a terrible mask whilst really meaning something totally different or it is possible that the beloved person is an illusory substitute for someone else

This situation will however raise in you another and much more serious question You will say Even though this death wish did at one time actually exist and this is confirmed by recollection that is still no true explanation for the desire has long since been overcome and surely at the present time can exist in the unconscious merely as a recollection of no affective value and not as a powerful exciting agent For this later assumption we have no evidence Why is the wish recollected at all in dreams? This is a question which you are really justified in asking the attempt to answer it would take us far afield and would oblige us to define our position with regard to one of the most important points in the theory of dreams But I must keep within the limits of our discussion and must forbear to follow up this question so you must be reconciled to leaving it for the present Let us content ourselves with the actual evidence that this wish, long since subdued can be proved to have given rise to the dream and let us continue our enquiry whether other evil wishes also can be traced in the same way to the past.

Let us keep to the death wishes which we shall certainly find mostly derived from the unbounded egoism of the dreamer Wishes of this sort are very often found to be the underlying agents of dreams Whenever anyone gets in our way in life—and how often must this happen when our relations to one another are so complicated!—a dream is immediately prepared to make away with that person even if it be father mother brother or sister husband or wife It appeared to us amazing that such wickedness should be innate in humanity and certainly we were not inclined to admit without further evidence that this result of our interpretation of dreams was correct But when once we had seen that the origin of wishes of this sort must be looked for in the past we had little difficulty in finding the period in the past of the individual in which there is nothing strange in such egoism and such wishes even when directed against the nearest and dearest A child in his earliest years (which later are veiled in oblivion) is just the person who frequently displays such egoism in boldest relief invariably unmistakable tendencies of this kind or more accurately surviving traces of them are plainly visible in him For a child loves himself first and only later learns to love others and to sacrifice something of his own ego to them Even the people whom he seems to love from the outset are loved in the first instance because he needs them and cannot do without them—again therefore from motives of egoism Only later does the impulse of love detach itself from egoism it is a literal fact that the child learns how to love through his own egoism

In this connection it will be instructive to compare a child s attitude towards his brothers and sisters with his attitude towards his parents The little child does not necessarily love his brothers and sisters and often he is quite frank about it It is unquestionable that in them he sees and hates his rivals and it is well known how commonly this attitude persists

without interruption for many years till the child reaches maturity and even later Of course it often gives place to a more tender feeling or perhaps we should say it is overlaid by this but the hostile attitude seems very generally to be the earlier We can most easily observe it in children of two and a half to four years old when a new baby arrives, which generally meets with a very unfriendly reception remarks such as "I don't like it. The stork is to take it away again are very common. Subsequently every opportunity is seized to disparage the new-comer attempts are even made to injure it and actual attacks upon it are by no means unheard-of If the difference in age is less, by the time the child's mental activity is more fully developed the rival is already in existence and he adapts himself to the situation if on the other hand there is a greater difference between their ages the new baby may rouse certain kindly feelings from the first as an object of interest a sort of living doll and when there is as much as eight years or more between them especially if the elder child is a girl, protective motherly impulses may at once come into play But, speaking honestly when we find a wish for the death of brother or sister latent in a dream we need seldom be puzzled, for we find its origin in early childhood without much trouble or in deed, quite often in the later years when they still lived together

There is probably no nursery without violent conflicts between the inhabitants, actuated by rivalry for the love of the parents competition for possessions shared by them all, even for the actual space in the room they occupy Such hostility is directed against older as well as younger brothers and sisters. I think it was Bernard Shaw who said If there is anyone whom a young English lady hates more than her mother it is her elder sister Now there is something in this dictum which jars upon us it is hard enough to bring ourselves to understand hatred and rivalry between brothers and sisters but how can feelings of hate force themselves into the relation between mother and daughter parents and children?

This relationship is no doubt a more favourable one also from the children's point of view and this too is what our expectations require we find it far more offensive for love to be lacking between parents and children than between brothers and sisters We have so to speak, sanctified the former love while allowing the latter to remain profane. Yet everyday observation may show us how frequently the sentiments entertained towards each other by parents and grown up children fall short of the ideal set up by society and how much hostility lies smouldering ready to burst into flame if it were not stifled by considerations of filial or parental duty and by other tender impulses. The motives for this hostility are well known, and we recognize a tendency for those of the same sex to become alienated daughter from mother and father from son. The daughter sees in her mother the authority which imposes limits to her will, whose task it is to bring her to that renunciation of sexual freedom which society demands in certain cases too the mother is still a rival, who objects to being set aside. The same thing is repeated still more blatantly between father and son. To the son the father is the embodiment of the social compulsion to which he unwillingly submits the person who stands in the way of his following his own will, of his early sexual pleasures and when there is family property of his enjoyment of it. When a throne is involved, this impatience for the death of the father may approach tragic intensity The relation between father and daughter or mother and son would seem less liable to disaster the latter relation furnishes the purest examples of unchanging tenderness undisturbed by any egoistic consideration.

Why, you ask, do I speak of things so banal and so well known to everybody? Because there exists an unmistakable tendency in people's mind to deny the significance of these things in real life and to pretend that the social ideal is much more frequently realized than it actually is. But it is better that psychology should tell the truth than that it should be left to cynics to do so This general denial is only applied to real life, it is true for fiction and drama are free to make use of the motives laid bare when these ideals are rudely disturbed.

There is nothing to wonder at therefore in the dreams of a great number of people bring to light the wish for the removal of their parents especially of the parent whose sex is the same as the dreamer's We may assume that the wish exists in waking life as well, sometimes even in consciousness if it can disguise itself behind another motive as the dream in our third example disguised his real thought by pity for his father's useless suffering It is but rarely that hostility reigns alone—far more

often it yields to more tender feelings which finally suppress it when it has to wait in abeyance till a dream shows it as it were in isolation That which the dream shows in a form magnified by this very isolation resumes its true proportions when our interpretation has assigned to it its proper place in relation to the rest of the dreamer s life. (H Sachs) But we also find this death wish where there is no basis for it in real life and where the adult would never have to confess to entertaining it in his waking life The reason for this is that the deepest and most common motive for estrangement especially between parent and child of the same sex came into play in the earliest years of childhood I refer to that rivalry of affections in which sexual elements are plainly emphasized The son when quite a little child already begins to develop a peculiar tenderness towards his mother whom he looks upon as his own property regarding his father in the light of a rival who disputes this sole possession of his similarly the little daughter sees in her mother someone who disturbs her tender relation to her father and occupies a place which she feels she herself could very well fill Observation shows us how far back these sentiments date sentiments which we describe by the term *Oedipus complex* because in the Oedipus myth the two extreme forms of the wishes arising from the situation of the son—the wish to kill the father and to marry the mother—are realized in an only slightly modified form I do not assert that the Oedipus complex exhausts all the possible relations which may exist between parents and children these relations may well be a great deal more complicated Again this complex may be more or less strongly developed or it may even become inverted but it is a regular and very important factor in the mental life of the child we are more in danger of underestimating than of overestimating its influence and that of the developments which may follow from it Moreover the parents themselves frequently stimulate the children to react with an Oedipus complex for parents are often guided in their preferences by the difference in sex of their children so that the father favours the daughter and the mother the son or else where conjugal love has grown cold the child may be taken as a substitute for the love object which has ceased to attract

It cannot be said that the world has shown great gratitude to psycho analytic research for the discovery of the Oedipus complex on the contrary the idea has excited the most violent opposition in grown up people and those who omitted to join in denying the existence of sentiments so universally reprehended and tabooed have later made up for this by proffering interpretations so wide of the mark as to rob the complex of its value My own unchanged conviction is that there is nothing in it to deny or to gloss over We ought to reconcile ourselves to facts in which the Greek myth itself saw the hand of inexorable destiny Again, it is interesting to find that the Oedipus complex, repudiated in actual life and relegated to fiction has there come to its own O Rank in a careful study of this theme has shown how this very complex has supplied dramatic poetry with an abundance of motives in countless variations modifications and disguises in short, subject to just the distortion familiar to us in the work of the dream censorship So we may look for the Oedipus complex even in those dreamers who have been fortunate enough to escape conflicts with their parents in later life and closely connected with this we shall find what is termed the *castration complex* the reaction to that intimidation in the field of sex or to that restraint of early infantile sexual activity which is ascribed to the father

What we have already ascertained has guided us to the study of the child s mental life and we may now hope to find in a similar way an explanation of the source of the other kind of prohibited wishes in dreams i e the excessive sexual desires We are impelled therefore to study the development of the sexual life of the child and here from various sources we learn the following facts In the first place it is an untenable fallacy to suppose that the child has no sexual life and to assume that sexuality first makes its appearance at puberty when the genital organs come to maturity On the contrary he has from the very beginning a sexual life rich in content though it differs in many points from that which later is regarded as normal What in adult life are termed *perversions* depart from the normal in the following respect [illegible]

gust (3) in the transgression of the incest barrier (the prohibition against seeking sexual gratification with close blood relations) (4) in homosexuality and (5) in the transferring of the part played by the genital organs to other organs and different areas of the body All

these barriers are not in existence from the outset but are only gradually built up in the course of development and education. The little child is free from them. He does not perceive any immense gulf between man and beast; the arrogance with which man separates himself from the other animals only dawns in him at a later period. He shows at the beginning of life no disgust for excrement, but only learns this feeling slowly under the influence of education; he attaches no particular importance to the difference between the sexes, in fact he thinks that both have the same formation of the genital organs; he directs his earliest sexual desires and his curiosity to those nearest to him or to those who for other reasons are specially beloved—his parents, brothers and sisters or nurses; and finally we see in him a character which manifests itself again later at the height of love relationship—namely, he does not look for gratification in the sexual organs only but discovers that many other parts of the body possess the same sort of sensibility and can yield analogous pleasurable sensation, playing thereby the part of genital organs. The child may be said then to be *polymorphously perverse*, and even if mere traces of all these impulses are found in him, this is due on the one hand to their lesser intensity as compared with that which they assume in later life and, on the other hand, to the fact that education immediately and energetically suppresses all sexual manifestations in the child. This suppression may be said to be embodied in a theory, for grown up people endeavour to overlook some of these manifestations and, by misinterpretation, to rob others of their sexual nature until in the end the whole thing can be altogether denied. It is often the same people who first inveigh against the sexual naughtiness of children in the nursery and then sit down to their writing tables to defend the sexual purity of the same children. When they are left to themselves or when they are seduced, children often display perverse sexual activity to a really remarkable extent. Of course grown-up people are right in not taking this too seriously and in regarding it as they say as childish tricks and play, for the child cannot be judged either by moral or legal code as if he were mature and fully responsible. Nevertheless these things do exist and they have their significance both as evidence of innate constitutional tendencies and as much as they cause and foster later developments; they give us an insight into the child's sexual life and so into that of humanity as a whole. If then we find all these perverse wishes behind the distortions of our dreams, it only means that dreams in *this respect also* have regressed completely to the infantile condition.

Amongst these forbidden wishes special prominence must still be given to the incestuous desires, i.e. those directed towards sexual intercourse with parents or brothers and sisters. You know in what abhorrence human society holds, or at least professes to hold, such intercourse, and what emphasis is laid upon the prohibitions of it. The most preposterous attempts have been made to account for this horror of incest: some people have assumed that it is a provision of nature for the preservation of the species manifesting itself in the mind by these prohibitions, because inbreeding would result in racial degeneration; others have asserted that propinquity from early childhood has deflected sexual desire from the persons concerned. In both these cases, however, the avoidance of incest would have been automatically secured and we should be at a loss to understand the necessity for stern prohibitions, which would seem rather to point to a strong desire. Psycho-analytic investigations have shown beyond the possibility of doubt that *an incestuous love-choice is in fact* the first and the regular one, and that it is only later that any opposition is manifested towards it, the causes of which are not to be sought in the psychology of the individual.

Let us sum up the results which our excursions into child-psychology have brought to the understanding of dreams. We have learnt not only that the material of the forgotten childish experiences is accessible to the dream, but also that the child's mental life with all its peculiarities, its egoism, its incestuous object-choice persists in it and therefore in the unconscious and that our dreams take us back every night to this infantile stage. This corroborates the belief that *the Unconscious is the infantile mental life*, and with this the objectionable impression that so much evil lurks in human nature grows somewhat less. For this terrible evil is simply what is original, primitive and infantile in mental life, what we find in operation in the child but in part overlook in him because it is on so small a scale and in part do not take greatly to heart because we do not demand a high ethical standard in a child. By regressing to this infantile stage our dreams

appear to have brought the evil in us to light but the appearance is deceptive though we have let ourselves be dismayed by it we are not so evil as the interpretation of our dreams would lead us to suppose

If the evil impulses of our dreams are merely infantile a reversion to the beginnings of our ethical development the dream simply making us children again in thought and feeling it is surely not reasonable to be ashamed of these evil dreams But the reasoning faculty is only part of our mental life there is much in it besides which is not reasonable and so it happens that although it is unreasonable we nevertheless are ashamed of such dreams We subject them to the dream-censorship and are ashamed and indignant when one of these wishes by way of exception penetrates our consciousness in a form so undisguised that we cannot fail to recognize it yes we even at times feel just as much ashamed of a distorted dream as if we really understood it Just think of the outraged comment of the respectable elderly lady upon her dream about *love service* although it was not interpreted to her So the problem is not yet solved and it is still possible that if we pursue this question of the evil in dreams we may arrive at another conclusion and another estimate of human nature

Our whole enquiry has led to two results which however merely indicate the beginning of new problems and new doubts In the first place the regression in dreams is one not only of form but of substance Not only does it translate our thoughts into a primitive form of expression but it also re awakens the peculiarities of our primitive mental life—the old supremacy of the ego the initial impulses of our sexual life even restores to us our old intellectual possession if we may conceive of symbolism in this way And secondly all these old infantile characteristics which were once dominant and solely dominant must today be accounted to the unconscious and must alter and extend our views about it *Unconscious* is no longer a term for what is temporarily latent the unconscious is a special realm with its own desires and modes of expression and peculiar mental mechanisms not elsewhere operative Yet the latent dream thoughts disclosed by our interpretation do not belong to this realm rather they correspond to the kind of thoughts we have in waking life also And yet they are unconscious how is the paradox to be resolved? We begin to realize that here we must discriminate Something which has its origin in our conscious life and shares its characteristics—we call it *the residue* from the previous day—meets together with something from the realm of the unconscious in the formation of a dream, and it is between these two regions that the dream work is accomplished The influence of the unconscious impinging upon this residue probably constitutes the condition for regression This is the deepest insight into the nature of dreams possible to us until we have explored further fields in the mind but soon it will be time to give another name to the unconscious character of the latent dream thoughts in order to distinguish it from that unconscious material which has its origin in the province of the infantile

We can of course also ask What is it that forces our mental activity during sleep to such regression? Why cannot the mental stimuli that disturb sleep be dealt with without it? And if on account of the dream censorship the mental activity has to disguise itself in the old and now incomprehensible form of expression what is the object of re animating the old impulses desires and characteristics now surmounted what in short is the use of *regression in substance* as well as in *form?* The only satisfactory answer would be that this is the one possible way in which dreams can be formed that dynamically considered the relief from the stimulus giving rise to the dream cannot otherwise be accomplished But this is an answer for which at present we have no justification

FOURTEENTH LECTURE

WISH FULFILMENT

SHALL I remind you once more of the steps by which we have arrived at our present position? When in applying our technique we came upon the distortion in dreams we made up our mind to avoid it for the moment and turned to the study of infantile dreams for some definite information abo h
general N
investigatic
dream-distortion directly and I hope that bit by bit we have also mastered that Now however we are bound to admit that our findings in these two directions do not exactly tally and it behooves us to combine and correlate our results

Both enquiries have made it plain that the essential feature in the dream work is the transformation of thoughts into hallucinatory experi

ence. It is puzzlin, enough to see how this process is accompli ed, b t th s is a pro em for general psychology and we have n to deal

understood how to i erpret them, bu from the outset we expected to be able to brin our ideas abo t them into li with our views on inf tile dream. This expectation was for the first tim fulfilled when we recognized that all dreams are really children s dreams that they make use of infantile material and are charac

dreams also.

We have just subjected a series of dreams to in erpretation, but wit out taking the question of wi h fu men in o consideration all. I feel certa n t at w e w were talking about them, t e ques on repea edly f rced tself upon you What has becom of th wi h-fulfilment which is supposed to be the object of the dream work Now t s ques on is importa t, for is t e on which our lay critics e con sta t a As you know ma kin has an instinctive a tipathy to in ellectual novelties on of t ways in wh h th s s ows elf is that any such nove y is immediat ly reduced to ts very smallest compass and if possible embodied in som ca ch word. *Wish fulfilment* has be com the catch-word fo the new theory of dreams Directly they hear that dreams are said to be wish-fulfilments the la ty ks Where does the wi h-fulfilment com in? and their a king th quest on amoun s t a repudia tion f t idea. They can immediat l think f ountless dreams of the r own which were accompanied by feeling so unpleasant as ometim s t reach the point of agonizing dread and so this statement f the psycho-a alytical theory f dreams appears t them highly im probable It is easy to reply that in distorted dreams the wish f ilment is t openly ex pressed but has to be looked for so that t ca ot be own until the dreams ha e been interpreted. W know too tha the wi hes un derlying t ese dist rted dreams re those which are prohib ted and rejected by the censorship, and that i is just thei ex ence w h is the cause of distortion a d t e motive for the in tervention of the censorship But it is difficult to make the lay cri c understa d that we must not a k about the wi h-fulfilment in a dream before it has been interpre ed he always for gets this His reluct nce to accept the theory of wi h fulfilment is really no hing but the e ect of the dream-censorship causi g him to re pl ce the real though by a substi ute, and fol lowi g from his repudiation of these censored dream wi hes.

Of course we oursel es must feel the need to explain why so many dreams are painful in con ent a d in particular we h ll wan to kn w how we come to have *anxiety-d e ms* Here for the first time we are confronted with the problem of the affects in dreams a problem which deserves special study but one which we can ot concern ourselves with just now unf rtunat ly If the dream is wish fulfil men t ould be impossible for ny painful emotions to come i o it on this point the l y critics seem to be righ But th matter is com pl ca ed by three considerations which they have overlooked.

First, t may happen tha the dream work is not wholly successful in creating a wi h fulfil ment, so that part of the painful fee ing in the latent thoughts is carried over into the mani fest dream Analysis would then have to how that these thou hts were a great deal more painful than th dream which is formed from them th s much can be proved in every in stance. We admit then tha the dream work has failed in i s purpose, just as a dream of drink ing excited by the stimulus of thirs fails to quench tha thirst. One is still thirsty after i and has to wake up a d drink. Neverthele s it is a proper dream it has renounced nothing of i s essential n ture We must say "*Ut desint vires t men e t l u d vo a ur as*" The clearly recognizab intention remains a praiseworthy one, at any ra e. S ch instances of f ilure in the work re by no mea s rare and one reason is that is so much more difficult for the dream-work t produce the required change in t nature of the affect than to modify the con tent fects are often very i tractable. So t happens ha in the process of the dream work the painful *con ert* of th dream-thoughts is tran ormed in a wi h fu lmen whi e the painful *a ect* persists unchanged. When th s occurs the affect is qu t out of harmony with the content, w ich gives our critics th oppor

The will is commenda le, though the a ty may be wanting.

tunity of remarking that the dream is so far from being a wish fulfilment that even a harmless content may be accompanied in it by painful feelings Our answer to this rather unintelligent comment will be that it is just in dreams of this sort that the wish fulfilling tendency of the dream work is most apparent because it is there seen in isolation The mistake in this criticism arises because people who are not familiar with the neuroses imagine a more intimate connection between content and affect than actually exists and so cannot understand that there may be an alteration in the content while the accompanying affect remains unchanged

A second consideration much more important and far reaching but equally overlooked by the laity is the following A wish fulfilment must certainly bring some pleasure but we go on to ask To whom? Of course to the person who has the wish But we know that the attitude of the dreamer towards his wishes is a peculiar one he rejects them censors them in short he will have none of them Their fulfilment then can afford him no pleasure rather the opposite and here experience shows that this *opposite* which has still to be explained takes the form of *anxiety* The dreamer where his wishes are concerned is like two separate people closely linked together by some important thing in common Instead of enlarging upon this I will remind you of a well known fairy tale in which you will see these relationships repeated A good fairy promised a poor man and his wife to fulfil their first three wishes They were delighted and made up their minds to choose the wishes carefully But the woman was tempted by the smell of some sausages being cooked in the next cotta e and wished for two like them Lo! and behold there they were—and the first wish was fulfilled With that the man lost his temper and in his resentment wished that the sausages might hang on the tip of his wife s nose This also came to pass and the sausages could not be removed from their position so the second wish was fulfilled but it was the man s wish and its fulfilment was most unpleasant for the woman You know the rest of the story as they were after all man and wife the third wish had to be that the sausages should come off the end of the woman s nose We might make use of this fairy tale many times over in other contexts but here it need only serve to illustrate the fact that it is possible for the fulfilment of one person s wish to be very disagreeable to someone else unless the two people are entirely at one

It will not be difficult now to arrive at a still better understanding of anxiety-dreams There is just one more observation to be made use of and then we may adopt an hypothesis which is supported by several considerations The observation is that anxiety dreams often have a content in which there is no distortion it has so to speak escaped the censorship This type of dream is frequently an undisguised wish fulfilment the wish being of course not one which the dreamer would accept but one which he has rejected anxiety has developed in place of the working of the censorship Whereas the infantile dream is an open fulfilment of a wish admitted by the dreamer and the ordinary distorted dream is the disguised fulfilment of a repressed wish the formula for the anxiety dream is that it is the open fulfilment of a repressed wish Anxiety is an indication that the repressed wish has proved too strong for the censorship and has accomplished or was about to accomplish its fulfilment in spite of it We can understand that fulfilment of a repressed wish can only be for us who are on the side of the censorship an occasion for painful emotions and for setting up a defence. The anxiety then manifested in our dreams is if you like to put it so anxiety experienced because of the stren th of wishes which at other times we manage to stifle The study of dreams alone does not reveal to us why this defence takes the form of anxiety obviously we must consider the latter in other connections

The hypothesis which holds good for anxiety dreams without any distortion may be adopted also for those which have undergone some degree of distortion and for other kinds of unpleasant dreams in which the accompanying unpleasant feelings probably approximate to anxiety Anxiety dreams generally wake us we usually break off our sleep before the repressed wish behind the dream overcomes the censorship and reaches complete fulfilment. In such a case the dream has failed to achieve its purpose but its essential character is not thereby altered We have compared the dream with a night watchman a guardian of sleep whose purpose it is to protect sleep from interruption Now night watchmen also just like dreams have to rouse sleepers when they are not strong enough to ward off the cause of disturbance or danger alone Nevertheless we do sometimes succeed in continuing to sleep even when our dreams begin to give us some uneasiness and

to turn to anxiety We say to ourselves in leep It is only a dream fter all and go on sleeping.

Yo may a k *when* it happens that the dream wish is able to o rcome the c sorship This may depend ther n the wish or on the cen orship it may be that f r unknown rea ons th trength of the wi h at times becomes excessi e but our impres n is that it s more ften th ttitude of the cen orship which is responsible fo this hifting in the balance of power We ha e already heard that the cen r ship works with arying intens ty in each in di idual instance t eating the diffe ent ele ments with diffe ent degrees of strictnes now w may add that t s ery ariable in its gen eral beha ou and does not show tself lways equally severe towards the sam elem nt If then t chan es that th cens rship feels itself f r once pow less gainst som dream wish which thre tens t overflow it t then instead of making use of distort on emplo s the last weapo left to t and destroys sleep by bringing bout an ac es of anxi ty

At this point t strikes us that we till hav idea why these evil, rej cted wishes rise up just t night time s as to disturb us when w sleep Th answe can hardly be found ex cept in an the h pothesis which goes back to the nature f sleep t elf During the day the h y pressur of a censorship is ex ct ed upon thes wishes and rul t imposs ble for th m to make th msel es f lt t all. But in the n ght t is probabl that this cens rship lik ll th other terests f mental lif i sus pended o t lea t ery much weake ed, in fa our of the ingl des e for leep So it is due t this partial abrogat on of the censorship at night that the fo b dden wishes can gain be om cti Th nervous people s ffering from insomnia who c f ss that th ir leepless ess was volunt ry in the first insta ce for they did not dare to go t leep beca se they were fraid f th dreams—that is t say the feared th consequence f th d min hed igilan f the en rship Yo will ha e o difficulty in und rst din that this curta lment f th ensorship does t argu y flagrant carelessness leep impa rs our mot fun tions even f our ev l tentions do begin t ti with us the tmost they can do is t pro d ce dream whi h is f all pract cal pur poses harmless and it is this comfortin cir cumsta ce whi h gi es rise to the leepe s rem k, mad t true in the night b t yet not part f his d eam l f It is only dream. So we let it ha e its way and continue to sleep

Thirdly f you call to mind our idea that the dreamer stri ing agai st his own wi hes is like combination of two persons eparate and yet som how intimat ly united, you will be able to und rstand another poss ble way in which something that is highly unpleasant may be brought about through wish fulfilment I am speakin of punishment. Here a a n the fairy tale of the three wishes may help to make things clear The usages on the plate were the d ect fulfilment of the first person s (the woman s) wish the sausages on the t p of her nos w e the fulfilment of the econd person s (the husband s) wi h but at the same time they w re the puni hment for the fool h wi h f th wif In th euroses we hall meet with rd re the

mental life of man they are t i and w may well regard them as respon ble for some of ou painful dreams. N w you will pr bably think that with all this there is ery little f the famous wish fulfilment left but on closer co sideratio you will admit that you are wr n In comparison with the manifold pos ibilit es (t be discussed lat r) of wh t dreams m ght be—ac ording t som writers, what they actually re—the solutio wi h fulfilm t anxiety fulfilm t puni hme t ful filment s surely quite n rrow o e Add to this that anxiety is the direct opposite of a wish and that opposites lie ery nea o e an w h e learned

On the whole then, I ha e made n conces s on to you obj ctio to the wish fulfilment theory w are bound however to demon trate its pre en in a y and every di torted dream and we ha e certainly no desir to sh k this task. Let us g b ck to th dream we ha lready interpreted, bout the three bad thea tickets f on florin d a half from wh h we ha already learnt a good deal. I hope you still remembe it A lady who e husband t ld h r day bout the engagement of he friend Eli wh w s only three month youn e than h rs lf dreamt on th following n ght th t he and h husba d wer at th theat and that o e s de of th stall was alm t empty H husband told he that Elis and her fiancé h d wanted t g t th theatr too b t l not, because they could only get uch bad seats

three tickets for a florin and a half His wife said that they had not lost much by it We discovered that the dream thoughts had to do with her vexation at having been in such a hurry to marry and her dissatisfaction with her husband We may well be curious how these gloomy thoughts can have been transformed into a wish fulfilment and what trace of it can be found in the manifest content Now we know already that the element *too soon too great a hurry* was eliminated by the censorship the empty stalls are an allusion to this element The puzzling phrase *three for one florin and a half* is now more comprehensible to us than at first through the knowledge of symbolism that we have acquired since then The number *three* really stands for a man and we can easily translate the manifest element to mean *to buy a man* (husband) *with the dowry* (I could have bought one ten times better for my dowry) *Going to the theatre* obviously stands for marriage *Getting the tickets too soon* is in fact a direct substitute for *marrying too soon* Now this substitution is the work of the wish fulfilment The dreamer had not always felt so dissatisfied with her premature marriage as she was on the day when she heard of her friend s engagement She had been proud of her marriage at the time and considered herself more highly favoured than her friend One hears that naive girls on becoming engaged frequently express their delight at the idea that they will now soon be able to go to all plays and see everything hitherto forbidden them

The indication of curiosity and a desire to look on evinced here comes without doubt originally from the sexual *ga ing impulse* especially regarding the parents and this became a strong motive impelling the girl to marry early in this manner going to the theatre became an obvious allusive substitute for getting married In her vexation at the present time on account of her premature marriage she therefore reverted to the time when this same marriage fulfilled a wish by gratifying her *skoptophilia* and so guided by this old wish impulse she replaced the idea of marriage by that of going to the theatre

We may say that the example we have chosen to demonstrate a hidden wish fulfilment is not the most convenient one but in all other distorted dreams we should have to proceed in a manner analogous to that employed above It is not possible for me to do this here and now so I will merely express my conviction that such procedure will invariably meet with success. But I wi h to dwell longer upon this point in our theory experience has taught me that it is one of the most perilous of the whole theory of dreams exposed to many contradictions and misunderstandings Besides you are perhaps still under the impression that I have already retracted part of my statement by saying that the dream may be either a wish fulfilment or its opposite an anxiety or a punishment brought to actuality and you may think this a good opportunity to force me to make further reservations Also I have been reproached with presenting facts that seem obvious to myself in a manner too condensed to carry conviction

When anyone has gone as far as this in dream interpretation and has accepted all our conclusions up to this point it often happens that he comes to a standstill at this question of wish fulfilment and asks Admitting that every dream means omething and that this meaning may be discovered by employing the technique of psycho analysis why must it always in face of all the evidence to the contrary be forced into the formula of wish fulfilment? Why must our thoughts at night be any less many sided than our thoughts by day so that at one time a dream might be a fulfilment of some wish at another time as you say yourself the opposite the actualization of a dread or again the expression of a resolution a warning a weighing of some problem with its pros and cons or a reproof some prick of conscience or an attempt to prepare one elf for something which has to be done—and so forth? Why this perpetual insistence upon a wish or at the most its opposite?

It might be supposed that a difference of opinion on this point is a matter of no great moment if there is agreement on all others Cannot we be satisfied with having d scovered the meaning of dreams and the ways by which we can find out the meaning? We surely go back on the advance we have made if we try to limit this meaning too strictly But this is not so A misunderstanding on this head touches what is es ential to our knowled e of dreams and imperil its value for the understandin of neuro es Moreover that readiness to *oblige the otle party* which has its value in business life is not only out of place but actually harmful in scientific matters

My first answer to the question why dreams

A th i terp etat f th mbe *th* o r g the d e m f th h ldles w m l ry cl e b t I w ll n t m t it b be th analys s d d not f m h a y mat al ll st t it.

should not be manv s d d in their meani..g is the usual o e in such a case I d n t know why they should n t be so and sh uld have no object o if they were As f r as I am con c rned they can be so! But there is just one tri..ng obstacle in the way of this wid r and more co venient co ception of dreams—that as a matter of fact they are not so My second answer w uld emphasize the point that to as sum that dreams represe t man fold modes f tho g t and intellectual operations is by no means a novel dea to mys lf once in the history of pathol gical case I recorded a dream which occurred three n ghts running and never agun and ga e it as my xplanation that this dream corresponded to a res lut on the repeti tio of which became unnecessary as soon as that resolutio was carried out Later on I published a dre..m which epresented a confes si How is t pos ble f r me then t c n tradict myself and assert that dreams are al ways and only wish f lfilme ts

I d t rather than permit a tup d misund r standing whi h m ght cost us the fruit of all our labours on the subject of dreams a misund rstanding that *conf unds the d e m with the l..ent d e m thought* nd makes state ments with regard t th f rmer whi h are p plica l to the *latter nd to the latter only* For t is perf ctly true that dreams can represent and be themselves replaced by all th modes of th ght just enum rated resolutions warn ings, reflect ons preparati ns o attempts to solve some problem r gard t cond ct, and so on But when you *look closely* you will rec ognize that all this i true only of th la..ent thou hts whi h have been transform d into the dream. Y u l arn from interpretations f dreams that the unco scious though processes f ma kind re cup ed with such resolutions, preparations and reflectio s out f which dreams re formed by means f the dream work If your int rest t any given moment is *t o m ch in the dream w rk*, but centres on the unconscious thought processes in peopl you will then eliminate the dream f rmation and say f dream themselves what is for all practical purposes correct, that th y represent warning a resol e, and This is what is f en d ne in psycho analytic w rk gen rally w endeavour simply to demolish the manifest form f dreams and to substit f r t the co responding latent thoughts in whi h th dream originated.

Thus it is that we learn quite incidentally f om our attempt t assess the latent dream thoughts that all the h ghly complicated mental acts we ha e enumerated can be perform d un consciously—a *conclusion* surely as tremen dous as t is bewildering

B t to go back a little you are quite right in speaking of *dreams* as *representing* these various modes of thought, provided that you are quite clear *in you own* minds that you are u ing an abbreviated form of expres on and do not imagine that the manifold variety of which you speak is in its lf part of the essential nature f *dreams* When you speak of *a dream* you must mean ther the *man fest* dream i e. the prod ct of the dream work, or at most that work tself i.e., the mental process wh ch forms the latent dream thoughts into the manifest dream. To use the word in any other sense is *a confus on of ideas* which is bound to be mi ch evous If what you say s meant to apply to th latent thoughts behind the dream then say so plainly and do not add to the obscurity of the problem by your loose way of expressing yoursel es The late t dream thou hts are the material which is tran formed by th dream work into the manifest dream What makes you con tantly confound the material with the process wh ch deals with t? If you do that in what way are you *superior* to those who know of the final prod ct only witho t being ble to explain where it comes from or how t is con structed?

The only thing esse t al to the dream itself is the dream wo k which has operated upon the thought material a d when we come to theory we ha e no ri ht to disrega d this even f in certain practical situations t m y be neglected Furth analytic observation hows that the dream work never con..ists merely in tran..lat

day tim b t which is th actual m t force in dream form ti this indispensable c m po t being the equally unconsci us *wi h to* fulfil wh ch the cont nt of th d eam is trans f rmed In so f then a you are considering o ly the thought represe t d in t the dream may be any conc able thin —a warnin a resol e a preparation and so on but be. des this t tself is always th fulfilment of an un co cious wi h a d, when you regard t as the result of the d eam wo k, t s this al A dream then i ever simply th expres on of a resol e r warning and n thing more in it the resolve or whatever it may be is trans-

lated into the archaic form with the assistance of an unconscious wish and metamorpho ed in such a way as to be a fulfilment of that wish This single characteristic that of fulfilling a wish is the constant one the other component varies it may indeed itself be a wish in which event the dream represents the fulfilment of a latent wish from our waking hours brou ht about by the aid of an unconscious wish

Now all this is quite clear to myself but I do not know whether I have succeeded in making it equally clear to you and it is difficult to prove it to you for on the one hand proof requires the evidence afforded by a careful analysis of many dreams and on the other hand this the crucial and most important point in our conception of dreams cannot be presented convincingly without reference to considerations upon which we have not yet touched Seeing how closely linked up all phenomena are you can hardly imagine that we can penetrate very far into the nature of any one of them without troubling ourselves about others of a similar nature Since as yet we know nothing about those phenomena which are so nearly akin to dreams—neurotic symptoms—we must once more content ourselves with what we actually have achieved I will merely give you the explanation of one more example and adduce a new consideration

Let us take once more that dream to which we have already reverted several times the one about the three theatre tickets for one florin and a half I can assure you that I had no ulterior motive in selecting it in the first instance for an illustration You know what the latent thoughts were the vexation after hearing that her friend had only just become engaged that she herself should have married so hastily depreciation of her husband and the idea that she could have found a better one if only she had waited We also know already that the wish which made a dream out of these thoughts was the desire to *look on* to be able to go to the theatre—very probably an offshoot of an old curiosity to find out at last what really does happen after marriage It is well known that in children this curiosity is regularly directed towards the sexual life of the parents that is to say it is an infantile impulse and wherever it persists later in life it has its roots in the infantile period But the news received on the day previous to the dream gave no occasion for the awakening of this skoptophilia it only roused vexation and regret This wish impulse (of skoptophilia) was not at first connected with the latent thoughts, and the results of the dream interpretation could have been used by the analysis without taking it into consideration at all. But again the vexation was not in itself capable of producing a dream no dream could be formed out of the thought It was folly to be in such a hurry to marry until that thou ht had stirred up the early wish to see at last what happened after marriage Then this wish formed the dream content substituting for marria e the going to the theatre and the form was that of the fulfilment of the earlier wish Now I may go to the theatre and look at all that we have never been allowed to see and you may not I am married and you have got to wait. In this way the actual situation was transformed into its opposite and an old triumph substituted for the recent discomfiture and incidentally satisfaction both of a *ga ing* impulse and of one of egoistic rivalry was brou ht about It is this latter satisfaction which determines the manifest content of the dream for in it she is actually sitting in the theatre while her friend cannot get in Those portions of the dream content behind which the latent thoughts still conceal themselves are to be found in the form of inappropriate and incomprehensible modifications of the gratifying situation The business of *interpretation* is to put aside tho e features in the whole which merely represent a wish fulfilment and to reconstruct the painful latent dream thou hts from these indications

The consideration which I said I wished to call to your notice is intended to direct your attention to these latent dream thoughts now brou ht into prominence I must beg you not to forget that first the dreamer is unconscious of them secondly that they are quite reasonable and coherent so that we can understand them as comprehensible reactions to whatever stimulus has given rise to the dream and thirdly that they may have the value of any mental impulse or intellectual operation I will designate these thou hts more strictly now than hitherto as *the residue from the previous day* the dreamer may acknowledge them or not. I then distinguish between this *residue* and *latent d eam thoughts* so that as w h [illegible] been ac [illegible] hing [illegible] the [illegible] *the* [illegible] *e pre ous day* is only a part of the latent dream thoughts Then our conception of what happens is this something has

been added to the residu from the previous da something which also belongs to the un consci us, strong b t repressed wish impulse and it is this alone which makes the formation f a dream possible. The wish-impulse acting upon the r sid e crea e the other part of the la ent dream-thou ts that part which no longer need appear rational or comprehensible from the point of view of our waking life

T illustrate the relation between the resi due and the unconscious wi h I ha e elsewhere made use of a comparison which I cannot d be ter than repeat here Every business under taking requires a capitalist to defray the ex penses and an en repreneur who has th idea and understands how to carry it out. Now the part f the capitalist in dream formation i al ways and only pla ed by the unconscious wish r supp es the necessary fund of mental energy f t the entrepreneur is th residue from the pre ous day determining the manner f the expenditure. It is, f c urse, quite possib e f *the capitalist himself to ha e the dea and* the special know edge eeded, or for th entre-preneur himself to ha e cap tal. This simplifies the practical situation but makes the theory of it m re difficult. In economics we discriminate between the man in his function of capitalist and the same man in his capacity as entrepre neur and thi distinction restores the funda mental situati upo which our mparison is based. The same ariations are to be f und in the formation f dreams I leave you to follow them out for ourselves

W cannot go an further t this point for I think t likel that a dist b g though has long since occurred t u and t deserves a hearing You may a k Is the so-called *sidue* really unconscious in the sense in which the wish ecessary fo the formation of the dream is unconscious Your suspicion is justified this is the salient point in the whol matter They are not both unc nscious in the same sense. The dream wish belongs to a different type of unco scious which as we ha e seen, has its roots in the infantile period and is fur nished with special mechanisms It is very expedient t di tinguish the two types f *un onscious* from one another by speaking of them in different terms B t, all the sam we will rather wait until we ha e f miliarized our selves with the phen mena f the neuroses If o conception f th xistence of any kind of unconscious be lread regarded as fantast c, what will people say f w dmit that t reach our solution we ha e had t assume tw kinds?

Let us break on at this point. Once more you ha e heard only an incomplete tatement but is it not a hopeful thou ht that this knowledge will be carried further either by ourselves or by those w o come after us? And have not we *ourselves* learnt enough that is new and tartling?

FIFTEENTH LECTURE

DOUBTFUL POINTS A D CRITICAL OBSERVATIO S

WE will not lea e the ubject of dreams with out dealing with the most *common* doubts and uncertainties arising in connection with the novel ideas and conceptions we have been discussin those of you who have followed these lectures attentively will have collected some ma erial of the kind.

1 You may ha e recei ed an impression that even with strict dh rence *to technique our* work f dream interpretation leaves so much room for uncertainty that reliable translation f manifest dreams into their latent dream *thou h s will be thereby frustrated. You will* urge first that ne never knows whether any particular el ment in a dream s to be under stood *literally o symbolically* ince things employed as symbols do not thereby cease to be themselves Where there is no objective ev dence t decid the question the int rpreta t on on that particular point will be left to be arb trarily determined by the interprete Fur th since in the dream wo k opposites coincid it is in every instance uncertain whethe a specific dream-element i to be unders ood in positive or a negative sense as itself or as its opposite—anoth r opportuni ty for the in rpreter to exercise a cho ce Thirdly on count of the frequency with whi h in ers on f every kind is employed in dreams it is open to him to assum whenever he chooses that such an inversion has taken place Finally ou will point to having heard that one is seldom certain that th interpre tation arrived at is the only pos ib e one and that there is danger f *overlookin* another perfectly admissibl int rpretation of the same dream. In these circumstances you will con lud the discretion of th interprete has a la t de that eems incompatible with any ob-jective certainty in the result. Or you may also assume that the fault does not lie in dreams themselves but that something erroneous in ur conceptions and premises produces the un satisfactory character f our interpretations.

All that you say is undeniable and yet I do not think it justifies either of your conclusions that dream interpretation as practised by us is at the mercy of the interpreter s arbitrary decisions or that the inadequacy of the results calls in question the correctness of our procedure If for the *arbitrary decision* of the interpreter you will substitute his skill his experience and his understanding then I am with you This kind of personal factor is of course indispensable especially when interpretation is difficult it is just the same in other scientific work however it can t be helped that one man will u e any given technique less well or apply it better than another The impression of arbitrariness made for example by the interpretation of symbols is corrected by the reflection that as a rule the connection of the dream thoughts with one another and of the dream with the life of the dreamer and the whole mental situation at the time of the dream points directly to one of all the possible interpretations and renders all the rest useless The conclusion that the imperfect character of the interpretations proceeds from fallacious hypotheses loses its force when consideration shows that on the contrary the ambiguity or indefiniteness of dreams is a quality which we should necessarily expect in them

Let us call to mind our statement that the dream work undertakes a translation of the dream thoughts into a primitive mode of expression analogous to hieroglyphics Now all such primitive systems of expression are nec es arily acompanied by ambiguity and indefiniteness but we should not on that account be justified in doubting their practicability You know that the coincidence of opposites in the dream work is analogous to what is called the antithetical sense of primal words in the oldest languages The philologist R Abel to whom we owe this information writing in 1884 begs us not on any account to imagine that there was any ambiguity in what one person said to another by means of ambivalent words of this sort On the contrary intonation gestures and the whole context can have left no doubt what ever which of the two opposites the speaker had in mind to convey In writing where gestures are absent the addition of little pictorial signs not meant to receive separate oral ex pre sion replaced them e g a drawing of a little man either crouching or standing upright according as the ambiguous *ken* of the hieroglyphic meant *weak* or *strong* So that misunderstanding was avoided in spite of th ambiguity of sounds and signs

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which of the ten possible meanings of the syllable the speaker wishes to convey to the hearer. Amongst these devices is the combining of two sounds into a single word and the use of four different "tones" in which these syllables may be spoken. For purposes of our comparison a still more interesting fact is that this language is practically without grammar; it is impossible to say of any of the one-syllable words whether it is a noun, a verb or an adjective, and, further there are no inflections to show gender, number, case, tense or mood. The language consists, as we may say, of the raw material only, just as our thought-language is resolved into its raw material by the dream-work omitting to express the relations in it. Wherever there is any uncertainty in Chinese the decision is left to the intelligence of the listener, who is guided by the context. I made a note of a Chinese saying which literally translated runs thus: "Little what see much what wonderful." This is simple enough to understand. It may mean "The less a man has seen, the more he finds to wonder at," or "There is much to wonder at for the man who has seen little." Naturally there is no occasion to choose between these two translations which differ only in grammatical construction. We are assured that, in spite of these uncertainties, the Chinese language is a quite exceptionally good medium of expression; so it is clear that indefiniteness does not necessarily lead to ambiguity.

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Practice and experience alone can determine the extent to which dreams can in actual fact be understood. My own opinion is that this is possible to a very great extent, and a comparison of the results obtained by properly trained analysts confirms my view. It is well known that the lay public, even in scientific circles, delights to make a parade of superior scepticism in the face of the difficulties and uncertainties which beset a scientific achievement. I think they are wrong in so doing. You may possibly not all know that the same thing happened at the time when the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions were being deciphered. There was a point at which public opinion was active in declaring that the men deciphering the cuneiform writings were victims of a chimera and that the whole business of investigation was a fraud. But in the year 1857 the Royal Asiatic Society made a conclusive test. They challenged four of the most distinguished men engaged in this branch of research—Rawlinson, Hincks, Fox Talbot and Oppert—to send to the Society in sealed envelopes independent translations of a newly discovered inscription, and, after comparing the four versions, they were able to announce that there was sufficient agreement between the four to justify belief in what had been achieved and confidence in further progress. The mockery of the learned laity then gradually came to an end, and certainty in the reading of cuneiform documents has advanced enormously since then.

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instantly volunteered the nterpretation it mean *auto-erotism* (a term used in ou theory of the lib d signifying grat ficat on obtained w hout any ext rnal love-object) Now was this man allowin himself j k at our expense and pretendin that a pun which occurred to him was part f a dream I do not think so h really did dream t But where does this bewild ring resemblanc between dreams and jokes com from? At one time this quest o took me somewhat out of my way for it necessitated my making a thorough est gation into the question of wit i self This led to the conclusion that wit rminates as follows a preconscious train of thou t is for a moment left to a proces of unconsc ous elaboration, from which t emerges in the form of a wit ticism. While under the influenc f the un con scious t is subject to the mechanisms there operati e—to cond nsation and displac ment that is to sav to the same processes as we found at work in the dream work and the similarity som times found between dreams and wit is t be ascribed t this character common to both. But the unin entional *d eam j ke* does not amuse us as does an ordinary witticism deeper tudy of wit ma how you why this is so The *dream jok* strikes us as a poo form f wit t does not make us laugh, it lea es us cold.

Now in this we are f llowing the path f the ancient method of dream int rpretation, which has given us bes des m ch that s use less many valuable examp e of interpret tio upon which we ours l es ould not improve. I will tell you a dream f historic importance which is rel ted in lightly d erent ersions by Plutarch and Artemidorus of Daldis, the dreamer being Alexander the Great. When he was laying siege to the city of Tyre which was putting up an obstinate resistan (c. 3) he dreamt on night that h saw a dancing sat r Th dream in erpreter Aristand os wh companied the arm o s campaigns in er preted this dream by dividing the w rd *sa-tyro* int Σ T pos (Tyre is thine) d prophesied f m this the king s ct ry over the city This t rpretation d cided Alexand t continue the ege and eventually th city f ll. The int rpretation, f titious as t seems wa un do btedly the right on

3 I can w ll imagin that you will be especially impressed on bein t ld that even peopl wh ha e l g tudied th interpret tion of dreams in the course f their w rk as psycho-analysts ha e raised objections to our conception of dreams It would i deed have been exceptional if so excel ent an opportunity for new mistakes had been let slip and o assert ons ha e been made due to confus on of ideas and based on unju t fia le generaliza tions which are hardly less incorrect than the medical conception of dreams One of these statements you know already that dreams deal with attempts at adaptation to the s tua tion at the m ment and with the solu ion of future problems in other words that they pursue a prospective tendency or aim (A. Maeder) We ha e already demon trated that this tat ment rests upon a confu on between dreams and the latent dream thoughts and ignores the process of dream w k. If those who peak f this "prospective tendency mean thereby to characterize the uncon cious mental activity to which the latent thoughts belong then on the one hand, they tell us nothi g new and, on the other ha d, the de scription is not exhaustive f r the unconscious mental acti ity occupies tself with many other things besides preparat on for the f ure There seems to be a much worse confusion behind the assura ce that the *death clause* may be found underlying every dream I am not quite clear what this formula is intended to mean, but I suspect that behind t the dream is con founded with the whole personal ty of the dreame

An unjustinable general zat on based on a few striking examples is contained in the stat ment that every dream d ts of two kinds f in erpretati on of the kind we ha e described the o-called *psycho-analytic* inte pretation, and the other the o-called *an gogic* which d regards the instinctual tendencies a d aims at representation of the higher mental functions (H Silbere) there are dreams of thi ki d but you will seek in vain to exte d this conception to include even a maj rity of dream Afte all you ha e heard, the tatement that all dreams are t be int rpreted bisexuall as combinat n of two t ndencies whi h may be called male and female (A Adler) will seem to y qui in mprehen ble. Here again in le dreams of this s rt do of course occu and later on you may learn that their stru t re is simila to that f certain hysterical sympt ms. I mention all these discoveries of ew ge ral haracteri tics f dreams in orde to warn yo against them or t lea t to lea you in no d bt bout my own opini n o them

4. At one time the obj ct e value of researc

of One who judges calmly I am much more inclined to think this calm factitious Let us examine the e remarks more closely in the expectation that a certain amount of reflection and knowledge of the subject will do no harm even to a calm judgment

It is really quite refreshing to see how swiftly and unerringly anyone relying merely on his first impressions can arrive at an opinion on some critical question of psychology in its more abstru e aspects The interpretations seem to him far fetched and strained and do not commend themselves to him consequently they are wrong and the whole business is rubbish Such critics never give even a passing thou ht to the possibility that there may be good reasons why the interpretations are bound to convey this very impression—a thought which would lead to the further question what these good reasons are

The circumstance which calls forth this criticism is essentially related to the effect of displacement which you h

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ornations which we call allusions are created but these allusions are of a kind not easy to recognize as such nor is it easy to discover the thought proper by working back from them for they are connected with it by the most extraordinary and unusual extrinsic associations But the whole matter throu hout concerns things which are meant to be hidden intended to be concealed that is exactly the object of the dream censorship We must not expect though to find somethin that has been hidden by looking in the very place where it ordinarily belongs The frontier surveillance authorities nowadays are a good deal more cunning in this respect than the Swiss school authorities for they are not content with ex amining portfolios and letter cases when hunt ing for documents and plans but consider the po sibility that spies and smugglers may con ceal anything compromisin about their per sons in places where it is most difficult to detect and where such things certainly do not belong for example between the double soles of their boots If the concealed articles are found there it is certainly true that they have been *dragged* to light but they are none the less a very good *find*

In admitting the possibility that the connec tion between a latent dream element and its manifest substitute may appear most remote and extraordinary sometimes even comical or joking we are guided by our wide experience of instances in which we did not as a rule find the meaning ourselves It is often impossible to arrive at such interpretations by our own efforts no sane person could guess the bridge connecting the two The dreamer either solves the riddle straightaway by a direct association (*he* can do it becau e it is in his mind that the substitute formation originated) or else he provides so much material that there is no longer any need for special penetration in order to solve it—the solution thrusts itself upon us as inevitable If the dreamer does not help us in either of these two ways the manife t element in question will remain for ever in comprehensible Let me give you one more instance of this kind which happened recently A patient of mine lost her father durin the course of the treatment after which she seized every opportunity to bring him back to life in her dreams In one of these her father appeared in a certain connection otherwise not applicable and said *It is quarter past eleven it is half past eleven it is quarter to twelve* For the interpretation of this curious detail she could only provide the as ociation that her father was pleased when his older children were punctual at the midday meal This certainly fitted in with the dream-element but it threw no light on its origin The situation which had just been reached in the treatment gave good grounds for the suspicion that a carefully sup pressed critical anta onism to her much loved and honoured father had played a part in this dream Following out her further association apparently quite remote from the dream she told how she had heard a long discussion of psychological questions on the day before and a relative had said Primitive man (*Urmensch*) survives in all of us Now a light dawns on us Here was again a splendid opportunity for her to imagine that her dead father survived and so in the dream she made him a clock man (*Uhrmensch*) tellin the quarters up to the time of the midday meal

The likeness to a pun in this cannot be ignored and as a matter of fact it has often happened that a dreamer s pun has been as cribed to the interpreter there are yet other examples in which it is not at all easy to decide whether we are dealing with a joke or a dream But you will remember that the same sort of doubt arose with some slips of the tongue A man related as a dream that he and his uncle were sitting in the latter s *auto* (automobile) and his uncle kissed him The dreamer himself

PART III GENERAL THEORY OF NEUROSES

SIXTEENTH LECTURE

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND PSYCHIATRY

It pleases me greatly to see you here again to continue our discussions after a year has passed. Last year the subject of my lectures was the application of psycho-analysis to errors and to dreams. I hope this year to lead you to some comprehension of neurotic phenomena which, as you will soon discover, have much in common with both our former subjects. I must tell you before I begin, however, that I cannot concede you the same attitude towards me now as I did last year. Then I endeavoured to make no step without being in agreement with your judgment. I debated a great deal with you, submitted to your objections, in fact, recognized you and your *healthy common sense* as the deciding factor. That is no longer possible, and for a very simple reason. Errors and dreams are phenomena which were familiar to you; one might say you had as much experience of them as I or could easily have obtained it. The manifestations of neurosis, however, are an unknown region to you; those of you who are not yourselves medical men have no access there except through the accounts I give you, and what use is the most excellent judgment where there is no knowledge of the subject under debate?

However, do not receive this announcement as though I were going to give these lectures *ex cathedra* or to demand unconditional acceptance from you. Any such misconception would do me a gross injustice. I do not aim at producing conviction—my aim is to stimulate enquiry and to destroy prejudices. If owing to ignorance of the subject, you are not in a position to adjudicate, then you should neither believe nor reject. You should only listen and allow what I tell you to make its own effect upon you. Convictions are not so easily acquired, or when they are achieved without much trouble, they soon prove worthless and unstable. No one has a right to conviction on these matters who has not worked at the subject for many years as I have and has not himself experienced the same new and astonishing discoveries. Then why these sudden convictions in intellectual matters, lightning conversions and instantaneous repudiations? Do you not see that the *coup de foudre*, love at first sight, proceeds from a very different mental sphere, from the affective one? We do not require even our patients to bring with them any conviction in favour of psycho-analysis or any devotion to it. It would make us suspicious of them. Benevolent scepticism is the attitude in them which we like best. Therefore will you also try to let psycho-analytical conceptions develop quietly in your minds alongside the popular or the psychiatric view until opportunities arise for them to influence each other and be united in a decisive opinion.

On the other hand, you are not for a moment to suppose that the psycho-analytic point of view which I shall lay before you is a speculative system of ideas. On the contrary, it is the result of experience, being founded either on direct observations or on conclusions drawn from observation. Whether these have been drawn in an adequate or a justifiable manner future advances in science will show; after nearly two and a half decades and now that I am fairly well advanced in years I may say without boasting that it was particularly difficult, intense and absorbing work that yielded these observations. I have often had the impression that our opponents were unwilling to consider this source of our statements, as if they looked upon them as ideas derived subjectively which anyone could dispute at his own sweet will. This attitude on the part of my opponents is not quite comprehensible to me. Perhaps it comes from the circumstance that physicians pay so little attention to neurotics and listen so carelessly to what they say that it has become impossible for them to perceive anything in the patients' communications or to make detailed observations from them. I will take this opportunity of assuring you that in these lectures I shall make few controversial references, least of all to individuals. I have never been able to convince myself of the truth of the saying, that strife is the father of all things. I think the source of it was the philosophy of the Greek sophists and that it errs, as does the latter, through the overestimation of dialectics. It seems to me, on the contrary, that scientific controversy so-called is on the whole quite unfruitful, apart from the fact that it is almost always conducted in a highly personal manner. Until a few years

into dreams seemed to be discredited by the fact that patients treated analytically appeared to suit the content of their dreams to the favourite theories of their doctors one class dreaming mainly of sexual impulses and another of impulses for masterv oth t even of servat ple dre u fore there was any such thing as psycho analytic treatment to influence their dreams and that the patients undergoing treatment nowadays also used to dream before they began it The actual fact in this supposedly new observation is soon shown to be self-evident and of no consequence for the theory of dreams The residue from the previous day which gives rise to dreams is a residue from the great interests of waking life If the physician s words and the stimuli which he gives have become of importance to the patient they then enter into whatever constitutes the residue and can act as mental stimuli for dream formation just like other interests of affective value roused on the preceding day which have not subsided they operate in the same way as bodily stimuli which affect the sleeper during sleep Like these other factors inciting dreams the trains of thought roused by the physician can appear in the manifest dream content or be revealed in the latent thoughts We know indeed that dreams can be experimentally produced or to speak more accurately a part of the dream material can be thus introduced into the dream In influencing his patients thus the analyst plays a part no different from that of an experimenter like Mourly Vold who placed in certain positions the limbs of the person upon whom he experimented

We can often influence what a man shall dream *about* but never *what* he will dream for the mechanism of the dream work and the unconscious dream wish are inaccessible to external influence of any sort We realized when we were considering dreams arising out of bodily stimuli that in the reaction to the bodily or mental stimuli brought to bear upon the dreamer the peculiarity and independence of dream life is clearly seen The criticism I have just discussed which tends to cast a doubt upon the objectivity of dream investigation is again an assertion based upon confounding this time confounding dreams with—their material

I wanted to tell you as much as this about the problems of dreams You will guess that I have passed over a great deal and will have discovered for yourselves that my treatment of nearly every point has necessarily been incomplete but this is due to the phenomena of dreams being so closely connected with thos of the neuroses Our plan was to study dreams as an introduction to the study of the neuroses and it was certainly a better one than be inn n the other way about but since dreams prepare us for comprehension of the neuroses so also can a correctly formed estimate of dreams be acquired only after some knowledge of neurotic manifestations has been gained

I do not know how you may think about it but I can assure you that I do not regret having taken up so much of your interest and of the time at our disposal in the consideration of problems connected with dreams I know no other way by which one can so speed

uous work for many months and even years to demonstrate that the symptoms in a case of neurotic illness have a meaning serve a purpose and arise from the patient s experiences in life On the other hand a few hours effort may be enough to show these things in some dream which at first seemed utterly confused and incomprehensible and in this way to confirm all the premises upon which psycho analysis rests—the existence of unconscious mental processes the special mech ms wh

u structure of dreams to that of neurotic symptoms and with that reflect how rapid is the transformation of a dreamer into a wide awake reasonable human be ng we acquire an assurance that the neuroses too dep nd only upon an alteration in the balance of the forces at work in mental life

PART III GENERAL THEORY OF NEUROSES

SIXTEENTH LECTURE

Psycho-Analysis and Psychiatry

It pleases me greatly to see you here again to continue our discussion as after a year has passed. Last year the subject of my lectures was the *application* of psycho-analysis to errors and to dreams. I hope this year to lead you to some comprehension of neurotic phenomena which, as you will soon *discover*, have much in common with both our former subjects. I must tell you before I begin, however, that I cannot concede you the same attitude *towards me* now as I did last year. Then I endeavoured to make no step without being in agreement with your judgment. I debated a great deal with you, submitted to your objections, in fact, recognized you and your *healthy common sense* as the deciding factor. That is no longer possible and for a very simple reason. Errors and dreams are phenomena which were familiar to you; one might say you had as much experience of them as I or could easily have obtained it. The manifestations of neurosis, however, are an unknown region to you; those of you who are not yourselves medical men have no access there except through the accounts I give you, *and of* what use is the most *excellent judgment* where there is no knowledge of the subject under debate?

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On the other hand you are not for a moment to suppose that the psycho-analytic point of view which I shall lay before you is a speculative system of ideas. On the contrary it is the result of experience, being founded either *on direct observations or on conclusions drawn* from observation. Whether these have been drawn in an adequate or a justifiable manner future advances in science will show; after nearly two and a half decades and now that I am fairly well advanced in years I may say without boasting that it was particularly difficult, intense and all-absorbing work that yielded these observations. I have often had the impression that our opponents were unwilling to consider this source of our statements, as if they looked upon them as mere derived subjective ideas which anyone could dispute at his own sweet will. This attitude on the part of my opponents is not quite comprehensible to me. Perhaps it comes from the circumstance that physicians pay so *little attention* to neurotics and listen so carelessly to what they say that it has become impossible for them to perceive anything in the patients' communications or to make detailed observations from them. I will take this opportunity of assuring you that in these lectures I shall make few controversial references, least of all to individuals. I have never been able to convince myself of the truth of the saying that strife is the father of all things. I think the source of it was the philosophy of the Greek sophists and that it errs as does the latter through the overestimation of dialectics. It seems to me on the contrary that scientific controversy so-called on the whole is quite unfruitful, apart from the fact that it almost always conducted in a highly personal manner. Until a few years

ago I could boast that I had only once been engaged in a regular scientific di pute and that with one single investigator Lowenfeld of Munich The end of it was that we became friends and have remained so to this day But I did not repeat the experiment for a very long time because I was not certain that the out come would be the same

Now you will surely judge that a refusal of this kind to discuss matters publicly points to a high degree of inaccessibility to criticism to obstinacy or in the polite colloquialism of the scientific world to *pig headedness* My reply to you would be that should you have arrived at a conviction by means of such hard work you would also thereby derive a certain right to maintain it with some tenacity Further on my own behalf I can say that in the course of my work I have modified my views on im portant points changed them or replaced them by others and have of course in each case published the fact What has been the result of this frankness? Some people have ignored my corrections of myself altogether and still today criticize me in respect of views which no longer mean the same to me Others positively re proach me for these changes and declare me to be unreliable on that account No one who changes his views once or twice deserves to be believed for it is only too likely that he will be mistaken again in his latest assertions but anyone who sticks to anything he has once said or refuses to give way upon it easily enough is obstinate or pig headed is it not so? What is to be done in the face of these self contradic tory criticisms except to remain as one is and behave as seems best to one? This is what I decided to do and I am not deterred from re modelling and improving my theories in ac cordance with later experience I have so far found nothing to alter in my fundamental standpoint and I hope this will never be necessary

So now I have to lay before you the psycho analytic theory of neurotic manifestations For this purpose it will be simplest on account of both the analogy and the contrast to take an example which links up with the phenomena we have already considered I will take a *symp tomatic act* which I see many people commit in my own consulting room The analyst has little to offer to the people who come to a physician s consulting room for half an hour to recount the lifelong misery of their fate His deeper comprehension makes it difficult for him to give as another might the opinion that there is nothing wrong with them and that they had better take a light cour e of hydro therapy One of our colleagues once replied with a shrug when asked how he dealt with consulta tion patients that he fined them so many crowns for wasting the time of the court You will therefore not be surprised to hear that even the busiest psycho analysts are not much sought after for consultations I have had the ordinary door between the waiting room and my consulting room supplemented by another door and covered with felt The reason for this is obvious Now it constantly happens when I admit people from the waiting room that they omit to close these doors leavin even both doors open behind them When I see this hap pen I at once with some stiffness request him or her to go back and make good the omis ion no matter how fine a gentleman he may be or how many hours she has spent on her toilet My action gives the impression of being un called for and pedantic occasionally too I have found myself in the wrong when the person turned out to be one of those who cannot them selves grasp a door handle and are glad when those with them avoid it But in the majority of cases I was right for anyone who behaves in this way and leaves the door of a physician s consulting room open into the waiting room belongs to the rabble and deserves to be re ceived with coldness Now don t allow yourselves to be biased before you have heard the rest This omission on the part of a patient occurs only when he has been waiting alone in the outer room and thus leaves an empty room behind him never when others strangers to him have also been waiting there In the latter case he knows very well that it is to his own interest not to be overheard while he talks to the phy sician and he never ne lects to close both doors carefully

Occuring in this way the patient s omission is neither accidental nor meaningless and not even unimportant for it betrays the visitor s attitude to the physician He belongs to that large class who seek those in high places and wish to be dazzled and intimidated Perhaps he had made enquiries by telephone at what time he would be most likely to gain admit tance and had been expecting to find a crowd of applicants in a queue as if at the grocer s in war time Then he is shown into an empty room wh h [illegible] m [illegible] hc [illegible] ou [illegible] ad been prepared to show him

and so he omits to close the doors between the waiting and the co sulting rooms He intends th to mean Pooh! the e is no one he e and I daresay there won t be however long I stay! H would beha e during the interview in an uncivil and supercil ous manner too if h s presumpt on were not curbed at the outset by a s rp remi der

In the analys s of this little symptomat c ct yo find nothi g that is not already known to you namely the conclus on that it is no a cident but has in it moti e meaning and in t that it bel gs to a mental context

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sciousness of the perso who c mes t o t r not one of the patients who left the two doors open would ha e admitted that he wished t show any depreciation f me by his neglect. Many of them could probably recall a ense of disappo tment o e tering the empty waiti g room but the con ectio between this imp ession and th succeeding symptomatic act cer tainly remained outs de the r c nscio sness.

Now let s pl ce this l ttle analysis of a symptomatic act by the d of an observation made o a patient. I will choo e o e which is fresh in my mem ry and also because it can be described in comparati ely few words. A c rtain amount of detail is indispensable for any such account

A young fficer home on h rt lea e of absen a ked me to t eat hi moth in law who was living in the happ est surroundings and y t was emb tt ri g h own a d her family lives by onsensical d a. I fou d h r a

f ctory She cann t say n gh f her hus band s kindne and ons d rat th rs had been l e marri g thirty years a s ce hen they had eve had a cl d a quarrel or m m t s jealousy H tw h ldren ha e both married well but h husb d sense of dutv k eps him till at w k A year before an incred bl and t her i c mprehens bl thing happe d. She re ed a ymous lett r telling he that he c ll t hu band w s ca rying o an intrigue with a y ung gi l, and be lieved t n th spot—s c then h happ ss has been dest oy d The d tails w more or less as follows she had a housemaid with whom sh d scu sed confidential matters perhaps rather too freely This young woman cherished a positi ely ven mous hatred for another g rl who had succeeded better in life than herself although of no better origin. Instead f go ng into serv ce the other young woman had had a commercial tra ning been taken into the fac tory and owing to vacancies caused by the absence of staff on service in the field had been promoted t a good po t on She lived in the f ctory knew all the gentlemen and was even addressed as Miss The other one who had been left beh d in l fe was only too ready to accuse her former schoolmate of all possible evil. One day our patient and her housema d were d scussing an elderly gentleman who had v s ted the house and of whom it was said that he did not l e with his wife but kept a mistress Why she did not know but she suddenly said I cannot imagine anything more awful than to hear that my hu band had a mistress. Th next day she rece ed by post an anonymous letter in d u sed handwriti g which in formed her of the very thing she had just imagined She concluded—probably correctly—that the letter was the hand work of her malicious housema d for the woman who was named s the mi tress of h r husband was the ery gi l who was the object of this housemaid s hatred Altho gh she at once saw through the pl t and had seen e ough of s ch cowardly accusat ons in he own surroundings to place little credence in them ur patient w s nev r th less prostrated by this letter She became t rribly excited and t nce sent for her husband to overwhelm him with reproaches. The husband laughingly den ed the accusation and d d the best thi g he co ld He sent for the family phys cian (who als attended the f c tory) a d he did his best to calm the unhappy lady The n xt thing they d d was also m st reasonabl Th housema d was dism ssed but not th supposed mistre s From that t me on the pat ent laims to ha e repe tedly b ought herself to a calm ew of th matt r s that she n lo ge bel eves th contents of th let t but t has n e go e very d ep nor lasted very l g It was eno gh to hear the young w man s nam menti d or to meet he in th street for a new attack of s p cion agony and rep oaches to b eak out.

This s the ch cal p t e of th excellent w m c se It d d n t req re much experi e ce of psy hi try to pe e e that in tra t to other neu otics she des ribed h symptoms

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moved her to seek my assistance. Of this infatuation she herself knew nothing or only perhaps very little; in the circumstances of their relationship it was easily possible for it to disguise itself as harmless tenderness on her part. After what we have already learnt it is not difficult to see into the mind of this good woman and excellent mother. Such an infatuation, such a monstrous impossible thing, could not come into her conscious mind; it persisted nevertheless and unconsciously exerted a heavy pressure. Something had to happen, some sort of relief had to be found, and the simplest alleviation lay in that mechanism of displacement which so regularly plays its part in the formation of delusional jealousy. If not merely the old woman that she was were in love with a young man but if only her old husband too were in love with a young mistress, then her torturing conscience would be absolved from the infidelity. The phantasy of her husband's infidelity was thus a cooling balm on her burning wound. Of her own love she never became conscious, but its reflection in the delusion which brought such advantages thus became compulsive, delusional and conscious. All arguments against it could naturally avail nothing, for they were directed only against the reflection, and not against the original to which its strength was due and which lay buried out of reach in the unconscious.

Let us now piece together the results of this short, obstructed psycho-analytic attempt to understand this case. It is assumed of course that the information acquired was correct, a point which I cannot submit to your judgment here. First of all, the delusion is no longer senseless and incomprehensible; it is sensible, logically motivated, and has its place in connection with an affective experience of the patient. Secondly, it has arisen as a necessary reaction to another mental process which has itself been revealed by other indications, and it owes its delusional character, its quality of resisting real and logical objections, to this relation with this other mental process. It is something desired in itself, a kind of consolation. Thirdly, the fact that the delusion is one of jealousy and no other is unmistakably determined by the experience underlying the disease. You will also recognize the two important analogies with the symptomatic act we analysed, namely the discovery of the sense or intention behind the symptom, and the relation of it to something in the given situation which is unconscious.

This does not of course answer all the questions arising out of this case. On the contrary it bristles with further problems, some of which have not yet proved soluble at all, while others cannot be solved owing to the unfavourable circumstances met with in this case. For instance, why does this happily married lady fall in love with her son-in-law, and why does relief come to her in the form of this kind of reflection, this projection of her own state of mind on to her husband, when other forms of relief were also possible? Do not think that it is idle and uncalled for to propound these questions. We have already a good deal of material at hand to provide possible answers. The patient had come to that critical time of life which brings a sudden and unwelcome increase of sexual desire to a woman; that may have been sufficient in itself. Or there may have been an additional reason in that the sexual capacity of her excellent and faithful husband may have been for some years insufficient for the still vigorous woman's needs. Observation has taught us that it is just such men, whose fidelity is thus a matter of course, who treat their wives with particular tenderness and are unusually considerate of their nervous ailments. Neither is it unimportant, moreover, that the object of this abnormal infatuation should be her daughter's young husband. A strong erotic attachment to the daughter, with its roots in the individual sexual constitution of the mother, often manages to maintain itself in such a transformation. I may perhaps remind you in this connection that the relation between mother-in-law and son-in-law has from time immemorial been regarded by mankind as a particularly sensitive one, which among primitive races has given rise to very powerful taboos and precautions. On the positive as well as on the negative side it frequently exceeds the limits regarded desirable in civilized society. Of these three possible factors, whether one of them has been at work in the case before us, or two of them, or whether all three together have taken part, I cannot tell you, though only because the analysis of the case could not be continued beyond the second hour.

I perceive now that I have been speaking entirely of things which you were not yet prepared to understand. I did so in order to carry out the comparison between psychiatry and psychoanalysis. But I may ask you one thing at this point. Have you observed anything in the nature of a contradiction between the two? Psy

Cf. Totem and Taboo

too mildly—as we say dissimulated them—and that she had never really overcome her belief in the anonymous letter

Now what attitude does a psychiatrist take up to such a case? We know already what he would say to th ——
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explains it
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us lady The sympto matic action appears to be unimportant the symptom calls for notice as a grave mat er Subjectively it involves intense suffering and objectively it threatens to break up a family its claim to psychiatric interest is therefore indisputable First the psychiatrist tries to characterize the symptom by some essential attribute The idea with which this lady tor ments herself cannot be called nonsensical in itself it does happen that elderly husbands contract relationships with young women But there is something else about it that is non sensical and incomprehensible The patient has absolutely no grounds except the anonymous letter for supposing that her loving and faith ful husband belongs to this category of men otherwise not so uncommon She knows that this communication carries no proof she can explain its origin satisfactorily she ought therefore to be able to say to herself that she has no grounds for her jealousy and she does even say so but she suffers just as much as if she regarded her jealousy as well founded Ideas of this kind that are inaccessible to logic and the arguments of reality are unanimously described as *delusions* The good lady suffers therefore from a *delusion of jealousy* That is evidently the essential characteristic of the case

Having established this first point our psy chiatric interest increases When a delusion cannot be dissipated by the facts of reality it probably does not spring from reality Where else then does it spring from? Delusions can have the most various contents why is the content of it in this case jealousy? What kind of people have delusions and particularly de lusions of jealousy? Now we should like to listen to the psychiatrist but he leaves us in the lurch here He considers only one of our ques tions He will examine the family history of this woman and will *perhaps* bring us the an swer that the kind of people who suffer from delusions are those in whose families similar or different disorders have occurred repeatedly In other words this lady has developed a de lusion because she had an hereditary predispo sition to do so That is certainly something but is it all that we want to know? Is it the sole cause of her disease? Does it satisfy us to as sume that it is unimportant arbitrary or in explicable that one kind of delusion should have been developed instead of another? And are we to understand the proposition—that the hereditary predisposition is decisive—also in a negative sense that is that no matter what experiences and emotions life had brought her she was destined some time or other to produce a delusion? You will want to know why scien tific psychiatry gives no further explanation And I reply Only a rogue gives more than he has The psychiatrist knows of no path lead ing to any further explanation in such a ca e He has to content himself with a diagnosis and in spite of wide experience with a very un certain prognosis of its future course

Now can psycho analysis do better than this? Yes certainly I hope to show you that even in such an obscure case as this it is possible to discover something which makes closer com prehension possible First I shall a k you to notice this incomprehensible detail that the anonymous letter on which her delusion is founded was positively provoked by the patient herself by her saying to the scheming house maid the day before that nothing could be more awful than to hear that her husband had an intrigue with a young woman She first put the idea of sending the letter into the servant s mind by this So the delusion acquires a certain independence of the letter it existed before hand as a fear—or as a wish?—in her mind Besides this the further small indications re vealed in the bare two hours of analysis are noteworthy The patient responded very coldly it is true to the request to tell me her further thou hts ideas and recollections after she had finished her story She declared that nothing came to her mind she had told me everything and after two hours the attempt had to be given up because she announced that she felt quite well already and was certain that the morbid idea would not return Her saying this was naturally due to resistance and to the fear of further analysis In these two hours she had let fall some remarks nevertheless which made a certain interpretation not only possible but inevitable and this interpretation threw a sharp light on the origin of the delusion of jealousy There actually existed in her an infatuation for a young man for the very son in law who had

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difficult to see in o the mind of this good woman and excellent mother Such a infatua tion, such a monstrous, impos ble thin could not come i.to her conscious m..d it pers sted, nevertheles. and unconsciou ly exerted a hea y pressure Someth..n had to happen some sort of re f had to be found a d the simplest alleviation lay in that m cha m of displace ment which so regularly plays its part in the formation of delusional jealousy If not m rely she d woman that he wa. were in love with a young man but if onl her old husband too were in love with a young mistress then her t rming conscience would be absol ed from the infid lity The phantasy of her h sband s infidelity was thus a cooling balm on her burning wound. Of her own love she never became conscious but .s reflection in the delus on which brought such advantages thus became compulsive delus al nd conscious. All argu ments ga..st it could naturally ail nothing fo they were directed nly ai st the reflec tion, and not against the original to which its strength was due and which lay buried out of reach in th uncon.cious.

Let us now pi ce together the results of th s sh rt obst cted psycho-analytic attempt to understand this case It s ssumed of course that the inf rmation acquired was correct, a point which I cannot submit to our judgme t here First f all, th d lus on is o longer senseless and in omprehen ble it is sensible logically moti ated, and has ts place in connection with an affecti e experience of the pa tient Secondly t has arisen e essary reaction to anoth r mental process which has itself been revealed by othe ind cations and it owes ts d lu nal characte ts quality of resisting real and l gical objections to this relation with this the m tal process It is something desi ed in self a kind f con.ola tion. Thirdly th f ct that th d lu o is o of jealousy and no oth s unmi.takably determined by the experienc underlying the disease. You will also recognize the two important analogies with the sympt mat c act we ana lysed nam ly th di overy f th sense or intention behind the symptom and the relati of t to something in the gi en situation which is unconscious.

This does n of course answer all the ques tions arising out of this ca e On the contrary it bristles with further problems some of which have not yet proved sol b e at all, while others cannot be sol ed owing to the unfavourable circumstances met with in this case For in sta ce, why does this happily married lady fall in love wi h her son in law and why does relief come to her in the form of this kind of reflection this projection of her own state of mind on to her hu.band when other forms of re f were al.o pos ble? Do not think that it is idle a d uncalled for to propound these q es tions. We have a.ready a good deal of material at ha d to pro ide poss ble answers The pa tient had come to that critical t me of l fe which brings a sudden and unwelcome increase of sexual desire to a woman that may have been sufficient in itse f Or there m y ha e been an additional reason in that the sexual capacity of h r excellent and fa thf l husband may ha e been for some years insufficient for the still igorous woman s needs Observation has taught us that it is just such men whose fidel y is thus a matter of course who treat the r wives wi h particular tenderness and are u usually considerate of their nervous a lments. Ne ther is it unimportant, moreover that the object of this abnormal infatuat on should be her daughter s y ung husband. A strong erotic attachment to the daugh er with its roots in the indi dual sexual constitution of the moth er often manages to maintain i.self n such a transformation I may perhaps remind you in this connection that the rela ion between mothe in law and son n law has from time imm morial been regarded by mankind as a particularly sensiti e one which among primi tive races has gi en rise to very powerful ta boos and precaut ons. On the posit ve as well as on the negative side it frequently exceeds the limits regarded as desirabl in civilized society Of these three pos bl f ctors whether on f them has be at w rk in the case be for us o two f th m, o wheth r all three t g th r h e take part I cannot tell you thou h only because the a alysis of the ca e c ld ot be continued beyond the second h ur

I percei e now that I ha e been speaking en tirel of things which you were not yet prepared to understand. I did so in o der to carry out th comparison betwee psychiatry and psychoanalys.s B t I may a.k you or thing t this point Ha e you observed anythir in the na ture f a c tradictio between the two? Psy

chiatry does not employ the technical methods of psycho analysis neglects any consideration of the content of the delusion and in pointing to heredity gives us but a general and remote aetiology instead of first disclosing the more scientific and immediate one But is any contradiction or opposition contained in this? Is not the one rather a supplement to the other? Is the hereditary factor inconsistent with the importance of experience and would they not both work together most effectively? You will admit that there is nothing essential in the work of psychiatry which could oppose psycho analytic researches It is therefore the psychiatrists who oppose it and not psychiatry itself Psycho analysis stands to psychiatry more or less as histology does to anatomy in one the outer forms of organs are studied in the other th [illegible] tis [illegible] to [illegible] tw [illegible] k of the one is continued in the other You know that nowadays anatomy is the basis of the scientific study of medicine but time was when dissecting human corpses in order to discover the internal structure of the body was as much a matter for severe prohibition as practising psycho analysis in order to discover the internal workings of the human mind seems today to be a matter for condemnation And presumably at a not too distant date we shall have perceived that there can be no psychiatry which is scientifically radical without a thorough knowledge of the deep-seated unconscious processes in mental life

There may be some of you who perhaps are friendly enou h towards psycho analysis often attacked as it is to wish that it would justify itself in another direction also that is therapeutically You know that psychiatric therapy has hitherto been unable to influence delusions Can psycho analysis do so perhaps by reason of its insight into the mechanism of these symptoms? No I have to tell you that it cannot for the present at any rate it is just as powerless as any other therapy to heal these sufferers It is true that we can understand what has happened to the patient but we have no means by which we can make him understand it himself You have heard that I could not continue the analysis of this delusion beyond the first preliminaries Would you then maintain that analysis of such ca es is undesirable because it remains fruitless? I do not think so It is our right yes and our duty to pursue our researches without respect to the immediate gain effected The day will come where and when we know not when every little piece of knowled e will be converted into power and into therapeutic power Even if psycho analysis showed it elf as unsuccessful with all other forms of nervous and mental diseases as with delusions it would still remain justified as an irreplaceable instrument of scientific research It is true that we should not be in a position to practise it the human material on which we learn lives and has its own will and must have its own motives in order to participate in the work and it would then refu e to do so I will therefore close my lecture for today by telling you that there are large groups of nervous disturbances for which this conversion of our own advance in knowledge into therapeutic power has actually been carried out and that with these di eases otherwise so refractory our measures yield under certain conditions results which give place to none in the domain of medical therapy

SEVENTEENTH LECTURE

THE MEANING OF SYMPTOMS

IN THE last lecture I explained to you that clinical psychiatry troubles itself little about the actual form of the individual symptom or the content of it but that psycho analysis has made this its starting point and has ascertained that the *symptom itself has a meaning* and is connected with experiences in the life of the patient The meaning of neurotic symptoms was first discovered by J Breuer in the study and successful cure of a case of hysteria (1880-82) which has since then become famous It is true that P Janet independently reached the same result in fact priority in publication must be granted to the French investigator for Breuer did not publish his observations until more than a decade later (*1893 95*) during the period of our work together Incidentally it is of no great importance to us who made the discovery for you know that every discovery is made more than once and none is made all at once nor is success meted out according to deserts America is not called after Columbus Before Breuer and Janet the great psychiatrist Leuret expressed the opinion that even the delusions of the insane would prove to have some meaning if only we knew how to translate them I confess that for a long time I was willing to accord Janet very h gh recognition for his explanation of neurotic symp-

tem, because he regarded them as expressions of *idées inconscientes* possessing the patient's mind. Since then, however, Janet has taken up an attitude of undue reserve as if he meant to imply that the unconscious had been no thing more to him than a manner of speaking, a makeshift, *une façon de parler*, and that he had nothing "real" in mind. Since then I have not understood Janet's views, but I believe that he has gratuitously deprived himself of great credit.

Neurotic symptoms then, just like errors and dreams, have their meaning, and like these are related to the life of the person in whom they appear. This is an important matter which I would like to demonstrate to you by some examples. I can merely assert, I cannot prove, that it is so in every case; anyone observing for himself will be convinced of it. For certain reasons though, I shall not take these examples from cases of hysteria, but from another very remarkable form of neurosis closely allied in origin to the latter, about which I must say a few preliminary words. This, which we call the *obsessional neurosis*,[1] is not so popular as the widely known *hysteria*; it is, if I may so express myself, not so noisily ostentatious, behaves more as if it were a private affair of the patient's, dispenses almost entirely with bodily manifestations and creates all its symptoms in the mental sphere. The obsessional neurosis and hysteria are the two forms of neurotic disease upon the study of which psycho-analysis was first built up, and in the treatment of which also our therapy celebrates its triumphs. In the obsessional neurosis, however, that mysterious leap from the mental to the physical is absent, and it has really become more intimately comprehensible and transparent to us through psycho-analytic research than hysteria; we have come to understand that it displays far more markedly certain extreme features of the neurotic constitution.

The obsessional neurosis takes this form: the patient's mind is occupied with thoughts that do not really interest him, he feels impulses which seem alien to him, and he is impelled to perform actions which not only afford him no pleasure but from which he is powerless to desist. The thoughts (obsessions) may be meaningless in themselves or only of no interest to the patient; they are often absolutely silly; in every case they are the starting point of a strained concentration of thought which exhausts the patient and to which he yields most unwillingly. Against his will he has to worry and speculate as if it were a matter of life or death to him. The impulses which he perceives within him may seem to be of an equally childish and meaningless character [illegible]

and guards himself [illegible] tions and restrictions against the possibility of carrying them out. As a matter of fact he never literally, not even once, carries these impulses into effect; flight and precautions invariably win. What he does really commit are very [illegible]

necessary actions—going to bed, washing, dressing, going for walks, etc.—to highly laborious tasks of almost insuperable difficulty. The morbid ideas, impulses and actions are not by any means combined in the same proportions in individual types and cases of the obsessional neurosis; on the contrary, the rule is that one or another of these manifestations dominates the picture and gives the disease its name, but what is common to all forms of it is unmistakable enough.

This is a mad disease surely. I don't think [illegible]

something sensible instead of his nonsensical practices. This is what he would like himself, for he is perfectly aware of his condition; he shares your opinion about his obsessional symptoms, he even volunteers it quite readily. Only he simply cannot help himself; the actions performed in an obsessional condition are supported by a kind of energy which probably has no counterpart in normal mental life. Only one thing is open to him—he can displace and he can exchange; instead of one silly idea he can adopt another of a slightly milder character; from one precaution or prohibition he can proceed to another; instead of one ceremonial rite he can perform another. He can displace his sense of compulsion, but he cannot dispel it. This capacity for displacing all the symptoms,

[1] Sometimes called in English "compulsion-neurosis."

involving radical alteration of their original forms is a main characteristic of the disease it is moreover striking that in this condition the *opposite values (polarities)* pervading mental life appear to be exceptionally sharply differentiated In addition to compulsions of both positive and negative character doubt appears in the intellectual sphere gradually spreading until it gnaws even at what is usually held to be certain All these things combine to bring about an ever increasing indecisiveness loss of energy and curtailment of freedom and that although the obsessional neurotic is originally always a person of a very energetic disposition often highly opinionated and as a rule intellectually gifted above the average He has usually attained to an agreeably high standard of ethical development is over conscientious and more than usually correct You may imagine that it is a sufficiently arduous task to find one's bearings in this maze of contradictory character traits and morbid manifestations At the moment our aim is merely to interpret some symptoms of this disease

Perhaps in view of our previous discussions you would like to know what present day psychiatry has to offer concerning the obsessional neurosis it is but a miserable contribution however Psychiatry has given names to the various compulsions and has nothing more to say about them It asserts instead that persons exhibiting these symptoms are *degenerate* That is not much satisfaction to us it is no more than an estimate of their value a condemnation instead of an explanation We are intended I suppose to conclude that deterioration from type would naturally produce all kinds of oddities in people Now we do believe that people who develop such symptoms must be somewhat different in type from other human beings but we should like to know whether they are more *degenerate* than other nervous patients than hysterical or insane people The characterization is clearly again much too general One may even doubt whether it is justified at all when one learns that such symptoms occur in men and women of exceptional ability who have left their mark on their generation Thanks to their own discretion and the untruthfulness of biographers we usually learn very little of an intimate nature about our exemplary great men but it does happen occasionally that one of them is a fanatic about truth like Emile Zola and then we hear of the many extraordinary obsessive habits from which he suffered throughout life

Psychiatry has got out of this difficulty by dubbing these people *dégénerés superieurs* Very well but psycho analysis has shown that these extraordinary obsessional symptoms can be removed permanently like the symptoms of other diseases and as in other people who are not degenerate I myself have frequently succeeded in doing so

I shall only give you two examples of analysis of obsessional symptoms one is an old one but I have never found a better and one is a recent one I shall limit myself to these two because an account of this kind must be very explicit and go into great detail

A lady of nearly thirty years of age suffered from very severe obsessional symptoms I might perhaps have been able to help her if my work had not been destroyed by the caprice of fate—perhaps I shall tell you about it later In the course of a day she would perform the following peculiar obsessive act among others several times over She would run out of her room into the adjoining one there take up a certain position at the table in the center of the room ring for her maid give her a trivial order or send her away without and then run back again There was certainly nothing very dreadful about this but it might well arouse curiosity The explanation presented itself in the simplest and most unexceptionable manner without any assistance on the part of the analyst I cannot imagine how I could even have suspected the meaning of this obsession or could possibly have suggested an interpretation for it Every time I had asked the patient Why do you do this? What is the meaning of it? she had answered I don't know But one day after I had succeeded in overcoming a great hesitation on her part involving a matter of principle she suddenly did know for she related the history of the obsessive act More than ten years previously she had married a man very much older than herself who had proved impotent on the wedding night Innumerable times on that night he had run out of his room into hers in order to make the attempt but had failed every time In the morning he had said angrily It's enough to disgrace one in the eyes of the maid who does the beds and seizing a bottle of red ink which happened to be at hand he poured it on the sheet but not exactly in the place where such a mark might have been At first I did not understand what this recollec

E To lo se *Em le Z la E quête m d c p y h l g que* (P s 1896)

tion could have to do with the obses e act in ques o for I cou d see no similarity between the two s tuations, except in the running f om one room into the other and perhaps also in the ppearance of the servant on the scene The pa ient then led me to the table in the adjoin ng room where I found a great mark on the table-cover She explained further that he stood by the table in such a way that when the maid came in s e could not m ss seeing this mark. After th s there could no longer be any doubt bout the connect on between the cur rent obsess e ct and the scene of the wedding night, thou h there was still a great deal to learn about it.

I was clear first of all that the patient identified herself with her husband in mitat ng his running from one room into another s e acted his part. To keep up the s milarity w mu t assume that h has s bstituted the tabl and table-cover f r the bed a d sheet This might seem too arb trary but then we have ot studi d dream symboli m in vain In dreams a tabl is ery often found to represent a bed. *Bed and b ard* t gether mean marriage so that the one ea ly stands for th other

All this would be proof e ugh that the obsessive act is f ll f meaning it *seems* to be a representation, a repetition of that all important scen But we a not bound to t p at this semblanc if we in estigate more losely the rela between the two tuations we hall probably find t somethi g m re the p rpose of the bsessi e ct The kernel of it ev dently lies in th calling of th maid, to whom she displays th ma k, in c trast to he husb d s words "It s eno gh to di grac o e bef re the serva t. In this w y he whose part sh is playing is *not* ashamed before *the serva t* the stain wher t ght to be W see the efore that he has not simply repeated the scen she has o tin ed t and rrected t transformed it into what t o ght to h ve bee This mpl s something lse too a correctio of th c rcum stanc which m d that ght o distres ng

dream she ep e t this wi h f lfill d in a curr t obsess t which erve the pur pose

points to this nterpretat on of the obsessive act in itself so incomprehensible She had been separated from her husband for years and was trying to make up her m nd to divorce him legally But there would have been no prospect of being free from him in her mind she forced herself to be true to h m. She withdrew from the world and from everyone so that he might not be tempted and in her phantasies h ex cused and idealized him. The deepest secret of her illness was that it enabled her to shield him from malicious gossip to justify her separation from him and to make a comfortable existence apart from her po sible for him. The analysis of a harmless obsessive act thus leads stra ght to th inmost core of the patient s disease, and at the same time betrays a great deal of the secret of the obsess onal neurosis in general. I am quite willing that you should spend some t me ove this example for it unites condit ons which cannot rea onably be expected in all cases The interpret t on of the symptom was di covered by the pat ent herself in a flash without guidance or interference from the ana lyst and t had an en in connection with an event which did not belong as it commonly does to a forgotten period in childhood but which *had occurred in the patient s adult l fe* and was clear in her memory All those obj ctions wh ch critics hab tually raise a ainst our interpreta tio s of symptoms are quite out of place here To be sure we cannot lways be so fortunate.

And one thi g more! H s it not struck you that th s innoce t obsess e act leads d rectly to this lady s most pri ate aff rs A woman can hardly ha e anything mo e intimate to r lat than the story of her wedd n ght and i t by chance a d without special sign f cance that we are led stra ght to the nnermost secrets f he sexual life? It m ght cert nly be due to the cho ce I made of this example Let us not de ide th s point too quickly but l t us turn to the eco d exampl which is of a totally diff re t nature and belongs to a ery com mon type that of tuals preparat ry t leep

A w ll gr n clever girl of 19 the only ch ld of her parents upen r t them in education and int ll ctual act vity was a wild h gh pir ited child b t f l te years had become very n rv s w thout a y ppar nt c use She was very irrit bl particula l w th he m ther was di cont ted and depressed incl ned to indecis n a d d bt finally confess g that she could no l g r walk alone th u h squares and w de t ts We will n t go very closely into her c mplicated co dit on which requires at

least two diagnoses agoraphobia and obsessional neurosis but will turn our attention to the ritual elaborated by this young girl preparatory to going to bed as a result of which she caused her parents great distress In a certain sense every normal person may be said to carry out a ritual before going to sleep or at least he requires certain conditions without which he is hindered in going to sleep the transition from waking life to sleep has been made into a regular formula which is repeated every night in the same manner But everything that a healthy person requires as a condition of sleep can be rationally explained and if the external circumstances make any alteration necessary he adapts himself easily to it without waste of time The morbid ritual on the other hand is inexorable it will be maintained at the greatest sacrifices it is disguised too under rational motives and appears superficially to differ from the normal only in a certain exaggerated carefulness of execution On a closer examination however it is clear that the disguise is insufficient that the ritual includes observances which go far beyond what reason can justify and even some which directly contravene this As the motive of her nightly precautions our patient declares that she must have silence at night and must exclude all possibility of noise She does two things for this purpose she stops the large clock in her room and removes all other clocks out of the room including even the tiny wrist watch on her bed table Flower pots and vases are placed carefully together on the writing table so that they cannot fall down in the night and break and so disturb her sleep She knows that these precautions have only an illusory justification in the demand for quiet the ticking of the little watch could not be heard even if it lay on the table by the bed and we all know that the regular ticking of a pendulum clock never disturbs sleep but is more likely to induce it She also admits that her fear that the flower pots and vases if left in their places at night might fall down of themselves and break is utterly improbable For some other practices in her ritual this insistence upon silence as a motive is dropped indeed by ordaining that the door between her bedroom and that of her parents shall remain half open (a condition which she ensures by placing various objects in the door way) she seems on the contrary to open the way to sources of noise The most important observances are concerned with the bed itself however The bolster at the head of the bed must not touch the back of the wooden bedstead The pillow must lie across the bolster exactly in a diagonal position and in no other she then places her head exactly in the middle of this diamond lengthways The eiderdown must be shaken before she puts it over her so that all the feathers sink to the foot-end she never fails however to press this out and redistribute them all over it again

I will pass over other trivial details of her ritual they would teach us nothing new and lead us too far from our purpose Do not suppose though that all this is carried out with perfect smoothness Everything is accompanied by the anxiety that it has not all been done properly it must be tested and repeated her doubts fix first upon one then another of the precautions and the result is that one or two hours elapse before the girl herself can sleep or lets the intimidated parents sleep

The analysis of these torments did not proceed so simply as that of the former patient's obsessive act I had to offer hints and suggestions of its interpretation which were invariably received by her with a positive denial or with scornful doubt After this first reaction of rejection however there followed a period in which she herself took up the possibilities suggested to her noted the associations they aroused produced memories and established connections until she herself had accepted all the interpretations in working them out for herself In proportion as she did this she began to relax the performance of her obsessive precautions and before the end of the treatment she had given up the whole ritual I must also tell you that analytic work as we conduct it nowadays definitely excludes any uninterrupted concentration on a single symptom until its meaning becomes fully clear It is necessary on the contrary to abandon a given theme again and again in the assurance that one will come upon it anew in another context The interpretation of the symptom which I am now going to tell you is therefore a synthesis of the results which amid the interruptions of work on other points took weeks and months to procure

The patient gradually learnt to understand that she banished clocks and watches from her room at night because they were symbols of the female genitals Clocks which we know may have other symbolic meanings beside this, acquire this significance of a genital organ by their relation to periodical processes and regular intervals A woman may be heard to boast

parable to the throbbing of the clitoris in its male excitation. This sensation, which was distressing to her, had actually on several occasions wakened her from sleep, and now her fear of an erection of the clitoris expressed itself by the imposition of a rule to remove all going clocks and watches far away *from her* during the night. Flower pots and vases are, like all receptacles, also symbols of the female genitals. Precautions to prevent them from falling and breaking during the night are therefore not lacking in meaning. We know the very widespread custom of breaking a vessel or a plate on the occasion of a betrothal. Everyone present possesses himself of a fragment in symbolic acceptance of the fact *that he may no longer* put forward any claim to the bride, presumably a custom which arose with monogamy. The patient also contributed a recollection and several associations to this part of her ritual. Once as a child she had fallen while carrying a glass or porcelain vessel, and had cut her finger which had bled badly. As she grew up and learnt the facts about sexual intercourse, she developed the apprehensions that on that bridal night she would not bleed and so would prove not to be a virgin. Her precaution against the vases breaking signified a rejection of the whole complex concerned with virginity and with the question of bleeding during the first act of intercourse, a rejection of the anxiety both that she would bleed and that she would not bleed. These precautions were in fact only remotely connected with the prevention of noise.

One day she divined the central idea of her ritual when she suddenly understood her rule not to let the bolster touch the back of the bed. The bolster had always seemed a woman to her, she said, and the upright back of the bed a man. She wished therefore by a magic ceremony as it were, to keep man and woman apart, that is to say, to separate the parents, and prevent intercourse from occurring. Years before the institution of her ritual she had attempted to achieve this end by a more direct method. She had simulated fear, or made use of an exhibited tendency to fear, so that the door between her bedroom and that of her parents should not be closed. This regulation was still actually included in her present ritual. In this way she managed to make it possible to overhear her parents, a proceeding which at one time had caused her months of sleeplessness. Not content with disturbing her parents in this way, she at that time even succeeded occasionally in sleeping between the father and mother in their bed. *Bolster* and *bedstead* were then really prevented from coming together. As she finally grew *too big to be comfortable* in the same bed with the parents, she achieved the same thing by consciously *simulating fear* and getting her mother to change places with her and to give up to her her place by the father. This incident was undoubtedly the starting point of phantasies, the effect of which was evident in the ritual.

If the bolster was a woman, then the shaking of the eiderdown till all the feathers were at the bottom, making a protuberance there, also had a meaning. It meant impregnating a woman. She did not neglect, though, to obliterate the pregnancy again, for she had for years been terrified that intercourse between her parents might result in another child and present her with a rival. On the other hand, if the larger bolster meant the mother, then the small pillow could only represent the daughter. Why had this pillow to be placed diamond-wise upon the bolster and her head be laid exactly in its middle lengthwise? She was easily reminded that a diamond is repeatedly used in drawings on walls to signify the open female genitals. The part of the man (the father) she thus played herself and replaced the male organ by her own head. (Cf. Symbolism of beheading for castration.)

Horrible thoughts, you will say, to run in the mind of a virgin girl. I admit that, but do not forget that I have not invented these ideas, only exposed them. A ritual of this kind before sleep is also peculiar enough, and you cannot deny the correspondence revealed by the interpretation between the ceremonies and the phantasies. It is more important to me, however, that you should notice that the ritual was the outcome not of a single phantasy, but of several together, which of course must have had a nodal point somewhere. Note too, that the details of the ritual reflect the sexual wishes both positively and negatively, and serve in part as expressions of them, in part as defences against them.

It would be possible to obtain much more out of the analysis *of this ritual* by bringing it into its place in connection with the patient's other symptoms. But that is not our purpose at the moment. You must be content with a reference to an erotic attachment to the father

originating very early in childhood which had enslaved this girl It was perhaps for this reason that she was so unfriendly towards her mother Also we cannot overlook the fact that the analysis of this symptom has again led to the patient s sexual life The more insi ht we gain into the meaning and purpose of neurotic symptoms the less surprising will this seem

From two selected examples I have now shown you that neurotic symptoms have meaning like errors and like dreams and that they are closely connected with the events of the patient s life Can I expect you to believe this exceptionally significant statement on the strength of two examples? No But can you expect me to go on quoting examples to you until you declare yourselves convinced? Again no for in view of the exhaustive treatment given to each individual case I should have to devote five hours a week for a whole term to the consideration of this one point in the theory of the neuroses I will content myself therefo e with the sampl s given as evidence of my statement and will refer you for more to the literature on the subject to the classical interpretation of symptoms in Breuer s first case (hysteria) to the striking elucidations of very obscure symptoms in dementia praecox so-called made by C G Jung at a time when this investigator was a mere psycho analyst and did not yet aspire to be a prophet and to all the subseque [illegible]

[illegible] to psycho analysts that in comparison they have temporarily neglected the other problems of the neuroses

Any one of you who makes the necessary effort to look up this question will certainly be strongly impressed by the wealth of evidential material But he will also meet with a difficulty The meaning of a symptom lies as we have seen in its connection with the life of the patient The more individually the symptom has been formed the more clearly may we expect to establish this connection Then the task resolves itself specifically into a discovery for every nonsensical idea and every useless action of the past situation in which the idea was justified and the action served a useful purpose The obsessive act of the patient who ran to the table and rang for the maid is a perfect model of this kind of symptom But symptoms of quite a different type are very frequently seen They are what we call *typical* symptoms of a disease in each case they are practically identical the individual differences in them vanish or at least fade away so that it is difficult to connect them with the patient s life or to relate them to special situations in his past Let us consider the obsessional neurosis again The second patient s ceremonies preparatory to sleep are in many ways quite typical althou h showing enou h individual features as well to make an historical interpretation so to speak, possible But all obsessional patients are given to repetitions to isolating certain of their actions and to rhythmic performances Most of them wash too much Those patients who suffer from agoraphobia (topophobia fear of pace) no longer reckoned as an obsessional neurosis but now classified as anxiety hysteria reproduce the same features of the pathological picture often with fatiguin monotony They fear enclosed spaces wide open squares long stretches of road and avenues they feel protected if accompanied or if a vehicle drives behind them and so on Nevertheless on this groundwork of similarity the various patients construct individual conditions of their own moods one might call them which directly contrast with other cases One fears narrow streets only another wide streets only one can walk only when few people are about others only when surrounded with people Similarly in hysteria beside the wealth of individual features there are always plenty of common typical symptoms which appear to resist an easy interpretation on historical lines Do not let us forget that it is these typical symptoms which enable us to take our bearings in forming a diagnosis Supposing we do trace back a typical symptom in a case of hysteria to an experience or to a chain of similar experiences (for instance an hysterical vomiting to a series of impressions of a disgusting nature) it will be confusing to discover in another case of vomiting an entirely dissimilar series of apparently causative experiences It almost looks as though hysterical patients must vomit for some unknown reason and as though the historical factors revealed by analysis were but pretexts seized upon by an inner necessity when opportunity offered to serve its purpose

This brings us to the d scouraging conclusion that although individual forms of neurotic symptoms can certainly be satisfactorily explained by their relation to the patient s experiences yet our science fails us for the far more frequent typical symptoms in the same cases In addition to this I have not nearly

explained to you all the difficulties that arise during a resolute pursu t of the h storical mea ng of a symptom No shall I do o for al t.ough my tentio is to conceal nothing from yo and to glos o e noth I do not need to con e you and stupefy ou at the out et of ou studies togeth r It is tru that ou u der sta.ding of symptom nterpret t on ha only j.t begun, but w will hold fa t to the knowl edge gained and proceed to o ercome step by ep the difficult es of the unknown I will try to heer you w th the *thought that it is hardly* pos.b e to presume fundamental d fference betwee the on kind of symptom and the oth r If the indi dual form of symptom is o unmistakably conn cted with the patient s ex periences it is po ble that the typ cal symptom relates to an experie e which is itself typ cal a d commo to all humanity Other r gu la ly recurring features of a neuro uch as the repetiti and doubt of the ob e sonal neu rosis may be uni ersal re ct ons wh ch th p t ent is compell d to e ggerate by the n ture of th m b d hange I short the e is no reaso to g e up hastily in de pa r let us see what m re we can fi d t

There is a v ry milar d fficulty met w th in th *theory of dream* o e wh ch *I could not* deal with in th co f p ev ous d scus sion f dreams Th man fest c t t of dreams mult farious and h ghl diffe tiated indi dually d we ha e sh wn e ha t ely hat can be obta ed by naly f m this o tent But there a e al o d e m wh ch may in the same way be lled *typ c l* a d o cur i ev erybody d ams th d tic l c tent hi h present th sam d.fficult t lys s These are th d eam f f lli g fly g fl ti g swimm g f be g h d ed f be g n ked a d certain oth r nxi ty-d eam which yield first this, then that t rp tat o acco d g t the person o cern d w tho t y expla ti n of th m ton d typ l r cu ren B t we n *tic th t in these d ams al* th commo gro dwo k mb o dered with dditions f an indi d lly ary g chara te Most p b bly th y too w ll p e to fit w th the kno l dge bo t the d eam l f g in d f m study of th ki ds of d e ms—not by any f cible twist but by a gr d l widening f our omp eh n. n f th s thi gs

EIGHTEENTH LECTURE

FIXATION UPON TRAUMAS THE UNCONSCIOUS

I SAID last time th t w would take a tart ing-point fo furth r wo k the knowl dge we have gai ed already and not the d ubts which it has ro sed n us *We have not yet e en be* gun to d scuss two of the most interesting con clu o s aris ng from the analysis of the two examples

First both the pat e ts gi e *the impression* that they are *fixed to* a part cular po nt in their pa t that th y do not know how to release themsel es from it and are consequentl alien ated from both present a d future They are marooned in the r illnes as it were just as in *former* times people used to withdraw to the clo ter to l ve out the r unhappy fate there In the ca.e of the first pat ent it was the mar ria e to the husband which i reality had long a o come to an end that had settled th s doom upon her Her symptoms enabled her to con t nue her relat on h p w th h m we could pe cei e in them the vo ces which pleaded f h m excu.ed him exal ed h m lamented h s loss Althou.h she i youn and co ld attr ct other men he has seized upon every po .ible real and maginary (mag cal) prec u t on that will preserve her fidel ty to him She w ll not meet strangers she neglects her ap pe rance moreover she can ot read ly rise f m any chair wh ch he sits upon and she refuses to s gn he name and can gi e no pre- t becau e n one mu.t have a yth n. wh ch i hers

W th the sec nd pat ent the youn girl it i the erotic attachme t to the father estab hed in the years before puberty that pla s th s part i her l fe She lso has herself pe cei ed that he can t m rry as long as she so ll We m pect that he became o ll in o d r to be n ble to marry d so to remain w th her fathe

We cann t avo d aski g the que tion how by what means d impelled by what mot es yo e can take p ch an extrao d nary and u p ofit ble att tud towards l fe Prov d d th t is that this att tud is a un ersal charac ter of e o s and not a pe ial pecul rity f the e t o pat ts As m tte of fact th is t s a un e s l tra t commo to every eu o s a d o e of great p ctical gnifica ce B e r s first hyste c l patie t was *fixated* in the sam way *to the t me when he* father was take up the normal car e of a w man In every on of our p tients we l arn th ugh an lysis th t the symptom and the r effects have set

the sufferer back into some past period of his life In the majority of cases it is actually a very early phase of the life history which has been thus selected a period in childhood even absurd as it may sound the period of existence as a suckling infant

The closest analogy to this behaviour in our nervous patients is provided by the forms of illness recently made so common by the war—the so called *traumatic neuroses* Of course similar cases have occurred before the war after railway accidents and other terrifying experiences involving danger to life The traumatic neuroses are not fundamentally the same as those which occur spontaneously which we investigate analytically and are accustomed to treat neither have we been successful so far in correlating them with our views on other subjects later on I hope to show you where this limitation lies Yet there is a complete agreement between them on one point which may be emphasized The traumatic neuroses demonstrate very clearly that a fixation to the moment of the traumatic occurrence lies at their root These patients regularly produce the traumatic situation in their dreams in cases showing attacks of an hysterical type in which analysis is possible it appears that the attack constitutes a complete reproduction of this situation It is as though these persons had not yet been able to deal adequately with the situation as if this task were still actually before them unaccomplished We take this attitude of theirs in all seriousness it points the way to what we may call an *economic* conception of the mental processes The term *traumatic* has actually no other meaning but this *economic* one An experience which we call traumatic is one which within a very short space of time subjects the mind to such a very high increase of stimulation that assimilation or elaboration of it can no longer be effected by normal means so that lasting disturbances must result in the distribution of the available energy in the mind

This analogy tempts us also to classify as traumatic those experiences to which our nervous patients seem to be fixated In this way we should be provided with a simple condition for a neurotic illness it would be incomparable to a traumatic illness and would result from an incapacity to deal with an overpowering affective experience Indeed the first formula in which Breuer and I in 1893 95 reduced our new observations to a theory was expressed very similarly A case like that of the first patient described the young woman separated from her husband fits very well into this description she had not been able to get over the impracticability of her marriage and was still attached to her trauma But the second case of the young girl who was tied to her father shows us at once that the formula is not comprehensive enough On the one hand an infantile adoration of her father by a little girl is such a common experience and so frequently grown out of that the term *traumatic* would lose all its meaning if applied to it on the other hand the history of the case shows that this first erotic fixation was gone through by the patient quite harmlessly at the time to all appearances and only several years later came to expression in the obsessional neurosis So we see that there are complications ahead a considerable variety and number of determining factors in neurosis but we divine that the traumatic view will not necessarily be abandoned as false and that it will fit in and have to be co ordinated properly elsewhere

Here again we must leave the path we have been following At the moment it will take us no further and we have much more to learn before we can find a satisfactory continuation of it But before leaving the subject of fixation to traumas it should be noted that it is a phenomenon manifested extensively outside the neuroses every neurosis contains such a fixation but not every fixation leads to a neurosis or is necessarily combined with a neurosis or arises in the course of a neurosis Grief is a prototype and perfect example of an affective fixation upon something that is past and like the neuroses it also involves a state of complete alienation from the present and the future But even the lay public distinguishes clearly between grief and neurosis On the other hand there are neuroses which may be described as morbid forms of grief

It does also happen that persons may be brought to a complete standstill in life by a traumatic experience which has shaken the whole structure of their lives to the foundations so that they give up all interest in the present and the future and live permanently absorbed in their retrospections but these unhappy persons do not necessarily become neurotic Therefore this single feature must not be overestimated as a characteristic of neurosis however invariable and significant it may be otherwise

Now let us turn to the second conclusion to be drawn from our analyses it is one upon

which we shall not need to impose any subsequent limitation. With the first patient we have heard of the senseless obsessive act she performed and of the intimate memories she recalled in connection with it; we also considered the relation between the two and deduced the purpose of the obsessive act from its connection with the memories. But there is one factor which we have entirely neglected, and yet it is one which deserves our fullest attention. As long as the patient continued this performance she did not know that it was in any way connected with the previous experience; the connection between the two things was hidden; she could quite truly answer that she did not know what impulse led her to do it. Then it happened suddenly that under the influence of the treatment, she found this connection and was able to tell it. But even then she knew nothing of the purpose she had in performing the action, the purpose that was to correct a painful event of the past and to raise the husband she loved in her own estimation. It took a long time and much effort for her to grasp and admit to me that such a motive as this alone could have been the driving force behind the obsessive act.

The connection with the scene on the morning after the unhappy bridal night and the patient's own tender feeling for her husband, together make up what we have called the *meaning of the obsessive act.* But both sides of this meaning were hidden from her; she understood neither the *whence* nor the *whither* of her act, as long as she carried it on. Mental processes had been at work in her, therefore, of which the obsessive act was the effect; she was aware in a normal manner of the effect, but nothing of the mental antecedents of this effect had come to the knowledge of her consciousness. She was behaving exactly like a subject under hypnotism whom Bernheim had ordered to open an umbrella in the ward five minutes after he awoke, but who had no idea why he was doing it. This is the kind of occurrence we have in mind when we speak of the existence of *unconscious mental processes.* We may challenge anyone in the world to give a more correctly scientific explanation of this matter and will then gladly withdraw our inference that unconscious mental processes exist. Until they do, however, we will adhere to this inference and, when anyone objects that in a scientific sense the unconscious has no reality, that it is a mere makeshift, *une façon de parler*, we must resign ourselves with a shrug to rejecting his statement as incomprehensible. Something unreal which can nevertheless produce something so real and palpable as an obsessive action!

In the second patient fundamentally the same thing is found. She has created a rule that the bolster must not touch the back of the bedstead, and *she had to carry out this rule* but she does not know whence it comes, what it means, or to what it owes its strength. Whether she regards it indifferently or struggles against it, or rages against it or determines to overcome it matters not; it will be followed. It must *be followed; in vain she asks herself why.* It is undeniable that these symptoms of the obsessional neurosis, these ideas and these impulses which arise no man knows where and which oppose such a powerful resistance against all the influences to which an otherwise normal mental life is susceptible, give the impres- [illegible] of being

indication of a special sphere of mental activity *cut off from all the rest.* They show the way unmistakably to conviction on the question of the unconscious in the mind, and for that very reason clinical psychiatry, which only recognizes a psychology of consciousness, can do nothing with these symptoms except to *stigmatize them as signs of a special kind of degeneration.* Naturally the obsessive ideas and impulses are not themselves unconscious any more than is the performance of the obsessive act. They would not have become symptoms if they had not penetrated into consciousness. But the mental antecedents of them disclosed by analysis, the connections into which they fit after interpretation are unconscious at least until the time when we make the patient conscious of them by the work of the analysis.

Consider now in addition that the facts established in these two cases are confirmed in every symptom of every neurotic disease; that always and everywhere the meaning of the symptoms is unknown to the sufferer; that analysis invariably shows that these symptoms are derived from unconscious mental processes which can, however, under various favorable conditions become conscious. You will then understand that we cannot dispense with the unconscious part of the mind in psycho-analysis and that we are accustomed to deal with it as with something actual and tangible. Perhaps you will also be able to realize how unfitted all

those who only know the unconscious as a phrase who have never analysed never interpreted dreams or translated neurotic symptoms into their meaning and intention are to form an opinion on this matter I will repeat the substance of it a ain in order to impress it upon you The fact that it is possible to find meaning in neurotic symptoms by means of analytic interpretation is an irrefutable proof of the existence—or if you prefer it of the necessity for assuming the existence—of un con cious mental processes

But that is not all Thanks to a second discovery of Breuer s for which he alone deserves credit and which seems to me even more far reaching in its significance than the first more still has been learnt about the relation between the unconscious and the symptoms of neurotics Not merely is the meaning of the symptom invariably unconscious there exists also a connection of a substitutive nature between the two the existence of the symptom is only possible by reason of this unconscious activity You will soon understand what I mean With Breuer I maintain the following Every time we meet with a symptom we may conclude that definite unconscious activities which contain the meaning of the symptom are present in the patient s mind Conversely this meaning must be unconscious before a symptom can arise from it Symptoms are not produced by conscious processes as soon as the unconscious processes involved are made conscious the symptom must vanish You will perceive at once that here is an opening for therapy a way by which symptoms can be made to disappear It was by this means that Breuer actually achieved the recovery of his patient that is freed her from her symptoms he found a method of bringing into her consciousness the uncon cious processes which contained the meaning of her symptoms and the symptoms vanished

This discovery of Breuer s was not the result of any speculation but of a fortunate observation made possible by the co operation of the patient Now you must not rack your brains to try and understand this by seeking to compare it with something similar that is already familiar to you but you must recognize in it a fundamentally new fact by means of which much else becomes explicable Allow me therefore to express it again to you in other words

The symptom is formed as a substitute for something else which remains submerged Certain mental processes would under normal conditions develop until the person became aware of them consciously This has not happened and instead the symptom has arisen out of these processes which have been interrupted and interfered with in some way and have had to remain unconscious Thus something in the nature of an exchange *has occurred if we can* succeed in reversing this process by our therapy we shall have performed our task of dispersing the symptom

Breuer s discovery still remains the foundation of psycho analytic therapy The propo ition that symptoms vanish when their unconscious antecedents have been made conscious has been borne out by all subsequent research although the most extraordinary and unexpected complications are met with in attempting to carry this proposition out in practice Our therapy does its work by transforming something unconscious into something conscious and only succeeds in its work in so far as it is able to effect this transformation

Now for a rapid digression lest you should run the risk of imagining that this therapeutic effect is achieved too easily According to the conclusions we have reached so far neurosis would be the result of a kind of ignorance a not knowing of mental processes which should be known This would approach very closely to the well known Socratic doctrine according to which even vice is the result of ignorance Now it happens in analysis that an experienced practitioner can usually surmise very easily what those feelings are which have remained unconscious in each individual patient It should not therefore be a matter of great difficulty to cure the patient by imparting his knowledge to him and so relieving his ignorance At least one side of the unconscious meaning of the symptom would be ea ily dealt with in this way although it is true that the other side of it the connection between the symptom and the previous experiences in the patient s life can hardly be divined thus for the analyst does not know what the experiences have been he has to wait till the patient remembers them and tells him But one might find a substitute even for this in many cases One might ask for information about his past life from the friends and relations they are often in a position to know what events have been of a traumatic nature perhaps they can even relate some of which the patient is ignorant because they took place at some very early period of childhood By a combination of these two means it would seem that the pathogenic ignorance of the pa

tients mi ht be overcome in a hort time with o t m ch trouble

If onl t were so! But we have made d s coveries that we were qu te u prepared for at first. There is knowing and knowing they are not always the me thing There are various kinds of knowing which psychologically are n t by any means of equal value *Il y a fagots et f go* as Moliere says Knowing on the part of the phy cian not the same thing as knowin on the part of the pati nt and does not have the same effect. When the ph sician conveys his knowledge to the pat ent by tell ing him what he knows it ha effect No it would be incorrect to say that It does not ha e the effect of dispers n the symptoms but it has a differen one t s ts the anal s s in motion, and the first result of this is often an energetic denial. The patient has learned me thing that he did not kn w before—the mean ing of his sympt m—and yet h kn ws it as little as ever Thus we discove that th re is more than one kind of ignora ce It requires a considerable degree of in ght and understand ing of psych logical matters n rder to see in what the difference consists B t the proposi tion that symp ms vanish with th acqu tion of knowledge of their m aning remains true nevertheless Th necessary c ndition is that the knowledge must be f unded upon an inner change in the patient which can only c me about by a m ntal peration d rected to that end. W re here co f o ted b p oblem which to us will soo d elop into the *dyn m s f* sympt

an ying and e tract g spinning ut trains of thought and then I tting them d op? I sh uld be orry f t we e so B t I have a stro g dislike of implification at the expense of truth, I am not a erse from gi ing ou full impress on of th many s d dness and ntricacy of the subject and lso I believe that t does o harm t tell you m re about each po t than you can as imilate at th m ment I kn w that every listener and e ery reader arranges what offered him as suits him in his own mind h rtens it, simplifies t and xtracts from it what he will retain W thin ertain lim ts t is true that the m re w begin w th the more w shall ha e at th nd So l t me h pe th t n spit f th elaborat n, you w ll have grasped the essential substance of my remarks c nc rn

ing the me n ng of symptoms the unconscious, and the connection between the two You ha e p obably understood also that our further ef forts will proceed in two d rections first, towards discovering how people become ill how they come to take up the characteristic neu rot c attitude towards l fe which is a cl n cal problem nd secondly how they develop the m rb d symp oms out of the cond t ons of a neu os s wh ch remains a problem of mental d nam The

c t ie is not yet up I propose to draw your attention to another characteri t c of our two analyses namely *the memory gaps or am e sias* again a po t which only later will appear in its full s gnificance You have heard that the task of the psycho-analytic treatment can be summed up in this formula E eryth ng pathogenic in th ncon

gaps in the pat ent s memory must be filled in his am nesias removed It amounts to the same thing which means that an important connection is to be recognized between the development of the symptoms and the amnesias If you con sider the case of the first patient nalysed you will, h ever not fi d this view of amnesia justified the pati nt had not forgotten the scene from which the obsess e act s deri ed on the contrary it was vivid i her memory nor is there any othe f rgotten fa tor invol ed in the format on of h

the seco

ceremon not re lly forgotten her behav our in form r years the fact that he had ins sted upon th open door between he parent bedroom and her own and that she had turned h m th out f h r place n the pa e ts bed he remembered it q te clea ly although with hesit t on and unwillingnes What is ema kable about t is that th first pati nt although she had carried out h bsessive ct h a countless numbe of t mes h not o e bee

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ectl r the orig n f her b es e act Th same thing is true in the case f th g l where t m rely th ritual, but th s tuati wh h ga e rise to t was re peat d id ntically e ry evening In neithe

There are men and men.—Ed

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have been compelled to disturb the peace of the world in yet another way as you will soon hear.

NINETEENTH LECTURE

RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION

WE now need more data before we can advance further in our understanding of the neuroses two observations lie to hand for us. Both are very remarkable and at first were very surprising. You are of course prepared for both of them by the work we did last year.

First when we undertake to cure a patient of his symptoms, he opposes against us a vigorous and tenacious *resistance* throughout the entire course of the treatment. This is such an extraordinary thing that we cannot expect much belief in it. It is best to say nothing about it to the patient's relations, for they invariably regard it as a pretext set up by us to excuse the length or the failure of the treatment. The patient too exhibits all the manifestations of this resistance without recognizing it as such, and it is a great step forward when we have brought him to realize this fact and to reckon with it. To think that the patient, whose symptoms cause him and those about him such suffering who is willing to make such sacrifices in time, money effort, and self-conquest in order to be freed from them—that he should, in the interests of his illness resist the help offered him. How improbable this statement must sound And yet it is so and if the improbability is made a reproach against us we need only reply that it is not without its analogies for a man who has rushed off to a dentist with frightful toothache may very well fend him off when he takes his forceps to the decayed tooth.

The resistance shown by patients is highly varied and exceedingly subtle often hard to recognize and protean in the manifold forms it takes the analyst needs to be continually suspicious and on his guard against In psycho-analytic therapy we employ the technique which is already familiar to you through dream-interpretation we require the patient to put himself in a condition of calm self observation, without trying to think of anything and then to communicate everything which he becomes inwardly aware of feelings, thoughts, remembrances in the order in which they arise in his mind. We expressly warn him against giving way to any kind of motive which would cause him to select from or to exclude any of the ideas (associations) whether because they are too "disagreeable" or too indiscreet to be mentioned or too "unimportant" or "irrelevant" or "nonsensical" to be worth saying We impress upon him that he has only to attend to what is on the surface consciously in his mind, and to abandon all objections to whatever he finds no matter what form they take and we inform him that the success of the treatment, and, above all its duration, will depend upon his conscientious adherence to this fundamental technical rule We know from the technique of dream interpretation that it is precisely those associations against which innumerable doubts and objections are raised that invariably contain the material leading to the discovery of the unconscious

The first thing that happens as a result of instituting this technical rule is that it becomes the first point of attack for the resistance The patient attempts to escape from it by every possible means First he says nothing comes into his head then that so much comes into his head that he can't grasp any of it. Then we observe with displeasure and astonishment that he is giving in to his critical objections, first to this, then to that he betrays it by the long pauses which occur in his talk. At last he admits that he really cannot say something he is ashamed to and he lets this feeling get the better of his promise Or else he has thought of something but it concerns someone else and not himself and is therefore to be made an exception to the rule Or else what he has just thought of is really too unimportant, too stupid and too absurd, I could never have meant that he should take account of such thoughts. So it goes on with untold variations to which one continually replies that telling everything really means telling every thing

One hardly ever meets with a patient who does not attempt to make a reservation in some department of his thoughts in order to guard them against intrusion by the analysis One patient who in the ordinary way was remarkably intelligent, concealed a most intimate love-affair from me for weeks in this way when accused of this violation of the sacred rule he defended himself with the argument that he considered this particular story his private affair Naturally analytic treatment cannot countenance a right of sanctuary like this one might as well try to allow an exception to be made in certain parts of a town like Vienna, and forbid that any arrests should be

case was there really an amnesia a lapse of memory but a connection which should have existed intact and have led to the reproduction the recollection of the memory had been broken This kind of disturbance of memory suffices for the obsessional neurosis in hysteria it is different This latter neurosis is usually characterized by amnesias on a grand scale As a rule the analysis of each single hysterical symptom leads to a whole chain of former impressions which upon their return may be literally described as having been hitherto forgotten This chain reaches on the one hand back to the earliest years of childhood so that the hysterical amnesia is seen to be a direct continuation of the infantile amnesia which hides the earliest impressions of our mental life from all of us On the other hand we are astonished to find that the most recent experiences of the patient are liable to be forgotten also and that in particular the provocations which induced the outbreak of the disease or aggravated it are at least partially obliterated if not entirely wiped out by amnesia From the complete picture of any such recent recollection important details have invariably disappeared or been replaced by falsifications It happens again and again almost invariably that not until shortly before the completion of an analysis do certain recollections of recent experiences come to the surface which had managed to be withheld throughout it and had left noticeable gaps in the context

These derangements in the capacity to recall memories are as I have said characteristic of hysteria in which disease it also happens even that states occur as symptoms (the hysterical attacks) without necessarily leaving a trace of recollection behind them Since it is otherwise in the obsessional neurosis you may infer that these amnesias are part of the psychological character of the hysterical change and are not a universal trait of neurosis in general The importance of this difference will be diminished by the following consideration Two things are combined to constitute the meaning of a symptom its *whence* and its *whither* or *why* that is the impressions and experiences from which it sprang and the purpose which it serves The *whence* of a symptom is resolved into impressions which have been received from without which were necessarily at one time conscious and which may have become unconscious by being forgotten since that time The *why* of the symptom its tendency is however always an endo psychic process which may possibly have been conscious at first but just as possibly may never have been conscious and may have remained in the unconscious from its inception Therefore it is not very important whether the amnesia has also infringed upon the *whence* the impressions upon which the symptom is supported as happens in hysteria the *whither* the tendency of the symptom which may have been unconscious from the beginning is what maintains the symptom s dependence upon the unconscious in the obsessional neurosis no less strictly than in hysteria

By thus emphasizing the unconscious in mental life we have called forth all the malevolence in humanity in opposition to psycho analysis Do not be astonished at this and do not suppose that this opposition relates to the obvious difficulty of conceivin the unconscious or to the relative inaccessibility of the evidence which supports its existence I believe it has a deeper source Humanity has in the course of time had to endure from the hands of science two great outrages upon its naive self love The first was when it realized that our earth was not the centre of the universe but only a tiny speck in a world system of a magnitude hardly conceivable this is associated in our minds with the name of Copernicus although Alexandrian doctrines taught somethin very similar The second was when biological research robbed man of his peculiar privilege of having been specially created and relegated him to a descent from the animal world implying an ineradicable animal nature in him this transvaluation has been accomplished in our own time upon the instigation of Charles Darwin Wallace and their predecessors and not without the most violent opposition from their contemporaries But man s craving for grandiosity is now suffering the third and most bitter blow from present day psycholo ical research which is endeavouring to prove to the *ego* of each one of us that he is not even master in his own house but that he must remain content with the veriest scraps of information about what is going on unconsciously in his own mind We psycho analysts were neither the first nor the only ones to propose to mankind that they should look inward but it appears to be our lot to advocate it most insistently and to support it by empirical evidence which touches every man closely This is the kernel of the universal revolt against our science of the total disregard of academic courtesy in dispute and the liberation of opposition from all the constraints of impartial logic And besides this we

assistance to the analysis if a skilful technique is employed correctly to turn them to the best use. What is noteworthy is that this material always serves at first as a resistance and comes forward in a guise which is inimical to the treatment. Again it may be said that they are character-traits, individual attitudes of the ego which are thus mobilized to oppose the attempted alterations. One learns then how these character-traits have been developed in connection with the conditions of the neurosis and in reaction against its demands, and observes features in this character which would not otherwise have appeared, at least, not so clearly, that which may be designated latent. Also you must not carry away the impression that we look upon the appearance of these resistances as an unforeseen danger threatening our analytic influence. No, we know that these resistances are bound to appear; we are dissatisfied only if we cannot rouse them definitely enough and make the patient perceive them as such. Indeed, we understand at last that the overcoming of these resistances is the essential work of the analysis, that part of the work which alone assures us that we have achieved something for the patient.

Besides this, you must take into account that all accidental occurrences arising during the treatment are made use of by the patient to interfere with it, anything which could distract him or deter him from it, every hostile expression of opinion from anyone in his circle whom he can regard as an authority, any chance organic illness or one complicating the neurosis; indeed, he even converts every improvement in his condition into a motive for slackening his efforts. Then you will have obtained an approximate though still incomplete picture of the forms and the measures taken by the resistances which must be met and overcome in the course of every analysis. I have given such a detailed consideration to this point because I am about to inform you that our dynamic conception of the neuroses is founded upon this experience of ours of the resistances the neurotic patients set up against the cure of their symptoms. Breuer and I both originally practised psycho-therapy by the hypnotic method; Breuer's first patient was treated throughout in a state of hypnotic suggestibility, and at first I followed his example. I admit that at that time my work went forward more easily and agreeably and also took much less time, but the results were capricious and not permanent; therefore I finally gave up hypnotism. And then I understood that no comprehension of the dynamics of these affections was possible as long as hypnosis was employed. In this condition the very existence of resistances is concealed from the physician's observation. Hypnosis drives back the resistances and frees a certain field for the work of the analysis, but dams them up at the boundaries of this field so that they are insurmountable; it is similar in effect to the doubt of the obsessional neurosis. Therefore I may say that true psycho-analysis only began when the help of hypnosis was discarded.

If it is a matter of such importance to establish these resistances then surely it would be wise to allow caution and doubt full play in case we have been too ready with our assumption that they exist. Perhaps cases of neurosis may be found in which the associations really fail for other reasons; perhaps the arguments against our theories really deserve serious attention, and we may be wrong in so conveniently disposing of the patient's intellectual objections by stigmatizing them as resistance. Well, I can only assure you that our judgment in this matter has not been formed hastily. We have had opportunity to observe these critical patients both before the resistance comes to the surface and after it disappears. In the course of the treatment the resistance varies in intensity continually; it always increases as a new topic is approached, it is at its height during the work upon it, and dies down again when this theme has been dealt with. Unless certain technical errors have been committed, we never have to meet the full measure of resistance of which any patient is capable at once. Thus we could definitely ascertain that the same man would take up and then abandon his critical objections over and over again in the course of the analysis. Whenever we are on the point of bringing to his consciousness some piece of unconscious material which is particularly painful to him, then he is critical in the extreme; even though he may have previously understood and accepted a great deal, yet now all these gains seem to be obliterated; in his struggles to oppose at all costs he can behave just as though he were mentally deficient, a form of 'emotional stupidity.' If he can be successfully helped to overcome this new resistance he regains his insight and comprehension. His critical faculty is not functioning independently, and therefore is not to be respected as if it were; it is merely a maid-of-all-work for his affective attitudes and is directed by his resistance. When he dis-

made in the market place or in th [illegible] in those afe places Once I decided to permit a man to make an exception of such a point for a great deal depended on his recovering his capacity for work and he was bound by his oath as a civil servant not to communicate certain matters to any other person He was content with the result it is true but I was not I made up my mind never again to repeat the attempt under such conditions

Obsessional patients are exceedingly clever at making the technical rule almost useless by bringing their over conscientiousness and doubt to bear upon it Patients with anxiety hysteria sometimes succeed in reducing it to absurdity by only producing associations which are so far removed from what is wanted that they yield nothing for analysis However I do not intend to introduce you to these technical difficulties of the treatment It is enough to know that finally with resolution and perseverance we do succeed in extracting from the patient a certain amount of obedience for the rules of the technique and then the resistance takes another line altogether It appears as intellectual opposition employs arguments as weapons and turns to its own use all the difficulties and improbabilities which normal but uninstructed reasoning finds in analytical doctrines We then have to hear from the mouth of the individual patient all the criticisms and objections which thunder about us in chorus in scientific literature What the critics outside shout at us is nothing new therefore It is indeed a storm in a teacup Still the patient can be argued with he is very glad to get us to instruct him teach him defeat him point out the literature to him so that he can learn more he is perfectly ready to become a supporter of psycho analysis on the condition that analysis shall spare him personally We recognize resistance in this desire for knowledge however it is a digression from the particular task in hand and we refuse to allow it In the obsessional neurosis the resistance makes use of special tactics which we are prepared for It permits the analysis to proceed uninterruptedly along its course so that more and more light is thrown upon the problems of the case until we begin to wonder at last why these explanations have no practical effect and entail no corresponding improvement in the symptoms Then we discover that the resistance has fallen back upon the doubt characteristic of the obsessional neurosis and is holding us successfully at bay from this vantage point. The patient has said to himself something of this kind This is all very pretty and very interesting I should like to go on with it I am sure it would do me a lot of good if it were true But I don t believe it in the least and as long as I don t believe it it doesn t affect my illness So it goes on for a long time until at last this reservation itself is reached and then the decisive battle begins

The intellectual resistances are not the worst one can always get the better of them But the patient knows how to set up resistances within the boundaries of analysis proper and the defeat of these is one of the most difficult tasks of the technique Instead of remembering certain of the feelings and states of mind of his previous life he reproduces them lives through again such of them as by means of what is called the *transference* may be made effective in opposition against the physician and the treatment If the patient is a man he usually takes this material from his relationship with his father in whose place he has now put the physician and in so doing he erects resistance out of his struggles to attain to personal independence and independence of judgment out of his ambition the earliest aim of which was to equal or to excel the father out of his disinclination to take the burden of gratitude upon himself for the second time in his life There are periods in which one feels that the patient s desire to put the analyst in the wrong to make him feel his impotence to triumph over him has completely ousted the worthier desire to bring the illness to an end Women have a genius for exploiting in the interests of resistance a tender erotically tinged transference to the analyst when this attraction reaches a certain intensity all interest in the actual situation of treatment fades away together with every obligation incurred upon undertaking it The inevitable jealousy and the embitterment consequent upon the unavoidable rejection however considerately it is handled is bound to injure the personal relationship with the physician and so to put out of action one of the most powerful propelling forces in the analysis

Resistances of this kind must not be narrowly condemned They contain so much of the most important material from the patient s past life and bring it back in so convincing a fashion that they come to be of the greatest

which is of course in th other room o to been w h the remain unconscious. When they have pressed f rward to the threshold and been turned back b the doo keeper they are *incap e of becoming conscious* we call them then *repres ed* But eve those excitations wh h are allowed o er the thres old do not necess ril become co sci us they can nly become o i they succeed in attracting the e e f consciousness. This seco d chamber there fore ma be suitably called *the preconscious sy em* In this way the p cess of becom ng con cious retains s purel descrip i e sense. Be g repressed, when applied to any s e impul e means being unab to pa s out f the uncon ci us system because of the doo keeper refusal of admitta ce into the precon cious The doo keeper is what we ha e learnt to know as res tanc in ou ttempts in anal tic treatment t loosen the repres sions

Now I know ery well that you will say that these conceptions are s crude as they are fa astic a d ot at all permissible in a scien ti presentation. I know they are crude furthe indeed, we even kn w that they are incorrect, and unles I am mistaken, we ha e someth g better ready as a subst t e for them wh ther you will then co tinue to think them so fanasti I do ot kn w At th m men they are useful aids t understandin like *Ampere s* manikin swimm g in the el ctric current, and, in so far as they do a sist com prehen on, are ot t be despised Still, I should like to assure you that these crude hypotheses, the two chambers, th doo keeper on t thresh d between the two and con sciousness as a pectat at the d f the second room must indicat an extensive ap proxima on to the *ctual* reality I h uld also like t hea you dmit that ur design tions, unco scious precon ci us and con ci us, are less prejud cial and more easily d fens bl than some thers which ha e been suggested or ha com into u g ub-con cious int -con scious co-consci us etc

If so I sh uld think t more significant f you the went on t point t that any such con itut on f th mental pparatus as I ha e assumed in rder to a count f neuroti symp toms can only be of universal alidity and must throw l ght on ormal functioning In t s f course you are perfectly right. We cannot f ll w up this co clusi n at the mo ment but ur interest in the psych logy f sym om-de elopment would certainly be enormousl increased if we could see any *prospect of obtai ng* by the s udy of patho l gical co d ion an in gh into normal mental funct oning h herto uch a mys ery

Do ou not recognize moreover what it is that upports these conceptions of the two s s ems a d the relat on hip between them a d co ci usness The door keeper between the uncon cious and the precon c ous is noth g else than the *cens rsh p* to which we found the *form of the man fes dream* ubjected. The res due of the day s experiences which we found to be the imul exc ting the dream was preconsc ous material which at ni ht d ring

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which in normal mental life i e in the pr con scious system, is unknown or admi sible very rarely This difference in th ir manner of functio g is what disti guishes the two sys tems for us the relationship to consciousness wh h is permanent feature of the precon sci us indicates to which of the two systems an given process belongs Neither is dreaming a pathological phe omen every healthy pers n may dream whil asleep. E ery infer ence c c rning the con t tution of the mental apparatus which comprises an understanding of both dreams and n urotic ymptoms has an irrefut ble claim to be regarded as applying also t n rmal mental life

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symptom is a s bstit te f some other process wh h was held back by repres n but even given repress on we ha e still a l ng way t go bef re we can obtain comprehen n of this substitute f rmati n. Ther are other s des t the probl m of repression tself which pre sent q estions t be answ red What kind of mental excit ti ns f r rep ess on What f rces effect t and *from what motives?* On one point nly s f ha e we gained any knowled e rel ant to these quest ns. While in estigating the pr blem f resistanc we learned that th f ces behi d t proceed from the ego from characte traits re ogni abl o lat t t is these f ces therefore wh ch ha e al o effected the repres ion, r t least they

likes anything he can defend himself against it most ingeniously but when anything suits his book he can be credulous enough We are perhaps all much the same a person being analysed shows this dependence of the intellect upon the affective life so clearly because in the analysis he is so hard pressed

In what way can we now account for this fact observed that the patient struggles so energetically against the relief of his symptoms and the restoration of his mental processes to normal functioning? We say that we have come upon the traces of powerful forces at work here opposing any change in the condition they must be the same forces that originally induced the condition In the formation of symptoms some process must have been gone through which our experience in dispersing them makes us able to reconstruct As we already know from Breuer s observations it follows from the existence of a symptom that some mental process has not been carried through to an end in a normal manner so that it could become conscious the symptom is a substitute for that which has not come through Now we know where to place the forces which we suspect to be at work A vehement effort must have been exercised to prevent the mental process in question from penetrating into consciousness and as a result it has remained unconscious being unconscious it had the power to construct a symptom The same vehement effort is again at work during analytic treatment opposing the attempt to bring the unconscious into consciousness This we perceive in the form of resistances The pathogenic process which is demonstrated by the resistances we call REPRESSION

It will now be necessary to make our conception of this process of *repression* more precise It is the essential preliminary condition for the development of symptoms but it is also something else a thing to which we have no parallel Let us take as a model an impulse a mental process seeking to convert itself into action we know that it can suffer rejection by virtue of what we call *repudiation* or *condemnation* whereupon the energy at its disposal is withdrawn it becomes powerless but it can continue to exist as a memory The whole process of decision on the point takes place with the full cognizance of the ego It is very different when we imagine the same impulse subject to *repression* it would then retain its energy and no memory of it would be left behind the process of repression too would be accomplished without the cognizance of the ego This comparison therefore brings us no nearer to the nature of repression

I will expound to you those theoretical conceptions which alone have proved useful in giving greater definiteness to the term *repression* For this purpose it is first necessary that we should proceed from the purely descriptive meaning of the word *unconscious* to its systematic meaning that is we resolve to think of the consciousness or unconsciousness of a mental process as merely one of its qualities and not necessarily definitive Suppose that a process of this kind has remained unconscious its being withheld from consciousness may be merely a sign of the fate it has undergone not necessarily the fate itself Let us suppose in order to gain a more concrete notion of this fate that every mental process—there is one exception which I will go into later—first exists in an unconscious state or phase and only develops out of this into a conscious phase much as a photograph is first a negative and then becomes a picture through the printing of the positive But not every negative is made into a positive and it is just as little necessary that every unconscious mental process should convert itself into a conscious one It may be best expressed as follows Each single process belongs in the first place to the unconscious psychical system from this system it can under certain conditions proceed further into the conscious system

The crudest conception of these systems is the one we shall find most convenient a spatial one The unconscious system may therefore be compared to a large ante room in which the various mental excitations are crowding upon one another like individual beings Adjoining this is a second smaller apartment a sort of reception room in which consciousness resides But on the threshold between the two there stands a personage with the office of door keeper who examines the various mental excitations censors them and denies them admittance to the reception room when he disapproves of them You will see at once that it does not make much difference whether the door keeper turns any one impulse back at the threshold or drives it out again once it has entered the reception room that is merely a matter of the degree of his vigilance and promptness in recognition Now this metaphor may be employed to widen our terminology The excitations in the unconscious in the ante chamber are not visible to consciousness

is not at all applicable in them the symptoms seem rather to contain the opposite purpose of excluding or of discontinuing sexual gratification. I shall not dispute your interpretation. In psycho-analysis things are often a good deal more complicated than we could wish; if they had been simpler psycho-analysis would perhaps not have been required to bring them to light. Certain features of the ritual of our second patient are distinctly recognizable as being of this ascetic character inimical to sexual satisfaction, e.g., her removing the clocks for the magic purpose of preventing erections at night, or her trying to prevent the falling and breaking of vessels which amounts to a protection of her virginity. In other cases of ceremonials on going to bed which I have analysed this negative character was far more marked; the whole ritual could consist of defensive regulations against sexual recollections and temptations. But we have long ago learnt from psycho-analysis that opposites do not constitute a contradiction. We might extend our proposition and say that the purpose of the symptom is either a sexual gratification or a defence against it; in hysteria the positive wish-fulfilling character predominate on the whole and in the obsessional neurosis the negative ascetic character. The symptoms can serve this purpose both of sexual gratification and of its opposite so well because this double-sidedness or *polarity* has a most suitable foundation in one element of their mechanism which we have not yet had an opportunity to mention. They are in fact, as we shall see, the effects of *compromises* between two opposed tendencies acting on one another; they represent both that which is repressed and also that which has effected the repression and has co-operated in bringing them about. The representation of either one or another of these two factors may predominate in the symptom but it happens very rarely that one of them is absent altogether. In hysteria a collaboration of the two tendencies in one symptom is usually achieved. In the obsessional neurosis the two parts are often distinct; the symptom is then a double one and consists of two successive actions which cancel each other.

It will not be so easy to dispose of a second difficulty. When you consider a whole series of symptom interpretations your first opinion would probably be that the conception of a sexual substitutive-gratification has to be stretched to its widest limits in order to include them. You will not neglect to point out that these symptoms offer nothing real in the way of gratification, that often enough they are confined to re-animating a sensation or to enacting a phantasy arising from some sexual complex. Further, that the ostensible sexual gratification is very often of an infantile and unworthy character, perhaps approximating to a masturbatory act, or is reminiscent of dirty habits which long ago in childhood had been forbidden and abandoned. And further still you will express your astonishment that anyone should reckon among sexual gratifications those which can only be described as gratifications of cruel or horrible appetites or which may be termed unnatural. Indeed we shall come to no agreement on these latter points until we have submitted human sexuality to a thorough investigation and have thus established what we are justified in calling sexual.

TWENTIETH LECTURE

The Sexual Life of Man

One would certainly think that there could be no doubt about what is to be understood by the term *sexual*. First and foremost, of course, it means the *improper*, that which must not be mentioned. I have been told a story about some pupils of a famous psychiatrist who once endeavoured to convince their master that the symptoms of an hysteric are frequently representations of sexual things. With this object, they took him to the bedside of an hysterical woman whose attacks were unmistakable imitations of childbirth. He objected, however: "Well, there is nothing sexual about childbirth." To be sure, childbirth is not necessarily always improper.

I perceive that you don't approve of my joking about such serious matters. It is not altogether a joke, however. Seriously, it is not so easy to define what the term *sexual* includes. Everything connected with the difference between the two sexes is perhaps the only way of hitting the mark, but you will find that too general and indefinite. If you take the sexual act itself as the central point, you will perhaps declare *sexual* to mean everything which is concerned with obtaining pleasurable gratification from the body (and particularly the sexual organs) of the opposite sex; in the narrowest sense everything which is directed to the union of the genital organs and the performance of the sexual act. In doing so, however, you come very near to reckoning the sexual and the improper as identical, and childbirth would really

have taken a part in it We know nothing more than this at present

The second observation for which I prepared you will help us now By means of analysis we can always discover the purpose behind the neurotic symptom This is of course nothing new to you I have already pointed it out in two cases of neurosis But to be sure what do two cases signify? You have a right to demand two hundred cases innumerable cases in demonstration of it But then I cannot comply with that So you must fall back on personal experience or upon belief which in this matter can rely upon the unanimou testimony of all psycho analysts

You will remember that in the two cases in which we submitted the symptoms to detailed investigation analysis led to the innermost secrets of the patient s sexual life In the first case moreover the purpose or tendency of the symptom under examination was particularly evident in the second case it was perhaps to some extent veiled by another factor to be mentioned later Well now what we found in these two examples we should find in every case we submitted to analysis Every time we should be led by analysis to the sexual experiences and desires of the patient and every time we should have to affirm that the symptom served the same purpose This purpose shows itself to be the gratification of sexual wishes the symptoms serve the purpose of sexual gratification for the patient they are a substitute for satisfactions which he does not obtain in reality

Think of the obsessive act of our first patient This woman has to do without the husband she loved so intensely on account of his deficiencies and short comings she could not share his life She had to be faithful to him she could not put anyone else in his place Her obsessional symptom gives her what she so much desires it exalts her husband denies and corrects his deficiencies above all his impotence This symptom is fundamentally a wish fulfilment in that respect exactly like a dream it is moreover what a dream is not always an erotic wish fulfilment In the case of the second patient you could see that her ritual aims at preventing intercourse between the parents or at hindering the procreation of another child you have probably also divined that fundamentally it seeks to set her in her mother s place It again therefore constitutes a removal of hindrances to sexual satisfaction and the fulfilment of the subject s own sexual wishes Of the complications referred to in th second case I shall speak shortly

I wish to avoid making reservations later on about the universal applicability of these statements and therefore I will ask you to notice that all I have just been saying about repression symptom formation and symptom interpretation has been obtained from the study of three types of neurosis and for the present is only applicable to these three types—namely *anxiety hysteria conversion hysteria* and *the obsessional neurosis* These three disorders which we are accustomed to combine together in a group as the TRANSFERENCE NEUROSES constitute the field open to psycho analytic therapy The other neuroses have been far less closely studied psycho analytically in one group of them the impossibility of therapeutic influence has no doubt been one reason for this neglect You must not forget that psycho analysis is still a very young science that much time and trouble are required for the study of it and that not o very long ago there was only one man practising it yet we are approaching from all directions to a nearer comprehension of these other conditions which are not transference neuroses I hope I shall still be able to tell you of the developments that our hypotheses and conclusions have undergone in the course of adaptation to this new material and to show you that the e further studies have not yielded contradictions but have led to a higher degree of unification in our knowledge Everything that has been said then applies only to the three transference neuroses and I will now add another piece of information which throws further light upon the significance of the symptoms A comparative examination of the situation out of which the disease arose yields the following re ult which may be reduced to a formula—namely that these persons have fallen ill from the privation (frustration) which they suffer when reality withholds from them gratification of their sexual wishes You will perceive how beautifully these two conclusions supplement one another The symptoms are now explicable as substitute gratifications for desires which are unsatisfied in life

It is certainly possible to make all kinds of objections to the proposition that neurotic symptoms are substitutes for sexual gratifications I will discuss two of them today If any one of you has himself undertaken the analysis of a large number of neurot cs he will perhaps shake his head and say In certain cases this

er in watching the other person's most intimate doings or those who expose parts of their own bodies which should be concealed in the vague expectation of being rewarded by a similar action on the part of the other. Then come the incomprehensible sadists in whom all affection and feeling strains towards the one goal of causing their object pain and torture, ranging in degree from mere indications of a tendency to humiliate the other up to the infliction of severe bodily injuries. Then although complementary to these come the masochists whose only longing is to suffer in real or in symbolic form, humiliations and tortures at the hands of the loved object. There are others yet in whom [illegible] f th[illegible] kind [illegible]

each of these groups may be [illegible] those who seek their particular form of sexual satisfaction in reality and those who are satisfied merely to imagine it in their own minds needing no real object at all but being able to substitute for it a creation of phantasy.

There is not the slightest possible doubt that these mad, extraordinary and horrible things do actually constitute the sexual activities of these people. Not merely do they themselves so regard them, recognizing their substitutive character, but we also have to acknowledge that they play the same part in their lives as normal sexual satisfaction plays in ours; exact[illegible] the same, often extensive sacrifices. It is possible to trace out, both broadly and in great detail, where these abnormalities merge into the normal and where they diverge from it. Nor will it escape you that that quality of impropriety which adheres inevitably to a sexual activity is not absent from these forms of it; in most of them it is intensified to the point of odium.

Well, now what attitude are we to take up to these unusual forms of sexual satisfaction? Indignation and expressions of our personal disgust, together with assurances that we do not share these appetites, will obviously not carry us very far. That is not the point at issue. After all, this is a field of phenomena like any other. Attempts to turn away and flee from it on the pretext that these are but rarities and curiosities, could easily be rebutted. On the contrary the phenomena are common enough and widely distributed. But if it is objected that our views on the sexual life of mankind require no revision on this [illegible]unt, since these things are one and all aberrations and divagations of the sexual instinct, a serious reply will be necessary. If we do not understand these morbid forms of sexuality and cannot relate them to what is normal in sexual life, then neither can we understand normal sexuality. It remains, in short, our undeniable duty to account satisfactorily in theory for the existence of all the perversions described and to explain their relation to normal sexuality so-called.

In this task we can be helped by a point of view and by two new evidential observations. The first we owe to Iwan Bloch, according to him, the view that all the perversions are "signs of degeneration" is incorrect, because of the evidence existing that such aberrations from the sexual aim, such erratic relationships to the sexual object, have been manifested since the beginning of time through every age of which we have knowledge, in every race from the most primitive to the most highly civilized, and at times have succeeded in attaining to toleration and general prevalence. The two evidential observations have been made in the course of psycho-analytic investigations of neurotic patients; they must undoubtedly influence our conception of sexual perversions in a decisive manner.

We have said that neurotic symptoms are substitutes for sexual satisfactions, and I have already indicated that many difficulties will be met with in proving this statement from the analysis of symptoms. It is indeed only accurate if the *perverse* sexual needs so-called, *are included under sexual satisfactions*, for an interpretation of the symptoms on this basis is forced upon us with astonishing frequency. The claim made by homosexuals or inverts that they constitute a select class of mankind, falls at once to the ground when we discover that *in every single neurotic*, evidence of homosexual tendencies is forthcoming and that a large proportion of the symptoms are expressions of this latent inversion. Those who openly call themselves homosexuals are merely those in whom the inversion is conscious and manifest; their number is negligible compared with those in whom it is latent. We are bound in fact to regard the choice of an object of the same sex as a regular type of offshoot of the capacity to love, and are learning every day more and more to recognize it as especially important. The differences between manifest homosexuality and the normal attitude are certainly not thereby obviated; they have their practical importance which remains, but theoretically their value is very considerably dimin

have nothing to do with sex If then you make the function of reproduction the kernel of sexuality you run the risk of excluding from it a whole host of things like masturbation or even kissing which are not directed towards reproduction but which are nevertheless undoubtedly sexual However we have already found that attempts at definition always lead to difficulties let us give up trying to do any better in this particular case We may suspect that in the development of the concept *sexual* something has happened which has resulted in what H Silberer has aptly called a *covering error* On the whole indeed we know pretty well what is meant by sexual

In the popular view which is sufficient for all practical purposes in ordinary life sexual is something which combines references to the difference between the sexes to pleasurable excitement and gratification to the reproductive function and to the idea of impropriety and the necessity for concealment But this is no longer sufficient for science For painstaking researches (only possible of course in a spirit of self command maintained by self sacrifice) have revealed that classes of human beings exist whose sexual life deviates from the usual one in the most striking manner One group among these *perverts* has as it were expunged the difference between the sexes from its scheme of life In these people only the same sex as their own can rouse sexual desire the other sex (especially the genital organ of the other sex) has absolutely no sexual attraction for them can even in extreme cases be an object of abhorrence to them They have thus of course foregone all participation in the process of reproduction Such persons are called *homosexuals* or *inverts* Often though not always they are men and women who otherwise have reached an irreproachably high standard of mental growth and development intellectually and ethically and are only afflicted with this one fateful peculiarity Through the mouths of their scientific spokesmen they lay claim to be a special variety of the human race a *third sex* as they call it standing with equal rights alongside the other two We may perhaps have an opportunity of critically examining these claims They are not of course as they would gladly maintain the *elect* of mankind they contain in their ranks at least as many inferior and worthless individuals as are to be found among those differently constituted sexually

These perverts do at least seek to achieve very much the same ends with the objects of their desires as normal people do with theirs But after them comes a long series of abnormal types in whom the sexual activities become increasingly further removed from anything which appears attractive to a reasonable being In their manifold variety and their strangeness these types may be compared to the grotesque monstrosities painted by P Breughel to represent the temptation of St Anthony or to the long procession of effete gods and worshippers which G Flaubert shows us passing before his pious penitent and to nothing else The chaotic assembly calls out for classification if it is not to bewilder us completely We divide them into those in whom the *sexual object* has been altered as with the homosexuals and those in whom first and foremost the *sexual aim* has been altered In the first group belong those who have dispensed with the mutual union of the genital organs and who have substituted for the genitals in one of the partners in the act another organ or part of the body (mouth or anus in place of the vagina) making light of both the anatomical difficulties and the suppression of disgust involved There follow others who it is true still retain the genital organs as object not however by virtue of their sexual function but on account of other functions in which they take part anatomically or by reason of their proximity These people demonstrate that the excretory functions which in the course of the child s upbringing are relegated to a limbo as indecent remain capable of attracting the entire sexual interest There are others who have given up altogether the genital organs as object and instead have exalted some other part of the body to serve as the object of desire a woman s breast foot or plait of hair There are others yet to whom even a part of the body is meaningless while a particle of clothing a shoe or a piece of under clothing will gratify all their desires these are the fetichists Farther on in the scale come those who indeed demand the object as a whole but whose requirements in regard to it take specific forms of an extraordinary or horrible nature—even to the point of seeking it as a defenceless corpse and urged on by their criminal obsessions of making it one in order so to enjoy it But enough of these horrors!

Foremost in the second group are those perverts whose sexual desires aim at the performance of an act which normally is but an introductory or preparatory one They are those who seek gratification in looking and touching

er in watching the other person s most intimate doings or those who expose parts of their own bodies which should be concealed in the vague expectation of bein rewarded by a similar action on the part of the other Then come the incomprehensib e sadists, in wh m all affection a feeling strains towards the one goal of causing their object pain and t rture ranging in degree from mere ind cations of a tendency to humiliate the other up t the infliction of severe bodily injuries Then as though complementary to these come th masochists whose only longing is to suffer in real or in symbolic form, humiliations and tortures at the hands of the loved object. There are others yet in whom s [illegible] f th s kind

[illegible]

each of these groups may be [illegible] against those who seek th particular form of sexual satisfaction in reality and those who are satisfied merely to imagine it in their own minds, eeding no real object at all but being able t substitute fo it a creation of phantasy

There is n t the lightest pos ible doubt that these mad extraordinary and h rrible things do actually constitute the sexual activities of these people Not merely do they themselves so regard them, recognizing their substitutive character but we als ha e t acknowledge that they play the same part in their lives as normal exual satisfaction plays in ours, exacting the same ften excessi e sacrifices It is possibl to trace ut both broadly and in great detail, where th e abn rmalities merge into the normal and where they diverge from t. Nor will t escape y u that that quality of impropriety which adheres inevitably to a sexual activity is not bse t from these forms of t in most f them it is intensified t the point of odium.

W ll now what attit de e w to take up t these unusual forms f sexual sati faction? Indignati and expressions of our perso al disgust, together with ass rances that we d ot share these appetit s will by o ly not carry us very far That is t the point at ue After all, this is a fi ld of ph mena lik a y othe ttempts t t rn away and flee f m it the pretext that th se are b t rarities and curi ties, co ld eas ly be rebutt d On the c trary the ph mena are c mmon e gh and w d ly distributed. But if t bjected th t our views on the sexual life of mank nd requi o revi sion o this account [illegible] th things are one and all berratio s and d vagat s of the sexual instinct a serious reply will be necessary If we do not understand these morbid forms of sexuality and cannot relate them to wha is normal in sexual life then neither can we understand normal sexuality It remains in short our undeniable d t to account sa s factorily in theory for the existence of all the perversions described and to explain their relation to normal sexuality so-called.

In this task we can be helped by a point of view and by two new evidential observations. The first we owe to I an Bloch according to him, the view that all the perversions are "signs of degeneration is incorrect because of the evidence existing that such aberrations from the sexual aim such errat c relationships to the sexual object, have been manifested since the beginning of time through every age of which we have knowledge in every race from the most primitive to the most highly civilized, and at times ha e succeeded in attaining to tolera tion and general prevalence. The two evidential observati s ha e been made in the course of psycho-analytic investigations of neurot c patients they must undoubtedl influence our conception of sexual perversio s in a deci ve manner

We have said that neurotic symptoms are substitutes for exual satisfactions and I ha e already indicated that many difficulties will be met with in proving this statement from the analysis of symptoms. It is indeed only accurate if the *perverse* sexual needs so-called, are included under sexual satisfactions f r an interpretation of the sympt ms on this basis is forced upon us with as onishing frequency The claim mad by homosexuals or inverts, that they constitute a select class of mankind, falls at o ce to the ground when we discover that, in every single neurotic evidence of homosexual tendencies is forthcoming and that a large proportion of the symptoms are ex pressions of this late t inversion. Those who openly call themsel es homosexual are merely [illegible]

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ished In fact we have even come to the con clusion that one particular mental disorder paranoia no longer to be reckoned among the transference neuroses nvariably arises from an attempt to subdue unduly powerful homo sexual tendencies Perhaps you will remember that one of our patients in her obsessive act played the part of a man—of her own husband that is whom she had left such symptoms representing the impersonation of a man are very commonly produced by neurotic women If this is not actually attributable to homo sexuality it is certainly very closely connected with its origins

As you probably know the neurosis of hys teria can create its symptoms in all systems of the body (circulatory respiratory etc) and may thus disturb all the functions Analysis shows that all those impulses described as *perverse* which aim at replacing the genital organ by another come to expression in these symptoms These organs thus behave as sub stitutes for the genital organs it is precisely from the study of hysterical symptoms that we have arrived at the view that besides their functional role a sexual—*erotogenic*—signifi cance must be ascribed to the bodily organs and that the needs of the former will be inter fered with if the demands of the latter upon them are too great Countless sensations and innervations which we meet as hysterical symp toms in organs apparently not concerned with exuality are thus discovered to be essentially fulfilments of perverse sexual de ires by the other organs having usurped the function of the genitalia In this way also the very great extent to which the organs of nutrition and of excretion in particular may serve in yielding sexual excitement is brought home to us It is indeed the ame as is manifested in the per versions except that in the latter it is unmis takable and recognizable without any difficulty whereas in hysteria we have to make the de tour of interpreting the symptom and then do not impute the perverse sexual impulse in question to the person s consciousness but account it to the unconscious part of his personality

Of the many types of symptoms characteristic of the obsessional neurosis the most important are found to be brought about by the undue strength of one group of sexual tendencies with a perverted aim i e the sadistic group These symptoms in accordance with the structure of the obsessional neurosis serve mainly as a de fence against the e wi hes or else they express the conflict between satisfaction and rejection Satisfaction does not find short hrift how ever it knows how to get its own way by a roundabout route in the patient s behaviour by preference turning against him in self inflicted torment Other forms of this neurosis are seen in excessive *worry* and brooding these are the expressions of an exaggerated sexualiza tion of acts which are normally only prepar atory to sexual satisfaction the desire to see to touch and to investigate In this lies the ex planation of the very great importance dread of contact and obsessive washing attains to in this disease An unsuspectedly large proportion of obsessive actions are found to be disguised repetitions and modifications of masturbation admittedly the only uniform act which accom panies all the varied flights of sexual phantasy

It would not be difficult to show you the connections between perver ion and neurosis in a much more detailed manner but I believe that I have said enou h for our purposes. We must beware however of overestimating the frequency and intensity of the perverse tend encies in mankind after these revelations of their importance in the interpretation of symp-toms You have heard that frustration of nor mal sexual satisfactions may lead to the devel opment of neurosis In consequence of this frustration in reality the need is forced into the abnormal paths of sexual excitation Later you will be able to understand how this hap-pens You will at any rate understand that a *collateral* damming up of this kind must swell the force of the perverse impul es so that they become more powerful than they would have been had no hindrance to normal sexual satis faction been present in reality Incidentally a similar factor may be recognized also in the manifest perversions In many ca es they are provoked or activated by the unduly great difficulties in the way of normal satisfaction of the exual instinct which are produced either by temporary conditions or by permanent o-cial institutions In other cases certainly per verse tendencies are quite independent of uch conditions they are as it were the natural kind of sexual life for the individual concerned

Perhaps you are momentarily under the im pression that all this tends to confuse rather than to explain the relations between normal and perverted sexuality But keep in mind this consideration If it is correct that real obstacles to sexual satisfaction or fru tration in regard to it bring to the surface perverse tendencies

[1] See p 553

in people who would otherwise have shown none we must conclude that something in these people is ready to embrace the perversions, or, *if you prefer it*, the tendencies must have been present in them in a latent form. Thus we come to the second of the new evidential ob-

invariably lead back to the earliest years of childhood. That which we discovered *in this* way has since been corroborated point by point by the direct observation of children. In this way it has been found that all the perverse tendencies have their roots in childhood, that children are disposed towards them all and practise them all to a degree conforming with their immaturity; in short, *perverted sexuality* is nothing else but infantile sexuality magnified and separated into its component parts.

Now you will see the perversions in an altogether different light and no longer ignore *their connection with the sexual life of man*kind; but what distressing emotions these astounding and grotesque revelations will provoke in you! At first you will certainly be tempted to deny everything—the fact that there is anything in children which can be termed sexual life, the accuracy of our observations and the justification of our claim to see in the behaviour of children any connection with that which in later years is condemned as perverted. Permit me first to explain to you the motives of your antagonism and then to put before you a summary of our observations. That children should have no sexual life—sexual excitement, needs and gratification of a sort—but that they suddenly acquire these things in the years between twelve and fourteen would be, apart from any observations, just as improbable, indeed nonsensical, as to suppose that they were born without genital organs which first begin to sprout at the age of puberty. What does actually awaken in them at this period is the reproductive function, which makes use for its own purposes of material lying to hand in body and mind. You are making the mistake of confounding sexuality and reproduction with each other and thus you obstruct your own way to the comprehension of sexuality, the perversions and the neuroses. This mistake, moreover, has a meaning. Strange to say, its origin lies in the fact that you yourselves have all been children and as children were subject to the influence of education. For it is indeed one of the most important social tasks of education to restrain, confine and subject to an individual control (itself identical with the demands of society) the sexual instinct when it breaks forth in the form of the reproductive *function*. *In its own interests*, accordingly, society would postpone the child's full development until it has attained a certain stage of intellectual maturity, since educability practically ceases with the full onset of the sexual *instinct*. Without this the instinct would break all bounds and the laboriously erected structure of civilization would be swept away. Nor is the task of restraining it ever an easy one; success in this direction is often poor and sometimes only too great. At bottom society's motive is economic; since it has not means *enough to support life for its members without* work on their part, it must see to it that the number of these members is restricted and their energies directed away from sexual activities on to their work—the eternal primordial *struggle for existence, therefore*, persisting to the present day.

Experience must have taught educators that the task of moulding the sexual will of the next generation can only be carried out by beginning to impose their influence very early, and intervening in the sexual life of children *before puberty*, instead of waiting till the storm bursts. Consequently almost all infantile sexual activities are forbidden or made disagreeable to the child; the ideal has been to make the child's life asexual, and in course of time it has come to this that *it is really believed to be* asexual and is given out as such even at the hands of science. In order, then, to avoid any contradiction with established beliefs and aims, the sexual activity of children is overlooked—no small achievement by the way—while science contents itself with otherwise explaining it away. The little *child* is supposed to be pure and innocent; he who says otherwise shall be condemned as a hardened blasphemer against humanity's tenderest and most sacred feelings.

The children alone take no part in this convention; they assert their animal nature naïvely enough and demonstrate persistently that they have yet to learn *their purity*. Strange to say, those who deny sexuality in children are the last to relax educative measures against it; they follow up with the greatest severity every manifestation of the *childish tricks*, the existence of which they deny. Moreover, it is theo-

retically of great interest that the time of life which most flagrantly contradicts the prejudice about asexual childhood the years of infancy up to five or six is precisely the period which is veiled by oblivion in most people s memories an oblivion which can only be dispelled completely by analysis but which even before this was sufficiently penetrable to allow some of the dreams of childhood to be retained

I will now tell you the most clearly recognizable of the child s sexual activities It will be expedient if I first introduce you to the term libido In every way analogous to *hunger* libido is the force by means of which the instinct in this case the sexual instinct as with hunger the nutritional instinct achieves expression Other terms such as *sexual excitation* and *satisfaction* require no definition Interpretation finds most to do in regard to the sexual activities of the infant as you will easily perceive and no doubt you will find a reason for objections This interpretation is formed on the basis of analytic investigation working backwards from a given symptom The infant s first sexual excitations appear in connection with the other functions important for life Its chief interest as you know is concerned with taking nourishment as it sinks asleep at the breast utterly satisfied it bears a look of perfect content which will come back again later in life after the experience of the exual orgasm This would not be enough to found a conclusion upon However we perceive that infants wish to repeat without really getting any nourishment the action necessary to taking nourishment they are therefore not impelled to this by hunger We call this action *pleasure sucking* (German *lutschen* signifying the enjoyment of sucking for its own sake—as with a rubber comforter) and as when it does this the infant again falls asleep with a blissful expression we see that the action of sucking is sufficient in itself to give it satisfaction Admittedly it very soon contrives not to go to leep without having sucked in this way An old physician for children in Budapest Dr Lindner was the first to maintain the sexual nature of this procedure Nurses and people who look after children appear to take the same view of this pleasure sucking though without taking up any theoretic attitude about it They have no doubt that its only purpose is in the pleasure derived they account it one of the child s *naughty tricks* and take severe measures to force it to give it up if it will not do so of its own accord And so we learn that an infant performs actions with no other object but that of obtaining pleasure We believe that this pleasure is first of all experienced while nourishment is being taken but that the infant learns rapidly to enjoy it apart from this condition The gratification obtained can only relate to the region of the mouth and lips we therefore call these areas of the body *erotogenic zones* and describe the pleasure derived from this sucking as a *sexual* one To be sure we have yet to discuss the justification for the use of this term

If the infant could express itself it would undoubtedly acknowledge that the act of sucking at its mother s breast is far and away the most important thing in life It would not be wrong in this for by this act it gratifies at the same moment the two greatest needs in life Then we learn from psycho analysis not without astonishment how much of the mental significance of this act is retained throu hout life Sucking for nourishment becomes the point of departure from which the whole sexual life develops the unattainable prototype of every later sexual satisfaction to which in times of need phantasy often enough reverts The desire to suck includes within it the desire for the mother s breast which is therefore the first *object* of sexual desire I cannot convey to you any adequate idea of the importance of this first object in determining every later object adopted of the profound influence it exerts through transformation and substitution upon the most distant fields of mental life First of all however as the infant takes to sucking for pleasure this object is given up and is replaced by a part of its own body it sucks its thumb or its own tongue For purposes of obtaining pleasure it thus makes itself independent of the concurrence of the outer world and in addition it extends the region of excitation to a second area of the body thus intensifying it The erotogenic zones are not all equally capable of yielding enjoyment it is therefore an important experience when as Dr Lindner says the infant in feeling about on its own body discovers the particularly excitable region of its genitalia and so finds the way from pleasure sucking to onanism

This assessment of the nature of pleasure sucking has now brought to our notice two of the decisive characteristics of infantile sexuality It appears in connection with the satisfaction of the great organic needs and it behaves *auto erotically* that is to say it seeks and finds its objects in its own person What is

most clearly discernible in regard to the taking of nourishment is to some extent repeated with the process of excretion. We conclude that infants experience pleasure in the evacuation of urine and the contents of the bowel, and that they very soon endeavour to contrive these actions so that the accompanying excitation of the membranes in these erotogenic zones may secure them the maximum possible gratification. As Lou Andreas has pointed out, with fine intuition, the outer world first steps in as a hindrance at this point, a hostile force opposed to the child's desire for pleasure—the first hint he receives of external and internal conflicts to be experienced later on. He is not to pass his excretions whenever he likes but at times appointed by other people. To induce him to give up these sources of pleasure he is told that everything connected with these functions is *indecent* and must be kept concealed. In this way he is first required to exchange pleasure for value in the eyes of others. His own attitude to the excretions is at the outset very different. His own faeces produce no disgust in him; he values them as part of his own body and is unwilling to part with them; he uses them as the first present by which he can mark out those people whom he values especially. Even after education has succeeded in alienating him from these tendencies he continues to feel the same high regard for his presents and his money, while his achievements in the way of urination appear to be the subject of particular pride.

I know that for some time you have been longing to interrupt me with cries of "Enough of these monstrosities! The motions of the bowels a source of pleasurable sexual satisfaction exploited even by infants! Faeces a substance of great value, and the anus a kind of genital organ! We do not believe it; but we understand why children's physicians and educationists have emphatically rejected psycho-analysis and its conclusions." Not at all; you have merely forgotten for the moment that I have been endeavouring to show you the connection between the actual facts of infantile sexual life and the actual facts of the sexual perversions. Why should you not know that in many adults both homosexual and heterosexual, the anus actually takes over the part played by the vagina in sexual intercourse? And that there are many persons who retain the pleasurable sensations accompanying evacuations of the bowels throughout life and describe them as far from insignificant? You may hear from children themselves, when they are a little older and able to talk about these things, what an interest they take in the act of defaecation and what pleasure they find in watching others in the act. Of course if you have previously systematically intimidated these children they will understand very well that they are not to speak of such things. And for all else that you refuse to believe I refer you to the evidence brought out in analysis and to the direct observation of children and I tell you that it will require the exercise of considerable ingenuity to avoid seeing all this or to see it in a different light. Nor am I at all averse from your thinking the relationship between childish sexual activities and the sexual perversions positively striking. It is a matter of course that there should be this relationship, for if a child has a sexual life at all it must be of a perverted order, since apart from a few obscure indications he is lacking in all that transforms sexuality into the reproductive function. Moreover it is a characteristic common to all the perversions that in them reproduction as an aim is put aside. This is actually the criterion by which we judge whether a sexual activity is perverse—if it departs from reproduction in its aims and pursues the attainment of gratification independently. You will understand therefore that the gulf and turning-point in the development of the sexual life lies at the point of its subordination to the purposes of reproduction. Everything that occurs before this conversion takes place, and everything which refuses to conform to it and serves the pursuit of gratification alone, is called by the unhonoured title of *perversion* and as such is despised.

So let me continue my brief account of infantile sexuality. I could supplement what I have to do you concerning two of the bodily systems by extending the same scrutiny to the others. The sexual life of the child consists entirely in the activities of a series of component instincts which seek for gratification independently of one another, some in his own body and others already in an external object. Among the organs of these bodily systems the genitals rapidly take the first place; there are people in whom pleasurable gratification in their own genital organ, without the aid of another genital organ or object, is continued without interruption from the onanism habitual in the sucking period of infancy to the onanism of necessity occurring in the years of puberty, and then maintained indefinitely be-

yond that Incidentally the subject of onanism is not so easily exhausted it contains material for consideration from various angles

In spite of my wish to limit the extent of this discussion I must still say something about sexual curiosity in children It is too characteristic of childish sexuality and too important for the symptom formation of the neuroses to be omitted Infantile sexual curiosity begins very early sometimes before the third year It is not connected with the difference between the sexes which is nothing to children since they—boys at least—ascribe the same male genital organ to both sexes If then a boy discovers the vagina in a little sister or playmate he at once tries to deny the evidence of his senses for he cannot conceive of a human being like himself without his most important attribute Later he is horrified at the possibilities it reveals to him the influence of previous threats occasioned by too great a preoccupation with his own little member now begins to be felt He comes under the dominion of the castration complex which will play such a large part in the formation of his character if he remains healthy and of his neurosis if he falls ill and of his resistances if he comes under analytic treatment Of little girls we know that they feel themselves heavily handicapped by the absence of a large visible penis and envy the boy s possession of it from this source primarily springs the wish to be a man which is resumed again later in the neurosis owing to some mal adjustment to a female development The clitoris in the girl moreover is in every way equivalent during childhood to the penis it is a region of especial excitability in which auto erotic satisfaction is achieved In the transition to womanhood very much depends upon the early and complete relegation of this sensitivity from the clitoris over to the vaginal orifice In those women who are sexually anaesthetic as it is called the clitoris has stubbornly retained this sensitivity

The sexual interest of children is primarily directed to the problem of birth— [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] of the arrival of another child The answer which the nursery has ready for the child that the stork brings the babies meets with incredulity even in little children much more often than we imagine The feeling of having been deceived by grown up people and put off with lies contributes greatly to a sense of isolation and to the development of independence But the child is not able to solve this problem on his own account His undeveloped sexual constitution sets definite limits to his capacity to understand it. He first supposes that children are made by mixing some special thing with the food taken nor does he *know that only women can have* children Later he learns of this limitation and gives up the idea of children being made by food though it is retained in fairy tales A little later he soon sees that the father must have something to do with making babies but he cannot discover what it is If by chance he is witness of the sexual act he conceives it as an attempt to overpower the woman as a combat the sadistic misconception of coitus at first however he does not connect this act with the creation of children if he discovers blood on the mother s bed or under linen he takes it as evidence of injury inflicted by the father In still later years of childhood he probably guesses that the male organ of the man plays an essential part in the procreation of children but cannot ascribe to this part of the body any function but that of urination

Children are all united from the outset in the belief that the birth of a child takes place by the bowel that is to say that the baby is produced like a piece of fæces Not until all interest has been weaned from the anal region is this theory abandoned and replaced by the supposition that the navel opens or that the area between the two nipples is the birthplace of the child In some such manner as this the enquiring child approaches some knowledge of the facts of sex unless misled by his ignorance he overlooks them until he receives an imperfect and discrediting account of them usually in the period before puberty which not infrequently affects him traumatically

Now you will probably have heard that the term *sexual* has suffered an unwarrantable expansion of meaning at the hands of psycho-analysis in order that its assertions regarding the sexual origin of the neuroses and the sexual significance of the symptoms may be maintained You can now judge for yourselves *whether this amplification is justified or not* We have extended the meaning of the concept *sexuality* only so far as to include the sexual life of perverted persons and also of children that is to say we have restored to it its true breadth of meaning What is called *sexuality* outside psycho analysis applies only to the restricted sexual life that is subordinated to the reproductive function and is called *normal*

TWENTY FIRST LECTURE

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIBIDO AND SEXUAL ORGANIZATIONS

It is my impression that I have not succeeded in bringing home to you with complete conviction the importance of the perversions for our conception of sexuality. I wish therefore as far as I am able to review and improve upon what I have already said on this subject.

Now I do not wish you to think that it was the perversions alone that required us to make the alteration in the meaning of the term sexuality which has aroused such vehement opposition. The study of infantile sexuality has contributed even more to it, and the unanimity between the two was decisive. But, however unmistakably they may be in the later years of childhood, the manifestations of infantile sexuality in its earliest forms do seem to fade away indefinitely. Those who do not wish to pay attention to evolution and to the connections brought out by analysis will dispute the sexual nature of them, and will ascribe in consequence some other undifferentiated character to them. You must not forget that as yet we have no generally acknowledged criterion of the sexual nature of a phenomenon unless it is some connection with the reproductive function—a definition which we have had to reject as too narrow. The biological criteria, such as the periodicities of twenty-three and twenty-eight days, suggested by W. Fliess, are exceedingly debatable; the peculiar chemical features which we may perhaps assume for sexual purposes are yet to be discovered. The sexual perversions in adults, on the other hand, are something definite and unambiguous. As their generally accepted description implies, they are unquestionably of sexual nature, whether you call them marks of degeneration or anything else, no one has yet been so bold as to rank them anywhere but among the phenomena of sexual life. In view of them alone we are justified in maintaining that sexuality and the reproductive function are not identical, for they one and all abjure the aim of reproduction.

I notice a not uninteresting parallel here. Whereas for most people the word *mental* means *conscious* we found ourselves obliged to widen the application of the term *mental* to include part of the mind that is not conscious. In a precisely similar way most people declare *sexual* identical with *pertaining to reproduction*—or if you like to expressed more concisely with *genital*, whereas we cannot avoid admitting things as sexual that are not genital and have nothing to do with reproduction. It is only a formal analogy, but it is not without deeper significance.

However, if the existence of sexual perversions is such a *forcible argument* on this point, why has it not long ago done its work and settled the question? I really am unable to say. It seems to me that the sexual perversions have come under a very special ban, which insinuates itself into the theory and interferes even with scientific judgment on the subject. It seems as if no one could forget not merely that they are detestable but that they are also something monstrous and terrifying, as if they exerted a seductive influence, as if at bottom a secret envy of those who enjoy them had to be strangled—the same sort of feeling that is confessed by the count who sits in judgment in the famous parody of *Tannhäuser*:

> *So in the Mount of Venus conscience and duty are forgot!*
> *—Remarkable that such things has never been my lot!*

In reality, perverts are more likely to be poor devils who have to pay most bitterly for the satisfaction they manage to procure with such difficulty.

That which makes perverse activities so unmistakably sexual, in spite of all that seems unnatural in their objects or their aims, is the fact that in perverse satisfaction the act will terminate usually in a complete orgasm with evacuation of the genital product. This is of

tions to them which are again not recognized definitely as sexual.

I must still add something more in order to complete our assessment of the sexual perversions. Abominated as they are, sharply distinguished from normal sexual activity as they may be, simple observation will show that very rarely one feature or another of them is absent from the sexual life of a normal person. The kiss, to begin with, has some claim to be called a perverse act, for it consists of the union of the two erotogenic mouth zones instead of the two genital organs. But no one condemns it as perverse; on the contrary, in the theatre it is permitted as a refined indication of the sexual act. Nevertheless kissing is a thing that can

easily become an absolute perversion—namely when it occurs in such intensity that orgasm and emission directly accompany it which hap pens not at all uncommonly Further it will be found that gazing at and handling the object are in one person an indispensable condition of sexual enjoyment while another at the height of sexual excitement pinches or bites that in another lover not always the genital region but some other bodily re ion in the object pro vokes the greatest excitement and so on in end less variety It would be absurd to exclude peo ple with single idiosyncrasies of this kind from the ranks of the normal and place them among perverts rather it becomes more and more clear that what is essential to the perversions lies not in the overstepping of the sexual aim not in the replacement of the genitalia not al ways even in the variations in the object but solely in the *exclusiveness* with which these de viations are maintained so that the sexual act which serves the reproductive process is re jected altogether In so far as perverse per formances are included in order to intensify or to lead up to the performance of the normal sexual act they are no lon er actually perverse Facts of the kind just described naturally tend to diminish the gulf between normal and per verse sexuality very considerably The obvious inference is that normal sexuality has arisen out of something existing prior to it by a proc ess of discarding some components of this ma terial as useless and by combining the others so as to subordinate them to a new aim that of reproduction

The point of view thus gained in [illegible] o th [illegible]

[illegible] must draw your attention to an important difference between the two Perverse sexuality is as a rule exceedingly con centrated its whole activity is directed to one —and mostly to only one—aim one particular component impulse is supreme it is either the only one discernible or it has subjected th others to its own purposes In this respect there is no difference between perverse and normal sexuality except that the dominating compo nent impulse and therefore the sexual aim is a different one Both of them constitute a well organized tyranny only that in one case one ruling family has usurped all the power and in the other another This concentration and or ganization on the other hand is in the main absent from infantile sexuality its component impulses are equally valid each of them strives independently after its own pleasure Both the lack of this concentration (in childhood) and the presence of it (in the adult) correspond well with the fact that both normal and per verse sexuality are derived from the same source namely infantile sexuality There are indeed also cases of perversion which corre spond even more closely to infantile sexuality in that numerous component instincts inde pendently of one another with their aims are developed or better perpetuated in them With these cases it is more correct to speak of in fantilism than of perversion of the sexual life.

Thus prepared we may now go on to consider a sug estion which we shall certainly not be spared It will be said Why are you so set upon declaring as already belonging to sex uality those indefinite manifestations of child hood out of which what is sexual later devel ops and which you yourself admit to be indefinite? Why are you not content rather to describe them physiologically and simply to say that activities such as sucking for its own sake and the retaining of excreta may be ob served already in young infants shown that they seek *pleasure in their organs?* In that way you would have avoided the conception of a sexual life even in babies which is o repug nant to all our feelings Well I can only an swer that I have nothing against pleasure de rived from the organs of the body I know indeed that the supreme pleasure of the sexual union is also only a bodily pleasure derived from the activity of the genital organ But can you tell me when this originally indifferent bodily pleasure acquires the sexual character that it undoubtedly pos esses in later pha es of development? Do we know any more about this *organ pleasure* than we know about ex uality? You will answer that the sexual char acter is added to it when the genitalia begin to play their part sexuality simply means genital You will even evade the obstacle of the perver sions by pointing out that after all with most of them a genital orgasm occurs although brought about by other means than the union of the genitalia If you were to eliminate the relation to reproduction from the essential char acteristics of sexuality since this view is un tenable in consequence of the existence of the perversions and were to emphasize instead activity of the genital organs you would ac tually take up a much better position But then we should no longer differ very widely it would be a case of the genital organs *ve sus* the other

organs. What do you now make of th abundant evidence that the genital organs may be re placed by othe organs for the purpose f grati fication, as in the normal kiss or the perverse prac ces of loose li ın, or in the symptoma tology of hyst ria? In this neurosis it is quite usual for stimulation phenomena sensations, innervations and even the processes of erec tion, which properly belong to the genitalia to be displaced on t other distant areas of the body (g the displacement from below up wards to the head and face) Thus you will find that n thin is l ft f all that you cling to as essentially characteristic of exuality and you will ha e t make up your mi ds to f llow my example and extend the designation *sexual* to includ those acti ties *of early* infancy which aim t *organ-pleasure*

And now will you permit me *to bring for* ward two *further cons derations in* support of my view As you know we call th doubtful and indefinabl acti ties of earliest infancy towards pleasure *exual* because in the course of analysing symptoms we reach them by way of material that is undeniably sexual. They would t thereby necessarily be sexual them selves, let us grant but let us take an analo gous case Suppose that there w re no way to observe the development from seed of two dicotyledonous pla ts—th pple-tree and the bean but imagine that in both t wa pos ibl to f llow back ts development from the fully developed plant to the first seedling with two co yledons The two cotyledons e indistin guishable in each they look exactly al ke in both plants Shall I on lude from this that they ctually are exactly alike and that the specific differences between apple tree and bean plant rise *later* in the plant s dev lopme t? Or is t t *more* correct biol gically to believe that th diff rence *exists al eady in* the seed lines, although I cannot see any in th cotyle dons This is what we d wh w call infan- t p asurable acti it exual. Whether each and every rgan pleasure may be called exual r whethe there exi ts bes d the sexual, an other kind of pleasure that does not deserve this nam is a matt I cann t discu s here I know too little abo t organ plea re and its conditions and I am not t all urprised that, in consequence of the retrogress e character of analy is I rri finally at fact rs which at the present tim do ot permit f d finite classificati n.

One thing m re You have on the whole gained ery little for what y u are so eage to maintain the sexual purity of children even if you can convince me that the infant s acti n ot be regarded as sexual For

period of infantile ... f gratification in the genital organs The mental and ocial sides of sexual life need no longer be o erlooked cho ce of object distinguish. g of particular persons with affection even de cision in favour of one sex or *the other and* jealousy were conclus ely established inde pe dently by *impartial* ob *ervation before* the time of psycho-analysis they *may* be con firmed by any *observer* who will use his eyes. You will object that you never doubted the ea ly awakening of affection but only that this affection was of a *sexual* qual ty Children be- tween the ages of three and eight have cer tainly learnt to conceal this element in it but ne ertheless if you look attentively you will collect n ugh ev de ce of the *sensual* nature of this affecti n, and whatever st'll escapes your otice will be amply and readily supplied by analyt c in estigation The sexual aims in this period of l fe are in closest connection with the sexual curiosity arising at the same time of whi h I ha e gi en you some description The perverse *characte* of some of these aims is a natural result of the immature constitution of the child who has not yet disco ered the aim of the act of inte course.

From about the sixth or e ghth year onwards a standstill or retrogression s bserved in the ... reach ... to be ... period however may be absent nor does it neces sarily entail an interrupti n of sexual acti ities and sexual *interests* o er the whole field. Most of the ment l experien es and *excitations* c curring before th lat ncy *period then suc* cumb to the fantile am esia already d cu sed, which veils o r ea liest childhood from us and estranges us from it It is the task of every psycho-analysis to brin this forgotten ...

... is on is an effect of rep s on

From th thi d year onwards, th sexual life of children hows much in c mmon with that of dults it is d ff renti ted f m the l tter as

we already know by the absence of a stable organization under the primacy of the genital organs by inevitable traits of a perverse order and of course also by far less intensity in the whole impulse But those phases of the sexual development or as we will call it of the *libido development* which are of greatest interest theoretically lie before this period This development is gone throu h so rapidly that direct observation alone would perhaps never have succeeded in determining its fleeting forms Only by the help of psycho analytic investigation of the neuroses has it become possible to penetrate so far back and to discover these still earlier phases of libido-development These phases are certainly only theoretic constructions but in the practice of psycho analysis you will find them necessary and valuable constructions You will soon understand how it happens that a pathological condition enables us to discover phenomena which we should certainly overlook in normal conditions

Thus we can now define the forms taken by the sexual life of the child before the primacy of the genital zone is reached this primacy is prepared for in the early infantile period before the latent period and is premanently organized from puberty onwards In this early period a loose sort of organization exists which we shall call *pre genital* for during this phase it is not the genital component instincts but the *sadistic* and *anal* which are most prominent The contrast between *masculine* and *feminine* plays no part as yet instead of it there is the contrast between *active* and *passive* which may be described as the forerunner of the sexual polarity with which it also links up later That which in this period seems masculine to us regarded from the stand point of the genital phase proves to be the expression of an impulse to mastery which ea ily passes over into cruelty Impulses with a passive aim are connected with the erotogenic zone of the rectal orifice at this period very important the impulses of skoptophilia (gazing) and curiosity are powerfully active the function of excreting urine is the only part actually taken by the genital organ in the sexual life Objects are not wanting to the component instincts in this period but these objects are not necessarily all comprised in one object The sadistic anal organization is the stage immediately preceding the phase of primacy of the genital zone Closer study reveals how much of it is retained intact in the later final structure and what are the paths by which these component instincts are forced into the service of the new *genital organ ation* Behind the sadistic anal phase of the libido development we obtain a glimp e of an even more primitive stage of development in which the eroto enic mouth zone plays the chief part You can guess that the sexual activity of sucking (for its own sake) belongs to this stage and you may admire the understanding of the ancient Egyptians in who e art a child even the divine Horus was represented with a finger in the mouth Abraham has quite recently published work showing that traces of this primitive *oral* phase of development survive in the sexual life of later years

I can indeed imagine that you will have found this last information ab [illegible] orr [illegible] patience! what you have just heard will be of more use when we employ it later Keep in view at the moment the idea that the sexual life—the *libido function* as we call it—does not first spring up in its final form does not even expand along the lines of its earliest forms but goes through a series of successive phases unlike one another in short that many changes occur in it like those in the development of the caterpillar into the butterfly The turning point of this development is the *subordination of all the sexual component instincts under the primacy of the genital one* and together with this the enrolment of sexuality in the service of the reproductive function Before this happens the sexual life is so to say disparate—independent activities of single component impulses each seeking *organ pleasure* (pleasure in a bodily organ) This anarchy is modified by attempts at *pre* genital *organi ations* of which the chief is the sadistic anal phase behind which is the oral perhaps the most primitive In addition there are the various processes about which little is known as yet which effect the transition from one sta e of organization to the next above it Of what significance this long journey over so many stages in the development of the libido is for comprehension of the neuroses we shall learn later on

Today we will follow up another aspect of this development—namely the relation of the sexual component impulses to an *object* or rather we will take a fleeting glimpse over this development so that we may spend more time upon a comparatively late result of it Certain of the component impulses of the sexual instinct have an object from the very beginning

and hold fast to t such are the impulses to mastery (sad.sm) to gaz..g (ko-tophilia) and curios'ty Others more plainl connected with par cu.ar erotogenic areas in the body only have an object in the beginning so long as they are still dependent upon the non exual func tion. and gi e t up when they become detached from these later Thus the first object of t..e oral component of the exual n.tinct is t..e mother s breast which satisfies the infant s need for n-trition. In the act f u kin fo its own sake the erotic compo ent also gratified m r ck.g fo nutrition makes tself indepe d ent, gives up the bject in an external person and replaces it by a part of the child s own person The oral impulse bec mes *auto-erot c* as th a..al and ther erotogenic impulses are from th beginning Further development has, t put it a concisely s poss ble two aims first, t renounce a to-eroti m t gi e up again the bject f und in the child s own body in ex hange again fo a xternal one and sec ond to comb the an us object of the separa e impulses and replace th m by one sin e one This n turally can only be don if the single bject is again itself c mplete with a body like th t f the ubject nor can it be m lished without ome part of the auto-erotic impul..e-excitations being abandoned as use.ess.

Th processes by which an object is found are rather nvolved and ha e t so far received comprehen ive expos t on F r our pur poses t may be emphasized that when the proces has reached a certain point in the years of childhood befo e the latency period th object adopted proves alm t id tical with the first bject f the ral pleasure impulse ad pt ed by reason of the child s depe dent relation s..p t t is namely the m ther although ot the m thers brea t W call the mother the first *lov* -object. We speak of *love* when we lay the cent upon th mental de of th sexual impulses and d regs d or wi..h t forget for momen the demands of the fundam ntal phys cal *sens al* ..d of th impulses. At about the time when the m the becomes the lo -ob ect the mental operati of rep es o has already begun in th child and has withdrawn from him th knowledge of some part of his sexual aims. Now with thi ch of th mother as lo -obj ct is c ted ll that which, *under th nam of th O d pus c mplex* has become f su h great import..nce in the psycho-analyt c explanat n of the euroses a..d whi h has had pe haps equally importa t

hare in causing the opposition agai..t psycho-analysis

Here is a little incident which occurred during the present war One of the staunch adherents of psycho-analysis was stationed in his med cal capac ty on the German front in Poland he attracted the attention of his col leagues by the fact that he occasionally effected an unexpected infl ence upon a patient On be g questioned he adr tted that he worked with psycho-analytic methods and with read ness agreed to impart his knowledge to his colleagues. So every evening the medical men of the corps his colleagues and superiors met to be in tiated into the m steries of psycho-analysis *For a time all went well* but when he had ntroduced his aud ence to the Oed pus complex a superior officer rose and announced that he did n t believe this it was the behaviour of a cad for the lecturer to relate such things to brave men fathers of f milies, who were fighting for their country and he f bade the continuation of th lectures This was the end the analyst got himself tran ferred to an other part of the front. *In my opinion, how ever* it is a bad outlook if a victory for German arms depends upo an organization of science such as this, and German science will not pr spe under a y such organizat on

Now yo will be impat ently wait to hear what thi terrible Oed pus complex comprises. The nam tells ou you all know the Greek myth of Ki g Oed pus whose dest ny t was to slay his f th a d to wed his mother who d d all in his pow r t avo d the fate p ophesied by the racle and who in self punishment blinded himself when he di..co ered that in ignorance he had comm tted both these crimes I trust that many of you have yoursel es experienced the prof und ffect of the tragic drama fash

— Th

de ce t h thus a certain resemblance to the co rs of a psycho-analys In the *dialogue* the d l ded m ther wife Joca..ta, res s the cont uation f the e quiry he points o t tha many peopl in th dreams ha e mated with th ir mothers b t that dreams are f n ac ount, T us dream re of much account especially t p cal d eams which occur in many people we have n d ubt that the dream Joca ..a speaks f intim t ly rel ted to the shocking and terribl story of the myth.

It is surprising that Sophocles tragedy does not call forth indignant remonstrance in its audience this reaction would be much better justified in them than it was in the blunt army doctor For at bottom it is an immoral play it sets aside the individual s responsibility to social law and displays divine forces ordaining the crime and rendering powerless the moral instincts of the human being which would guard him against the crime It would be easy to believe that an accusation against destiny and the gods was intended in the story of the myth in the hands of the critical Euripides at variance with the gods it would probably have become such an accusation But with the reverent Sophocles there is no question of such an intention the pious subtlety which declares it the highest morality to bow to the will of the gods even when they ordain a crime helps him out of the difficulty I do not believe that this moral is one of the virtues of the drama but neither does it detract from its effect it leaves the hearer indifferent he does not react to this but to the secret meaning and content of the myth itself He reacts as thou h by self analysis he had detected the Oedipus complex in himself and had recognized the will of the gods and the oracle as glorified disguise [illegible] own [illegible] himse[illegible] in his [illegible] his mother and must abhor the thou ht The poet s words seem to him to mean In vain do you deny that you are accountable in vain do you proclaim how you have striven a ainst these evil designs You are guilty nevertheless for you could not stifle them they still survive unconsciously in you And psychological truth is contained in this even though man has repressed his evil desires into his Unconscious and would then gladly say to himself that he is no longer answerable for them he is yet compelled to feel his responsibility in the form of a sense of guilt for which he can discern no foundation

There is no possible doubt that one of the most important sources of the sense of guilt which so often torments neurotic people is to be found in the Oedipus complex More than this in 1913 under the title of *Totem and Taboo* I published a study of the earliest forms of religion and morality in which I expressed a su picion that perhaps the sense of guilt of mankind as a whole which is the ultimate source of religion and morality was acquired in the beginnings of history through the Oedipus complex. I should much like to tell you more of this but I had better not it is difficult to leave this subject when once one begins upon it and we must return to individual psychology

Now what does direct observation of children at the period of object choice before the latency period show us in regard to the Oedipus complex? Well it is easy to see that the little man wants his mother all to himself finds his father in the way becomes restive when the latter takes upon himself to caress her and shows his satisfaction when the father goes away or is absent He often expresses his feelings directly in words and promises his mother to marry her this may not seem much in comparison with the deeds of Oedipus but it is enough in fact the kernel of each is the same Observation is often rendered puzzling by the circumstance that the same child on other occasions at this period will display great affection for the father but such contrasting—or better *ambivalent*—states of feeling which in adults would lead to conflicts can be tolerated alongside one another in the child for a long time just as later on they dwell together permanently in the unconscious One might try to object that the little boy s behaviour is due to egoistic motives and does not justify the conception of an erotic complex the mother looks after all the child s needs and consequently it is to the child s interest that she should trouble herself about no one else This too is quite correct but it is soon clear that in this as in similar dependent situations egoistic interests only provide the occasion on which the erotic impulses seize When the little boy shows the most open sexual curiosity about his mother wants to sleep with her at night insists on being in the room while she is dressing or even attempts physical acts of seduction as the mother so often observes and lau hingly relates the erotic nature of this attachment to her is established without a doubt Moreover it should not be forgotten that a mother looks after a little daughter s needs in the same way without producing this effect and that often enough a father eagerly vies with her in trouble for the boy without succeeding in winning the same importance in his eyes as the mother In short the factor of sex preference is not to be eliminated from the situation by any criticisms From the point of view of the boy s egoistic interests it would merely be foolish if he did not tolerate two people in h s service rather than only one of them

As you see I have only described the rela

trees up of a boy to his father and mother times proceed in just the same way with the necessary reversal in little girls. The loving devotion to the father, the need to do away with the superfluous mother and to take her place, the early display of coquetry and the arts of later womanhood, make up a particularly charming picture in a little girl, and may cause us to forget its seriousness and the grave consequences which may later result from this situation. Let us not fail to add that frequently the parents themselves exert a decisive influence upon the awakening of the Oedipus complex in a child by themselves following the sex attraction where there is more than one child the father in an unmistakable manner prefers his little daughter with marks of tenderness and the mother the son but even this factor does not seriously impugn the spontaneous nature of the infantile Oedipus complex. When other children appear the Oedipus complex expands and becomes a family complex. Reinforced anew by the injury resulting to the egoistic interests it actuates a feeling of aversion towards these new arrivals and an unhesitating wish to get rid of them again. These feelings of hatred are as a rule much more often openly expressed than those connected with the parental complex. If such a wish is fulfilled and after a short time death removes the unwanted addition to the family later analysis can show what a significant event this death is for the child, although it does not necessarily remain in memory. Forced into the second place by the birth of another child and for the first time almost entirely parted from the mother the child finds it very hard to forgive her for this exclusion of him; feelings which in adults we should describe as profound embitterment are roused in him, and often become the groundwork of a lasting estrangement. That sexual curiosity and all its consequences is usually connected with these experiences has already been mentioned. As these new brothers and sisters grow up the child's attitude to them undergoes the most important transformations. A boy may take his sister as love-object in place of his faithless mother; where there are several brothers to win the favour of a little sister hostile rivalry of great importance in after life, shows itself already in the nursery. A little girl takes an older brother as a substitute for the father who no longer treats her with the same tenderness as in her earliest years or she takes a little sister as a substitute for the child that she vainly wished for from her father.

So much and a great deal more of a similar kind is shown by direct observation of children, and by consideration of clear memories of childhood uninfluenced by any analysis. Among other things you will infer from this that a child's position in the sequence of brothers and sisters is of very great significance for the course of his later life, a factor to be considered in every biography. What is even more important, however, is that in the face of these enlightening considerations so easily to be obtained, you will hardly recall without smiling the scientific theories accounting for the prohibition of incest. What has not been invented for this purpose! We are told that sexual at... members of the...

mental equivalent in the horror of incest! Whereby it is entirely overlooked that no such rigorous prohibitions in law and custom would be required if any trustworthy natural barriers against the temptation to incest existed. The opposite is the truth. The first choice of object in mankind is regularly an incestuous one, directed to the mother and sister of men, and the most stringent prohibitions are required to prevent this sustained infantile tendency from being carried into effect. In the savage and primitive peoples surviving today the incest prohibitions are a great deal stricter than with us. Theodor Reik has recently shown in a brilliant work that the meaning of the savage rites of puberty, which represent re-birth, is the loosening of the boy's incestuous attachment to the mother and his reconciliation with the father.

Mythology will show you that incest, ostensibly so much abhorred by men, is permitted to their gods without a thought, and from ancient history you may learn that incestuous marriage with a sister was prescribed as a sacred duty for kings (the Pharaohs of Egypt and the Incas of Peru); it was therefore in the nature of a privilege denied to the common herd.

Incest with the mother is one of the crimes of Oedipus and parricide the other. Incidentally these are the two great offences condemned by totemism, the first social religious institution of mankind. Now let us turn from the direct observation of children to the analytic investigation of adults who have become neurotic: what does analysis yield in further knowledge of the Oedipus complex? Well, this is soon told. The complex is revealed just as the myth re-

lates it it will be seen that every one of these neurotics was himself an Oedipus or what amounts to the same thing has become a Hamlet in his reaction to the complex To be sure the analytic picture of the Oedipus complex is an enlarged and accentuated edition of the infantile sketch the hatred of the father and the death wishes against him are no longer vague hints the affection for the mother declares itself with the aim of possessing her as a woman Are we really to accredit such grossness and intensity of the feelings to the tender age of childhood or does the analysis deceive us by introducing another factor? It is not difficult to find one Every time anyone describes anything past even if he be a historian we have to take into account all that he unintentionally imports into that past period from present and intermediate times thereby falsifying it With the neurotic it is even doubtful whether this retroversion is altogether unintentional we shall hear later on that there are motives for it and we must explore the whole subject of the *retrogressive phantasy-making* which goes back to the remote past We soon discover too that the hatred against the father has been strengthened by a number of motives arising in later periods and other relationships in life and that the sexual desires towards the mother have been moulded into forms which would have been as yet foreign to the child But it would be a vain attempt if we endeavoured to explain the whole of the Oedipus complex by *retrogressive phantasy making* and by motives originating in later periods of life The infantile nucleus with more or less of the accretions to it remains intact as is confirmed by direct observation of children

The clinical fact which confronts us behind the form of the Oedipus complex as established by analysis now becomes of the greatest practical importance We learn that at the time of puberty when the sexual instinct first asserts its demand in full strength the older familiar incestuous objects are taken up again and again invested by the libido The infantile object choice was but a feeble venture in play as it were but it laid down the direction for the object choice of puberty At this time a very intense flow of feeling towards the Oedipus complex or in reaction to it comes into force since their mental antecedents have become intolerable however these feelings must remain for the most part outside consciousness From the time of puberty onward the human individual must devote himself to the great task of *freeing himself from the parents* and only after this detachment is accomplished can he cease to be a child and so become a member of the social community For a son the task consists in releasing his libidinal desires from his mother in order to employ them in the quest of an external love object in reality and in reconciling himself with his father if he has remained antagonistic to him or in freeing himself from his domination if in the reaction to the infantile revolt he has lapsed into subservience to him These tasks are laid down for every man it is noteworthy how seldom they are carried throu h ideally that is how seldom they are solved in a manner psychologically as well as socially satisfactory In neurotics however this detachment from the parents is not accomplished at all the son remains all his life in subjection to his father and incapable of transferring his libido to a new sexual object In the reversed relationship the daughter s fate may be the same In this sense the Oedipus complex is justifiably regarded as the kernel of the neuroses

You will imagine how incompletely I am sketching a large number of the connections bound up with the Oedipu complex which practically and theoretically are of great importance I shall not go into the variations and possible inversions of it at all Of its less immediate effects I should like to allude to one only which proves it to have influenced literary production in a far reaching manner Otto Rank has shown in a very valuable work that dramatists throughout the ages have drawn their material principally from the Oedipus and incest complex and its variations and masked forms It hould also be remarked that long before the time of psycho analys s the two criminal offences of Oedipus were recognized as the true expressions of unbridled instinct Among the works of the Encyclopaedist Diderot you will find the famous dialogue *Le neveu de Rameau* which was translated into German by no less a person than Goethe There you may read these remarkable words *S le petit sauvage était abandonné à lui meme qu il conserva toute son imbecillité et qu il réunit au peu de raison de l enfant au berceau la violence des passions de l homme de t ente ans il tordrait le cou à son père et coucherait avec sa mère*

If th y g sa g w f ft t h mself so that h could keep ll h fool h ss d ld u lt t the sl ght reaso of the b by th cr b the lent m t s f ma f th ty h w ld w g th neck of his f the a d g to bed w th his m th —ED

There is yet one thing more which I cannot pass over. The mother-wife of Oedipus must not remind us of dreams in vain. Do you still remember the results of our dream-analyses: how so often the dream-forming wishes proved perverse and incestuous in their nature or betrayed an unsuspected enmity to near and beloved relatives? We then left the source of these evil strivings of feeling unexplained. Now you can answer this question yourselves. They are dispositions of the libido and investments of objects by libido belonging to early infancy and long since given up in conscious life, but which at night prove to be still present and in a certain sense capable of activity. But since all men and not only neurotic persons have perverse, incestuous and murderous dreams of this kind, we may infer that those who are normal today have also made the passage through the perversions and the object-investments of the Oedipus complex, and that this is the path of normal development, only that neurotics show in a magnified and exaggerated form what we also find revealed in the dream-analyses of normal people. And this is one of the reasons why we chose the study of dreams to lead up to that of neurotic symptoms.

TWENTY-SECOND LECTURE

ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT AND REGRESSION. AETIOLOGY

As we have heard, the libido function goes through an extensive development before it can enter the service of reproduction in the way that is called normal. Now I wish to show you the significance of this fact for the causation of the neuroses.

I think that it will be in agreement with the doctrines of general pathology to assume that such a development involves two dangers: first, that of *inhibition* and secondly that of *regression*. That is to say, owing to the general tendency to variation in biological processes it must necessarily happen that not all these preparatory phases will be passed through and completely outgrown with the same degree of success; some parts of the function will be permanently arrested at these early stages, with the result that with the general development there goes a certain amount of inhibited development.

Let us seek analogies to these processes in other fields. When a whole people leaves its dwellings in order to seek a new country, as often happened in earlier periods of human history, their entire number certainly did not reach the new destination. Apart from losses due to other causes, it must invariably have happened that small groups or bands of the migrating people *halted on the way* and settled down in these stopping places, while the main body went further. Or to take a nearer comparison, you know that in the higher mammals the seminal glands, which are originally located deep in the abdominal cavity, begin a movement at a certain period of intra-uterine development which brings them almost under the skin of the pelvic extremity. In a number of males it is found that one of this pair of organs has remained in the pelvic cavity, or else that it has taken up a permanent position in the inguinal canal which both of them had to pass through on the journey, or at least that this canal has not closed as it normally should after the passage of the seminal glands through it. When as a young student I was doing my first piece of scientific research under von Brücke, I was working on the origin of the dorsal nerve-roots in the spinal cord of a small fish still very archaic in form. I found that the nerve fibres of these roots grew out of large cells in the posterior horn of the grey matter, a condition which is no longer found in other vertebrates. But soon after I discovered that *similar nerve-cells were to be found outside* the grey matter along the whole length to the so-called spinal ganglion of the posterior roots, from which I concluded that the cells of this ganglion had moved out of the spinal cord along the nerve roots. Evolutionary development shows this too; in this little fish however the whole route of this passage was marked by cells arrested on the way. Closer consideration will soon show you the weak points of these comparisons. Therefore let me simply say that we consider it possible that single portions of every separate sexual impulse may remain in an early stage of development, although at the same time other portions of it may have reached their final goal. You will see from this that we conceive each such impulse as a current continuously flowing from hm

si that these conceptions require further elucidation is correct but the attempt would lead us too far afield. We will however decide at this point to call this *arrest in a* component

impulse at an early stage a FIXATION (of the impulse)

The second danger in a development by stages such as this we call REGRESSION it also happens that those portions which have pro ceeded further may easily revert in a back ward direction to these earlier stages The impulse will find occasion to *regress* in this way when the exercise of its function in a later and more developed form meets with powerful external obstacles which thus prevent it from attaining the goal of satisfaction It is a short step to assume that fixation and regression are not independent of each other the stronger the fixations in the path of development the more easily will the function yield before the external obstacles by regressing on to those fixations that is the less capable of resistance against the external difficulties in its path will the developed function be If you think of a migrating people who have left large numbers at the stopping places on their way you will see that the foremost will naturally fall back upon these positions when they are defeated or when they meet with an enemy too strong for them And again the more of their number they leave behind in their progress the sooner will they be in danger of defeat

It is important for comprehension of the neuro es that you should keep in mind this relation between fixation and regression You will thus acquire a secure foothold from which to investigate the causation of the neuroses—their aetiology—which we shall soon consider

For the present we will keep to the question of regression After what you have heard about the development of the libido you may antici pate two kinds of regression a return to the first objects invested with libido which we know to be incestuous in character and a re turn of the whole sexual organization to earlier stages Both kinds occur in the transference neuroses and play a great part in their mecha nism In particular the return to the first incestuous objects of the libido is a feature found with quite fatiguing regularity in neu rotics There is much more to be said about the regressions of libido if another group of neuroses called the narcissistic is taken into account but this is not our intention at the moment These affections yield conclusions about other developmental processes of the libido function not yet mentioned and also show us new types of regression correspond n with them I think however that I had better warn you now above all not to confound *regression* with *repression* and that I must assist you to clear your minds about the re lation between the two proces es *Repression* as you will remember is the process by which a mental act capable of becomin conscious (that is one which belongs to the preconscious system) is made unconscious and forced back into the unconscious system And we also call it *repression* when the unconscious mental act is not permitted to enter the adjacent precon scious system at all but is turned back upon the threshold by the censorship There is therefore no connection with sexuality in the concept *repression* please mark this very care fully It denotes a purely psychological process and would be even better described as *topo graphical* by which we mean that it has to do with the spatial relationships we assume within the mind or if we again abandon these crude aids to the formulation of theory with the structure of the mental apparatus out of sep arate psychical systems

The comparisons just now instituted showed us that hitherto we have not been using the word *regression* in its general sense but in a quite specific one If you give it its general sense that of a reversion from a higher to a lower stage of development in general then repression also ranges *itself* under regres ion for repression can also be described as rever sion to an earlier and lower stage in the de velopment of a mental act Only in repression this retrogressive direction is not a point of any moment to us for we also call it repression in a dynamic sense when a mental process is arrested before it leaves the lower stage of the unconscious Repression is thus a topo graphic dynamic conception while regression is a purely descriptive one But what we have

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1 u opment that is something which i essentially quite different from repression and quite independent of it Nor can we call regres sion of the libido a purely psychical process neither do we know where to localize it in the mental apparatus for though it may exert the most powerful influence upon mental life the organic factor in it is nevertheless the most prominent

Discussions of this ort tend to be rather dry therefore let us turn to clinical illustra tions of them in order to get a more vivid impression of them You know that the group of the transference neuroses consists principally

of hysteria a d the obses on l neuro is Now in hy teria a egres on of the libido t th primary in estuous s xual objects is without r m t regul r b t the e is little r no

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component impulses unde the primacy of the genital zon has been accomplished but the results of this unio meet with res stance from the directio of the p econsc ous sy tem w th which c ns us ess connected The genital organizatio therefore holds good f r th un con cious b t not also f r th preconsc us and thi rejection n the part of the preco scious re ults in a picture which has a certain likeness to the state prior to the primacy of the genital o e It is nev rtheless actually quite diff rent Of the two ki ds of regres on of the libid th t on to an ea lier phase of sexual o ganization is m ch th more *striking* Sin t i ab nt in hysteria and our wh le co ception of the e roses is still f r too much — n wh ch came

of view will undergo till further xtens ons and alt rat ons when we incl de cons derat on of still other neuroses (th narci st c) in ddit *to* hysteria and the obse sional neurosis.

In the obsessional euros on the other hand regression of th libid to th antecedent stage of th sadist anal rganiz t is the most nsp cuo fact and d term nes the f rm taken by the sympt ms Th impuls to lov must then mask tself und r th s distic impulse The obsess e thought I should like t m rder you means (when it has been d tached from *certain superimposed elem ts* that ar ot h wever accid tal but indispen sable t t) nothing lse but I should like to njoy l of you When y u onsider in ad dit that egr si to the primary obj cts has also set in t the same tim so that this impulse cerns only the nearest and most beloved persons you can gain om dea of the horro r used in the patient by these bsess e ues nd t th same time h w una countable they ppear to his c nsc us percepti B t rep ession als has ts hare great o e in the

mechanism of this neurosis and one wh ch is not easy to expound n a rapid survey such as this Regression of libido w thout *repression would never g ve rise* to a neurosis but would result in a perversion You will see from this that repression is the process which d stin guishes the neuroses *particularly* and by wh ch they are best characterized Perhaps however I may have an opportunity at some time of expounding to you what we know of the mech anism of the *perversions* and you will then see that there again noth ng *proceeds so s mply* as we sho ld like to imagine in our construction

I think that you will be soonest reco ciled to this expos tion of fixation and regression of the libido if you will regard it as preparatory to a study of the *aetiology* of the neuroses So far I have *nly given you one p ece of infor* mation on this subject namely that people fall ill of a neuros s when the possibi ity of sat faction for th libido is removed from them—they fall ill in conseque ce of a *f us t atio* as I called it therefore—and that their symptoms are actually substitutes for the *missing satisfaction This of course does n t* mean that e ery frustrat on in regard to l b d inal satisfact on makes everyone who meets with it neurotic but merely that in all cases of neu os s investigated the factor of frustra tion was dem nstrable The statement, there fo e cann t be reversed You will no doubt ha e *understood that this statement was not* inte ded to re eal the whole secret of th aet ology f the neu o es but that it merely emph sized an important and indispe sable c ndit on

N w in order to consider this propo t o furth r we do not know whether to begin upon *the nature of the frustratio* or *the particular* characte of the person affected by it The fru trati n is very rarely a comprehen ive and bsolute on n order to have a pathogenic eff t it would p obably have to strike at the o ly f rm f sat sf ti n which that pers des res the only form of which he is c pable In g neral, there are very many w ys by which it is poss ble to endure lack of libidinal satis f cti n with t fall g ill Above all we know of people wh are able *to take* uch abstinence upon themsel es without injury they are then t happy they suffe f om unsatisfied l gin but they d not become ill We therefo ha e t o clude that the sexual imp lse-excitat s are excepti nally plasti f I may us the word. One of them can step n place of ther f sati f ct n f one is d *nied in*

reality satisfaction of another can offer full recompense They are related to one another like a network of communicating canals filled with fluid and this in spite of their subordination to the genital primacy a condition which is not at all easily reduced to an image Further the component instincts of sexuality as well as the united sexual impulse which comprises them show a great capacity to change their object to exchange it for another—i e for one more easily attainable this capacity for displacement and readiness to accept surrogates must produce a powerful counter effect to the effect of a frustration One amongst these processes serving as protection against illness arising from want has reached a particular significance in the development of culture It consists in the abandonment on the part of the sexual impulse of an aim previously found either in the gratification of a component impulse or in the gratification incidental to reproduction and the adoption of a new aim—which new aim though genetically related to the first can no longer be regarded as sexual but must be called social in character We call this process SUBLIMATION by which we subscribe to the general standard which estimates social aims above sexual (ultimately selfish) aims Incidentally ublimation is merely a special case of the connections existing between exual impulses and other asexual ones We shall have occasion to discuss this again in another context

Your impression now will be that we have reduced want of satisfaction to a factor of negligible proportions by the recognition of so many means of endurin it But no this is not so it retains its pathogenic power The mean of dealing with it are not always sufficient The measure of unsatisfied libido that the average human bein can take upon himself is limited The plasticity and free mobility of the libido is not by any means retained to the full in all of us and sublimation can never discharge more than a certain proportion of libido apart from the fact that many people possess the capacity for sublimation only in a slight degree The most important of these limitations is clearly that referring to the mobility of the libido since it confines the individual to the attaining of aims and objects which are very few in number Just remember that incomplete development of the libido leaves behind it very extensive (and sometimes also numerous) libido fixations upon earlier phases of organization and types of object choice mostly incapable of satisfaction in reality you will then recognize fixation of libido as the second powerful factor working together with frustration in the causation of illness We may condense this schematically and say that libido-fixation represents the internal predispo ing factor while frustration represents the external, accidental factor in the aetiology of the neuroses

I will take this opportunity to warn you against taking sides in a quite superfluous dispute It is a popular habit in scientific matters to seize upon one side of the truth and set it up as the whole truth and then in favour of that element of truth to dispute all the rest which is equally true More than one faction has already split off in this way from the psycho analytic movement one of them recognizes only the egoistic impulses and denies the sexual another perceives only the influence of real tasks in life but overlooks that of the individual s past life and so on Now here is occasion for another of these antitheses and moot points Are the neuroses exogenous or endogenous diseases—the inevitable result of a certain type of constitution or the product of certain *injurious* (traumatic) events *in* the person s life? In particular are they brought about by the fixation of *libido* and the rest of the sexual constitution or by the pressure of frustration? This dilemma seems to me about as sensible as another I could point to Is the child created by the father s act of generation or by the conception in the mother? You will properly reply Both conditions are alike indispensable The conditions underlying the neuroses are very similar if not exactly the same From the point of view of cau ation cases of neurotic illness fall into a *series* within which the two factors—sexual constitution and events experienced or if you wish fixation of libido and frustration—are represented in such a way that where one of them predominates the other

L n i whatever happened whatever they experienced however merciful life has been to them because of their anomalous libido development At the other end stand cases which call forth the opposite verdict—they would undoubtedly have escaped *illness* if life had not put such and such burdens upon them In the intermediate ca es in the series more or less of the disposing factor (the sexual constitution) is comb ned with less or more

of the injurious impositions of life. Their sexual constitution would not have brought about their neurosis if they had not gone through such and such experiences, and life's vicissitudes would not have worked traumatically upon them if the libido had been otherwise constituted. In this series I can perhaps admit a certain preponderance in the effect of the predisposing factor, but this admission again depends upon where you draw the line in marking the boundaries of nervousness.

I shall now suggest to you that we should call series such as these *complemental series* and will inform you beforehand that we shall find occasion to establish others of this kind.

The tenacity with which the libido holds to particular channels and particular objects, the *adhesiveness* of the libido so to say, seems to be an independent fact, varying in individuals, the determining conditions of which are completely unknown to us, but the importance of which in the aetiology of the neuroses we shall certainly no longer underestimate. At the same time we should not overestimate the close relation between the two things. A similar adhesiveness of the libido occurs—from unknown causes—in normal people under numerous conditions, and is found as a decisive factor in those persons who in a certain sense are the extreme opposite of neurotics—namely, perverted persons. It was known before the time of psycho-analysis that in the anamnesis of such persons a very early impression, relating to an abnormal instinct-tendency or object choice, is frequently discovered, to which the libido of that person henceforth remains attached for life (Binet). It is often hard to say what has enabled this impression to exert such an intense power of attraction upon the libido. I will describe a case of this kind observed by myself. A man to whom the genitals and all the other attractions of woman now mean nothing, can be aroused to irresistible sexual excitation only by a shoe-clad foot of a certain shape. He can remember an event in his sixth year which determined this fixation of libido. He was sitting upon a stool by the side of his governess who was to give him an English lesson. She was a plain, elderly, shrivelled old maid, with watery blue eyes and a snub nose, and on this day she had hurt her foot and had it therefore stretched out on a cushion in velvet slipper with the leg itself most decorously concealed. Later on, after a timid attempt at normal sexual activity during puberty, a thin sinewy foot like that of the governess became his only sexual object, and if still other features in the person reminded him of the English type of woman represented by the English governess, the man was helplessly attracted. This fixation of the libido, however, rendered him not neurotic but perverse; he became, as we say, a foot fetichist. So you see that although an excessive and in addition premature fixation of libido is an indispensable condition in the causation of neuroses, the extent of its influence far exceeds the boundaries of the neuroses. This condition by itself is also as little decisive as the frustration mentioned previously.

So the problem of the causation of the neuroses seems to become more complicated. In fact, psycho-analytic investigation acquaints us with yet a new factor not considered in our aetiological series, and best observed in some one whose previous good health is suddenly disturbed by falling ill of a neurosis. In these people signs of contradictory and opposed wishes or, as we say, of *mental conflict* are regularly found. One side of the personality stands for certain wishes while another part struggles against them and fends them off. There is no neurosis without such a CONFLICT. There might seem to be nothing very special in this. You know that mental life in all of us is perpetually engaged with conflicts that have to be decided. Therefore it would seem that special conditions must be fulfilled before such a conflict can become pathogenic. We may ask what these conditions are, what forces in the mind take part in these pathogenic conflicts and what relation conflict bears to the other causative factors.

I hope to be able to give you answers to these questions which will be satisfactory although perhaps schematically condensed. Conflict is produced by frustration, in that the libido which lacks satisfaction is urged to seek other paths and other objects. A condition of it then is that these other paths and objects arouse disfavour in one side of the personality, so that a veto ensues which at first makes the new way of satisfaction impossible. This is the point of departure for the formation of symptoms which we shall follow up later. The rejected libidinal longings manage to pursue their course by circuitous paths, though not indeed without paying toll to the prohibition in the form of certain disguises and modifications. The circuitous paths are the ways of symptom formation; the symptoms are the

new and substitutive satisfactions necessitated by the fact of the frustration

The significance of the mental conflict can be defined in another way thus in order to become pathogenic *external* frustration must be supplemented by *internal* frustration When this is so the external and the internal frustration relate of course to different paths and different objects external frustration removes one possibility of satisfaction internal frustration tries to exclude another possibility and it is this second possibility which becomes the debatable ground of the conflict I choose this form of presentation because it conta [illegible]

[illegible] out of real external obstacles

But what are these forces out of which the prohibition against the libidinal longings proceeds the other parties in the pathogenic conflict? Speaking very broadly we may say that they are the non sexual instincts We include them all under the name *ego instincts* analysis of the transference neuroses offers no adequate opportunity for further investigation of them at most we learn something of them from the resistances opposed to the analysis The pathogenic conflict is therefore one between the ego instincts and the sexual instincts In a whole series of cases it looks as though there might also be conflict between various purely sexual impulses at bottom however this is the same thing because of the two sexual impulses engaged in a conflict one will always be found *consistent with the ego* (ego syntonic) while the other calls forth a protest from the ego It remains therefore a conflict between ego and sexuality

Over and over again when psycho analysis has regarded something happening in the mind as an expression of the sexual instincts indignant protests have been raised to the effect that other instincts and other interests exist in mental life besides the sexual that one should not derive everything from sexuality and so on Well it is a real pleasure for once to be in agreement with one s opponents Psycho analysis has never forgotten that non sexual instincts also exist it has been built upon a sharp distinction between sexual instincts and ego instincts and in the face of all opposition it has insisted *not* that they arise from sexuality but that the neuroses owe their origin to a *conflict* between ego and sexuality It has no conceivable motive in denying the existence or the significance of the ego instincts while it investigates the part played by sexual instincts in disease and in life generally Only psycho analysis has been destined to concern itself first and foremost with the sexual instincts because in the transference neuroses the e are the most accessible to investigation and because it was obliged to study what others had neglected

It is not any more accurate to say that psycho analysis has not occupied itself at all with the non sexual side of the personality The very distinction between the ego and sexuality has shown us with particular clearness that the ego instincts also undergo an important development which is neither entirely independent of the development of the libido nor without influence upon the latter We certainly understand the development of the ego much less well than the development of the libido because it is only by the study of the narcissistic neuroses that we have just reached some hope of insight into the structure of the ego Nevertheless we have already a notable attempt on the part of Ferenczi to reconstruct theoretically the developmental sta es of the ego and there are at least two points at which we have a secure foothold from which to examine this development further We are not at all disposed to think that the libidinal interests of a human being are from the outset in opposition to the interests of self preservation the e o is rather impelled at every stage to attempt to remain in harmony with the corresponding stage of sexual organization and to accommodate itself to that The succession of the separate phases in the development of the libido probably follows a prescribed course it is undeniable however that this course may be influenced from the direction of the ego A certain parallelism a definite correspondence between the phases in the two developments (of the ego and of the libido) may also be assumed indeed a disturbance in this corre pondence may become a pathogenic factor More important to us is the question of how the e o behaves when the libido has undergone a powerful fixation at an earlier point in its development The ego may countenance the fixation and will then be perverse to that extent or what is the same thing infantile it

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may however hold self averse from this a tachment of lib do the result of which is that where the lib do undergoes a *fixation* there the ego institutes an act of *repression*

In this way we arrive at the conclus on that the third facto in the aetiology of the neuroses, the susceptibility t conflict, is as much con nected with the deve opment of the ego as with the deve opmen of the libido our insig t into the causation of the neuroses is thus enlarged. First, there is the most general condi ion f priva ion, then the fixation of libido (forcing it in o particular chann ls) and *thirdly* the *susc ti ty to con ct* produced by the de velopment f the ego having repudiated libid. nal solutions f that particular kind The thing i theref re, ot so very obscure and intricat as you probably thought t during the course of my expos ion. To be ure though, after all, we ha e ot done with it yet there is still somethi new to add and something we already know t dissect f rther

In order to demons rate the ffect of the development f the eg upon the tendency to conflict and therewith upon the causat on of the neuroses I will quo an example whi h, although entirely imaginary is n t at all im probable in any respect I will gi e it th title of Nestroy s farce *O the G ound Floor and in the Mansion*. Suppose that a caretaker is living on the ground floor of house whil the owner rich and well-connected man, li es bove They both ha e children, and w will assume that the own little girl is permitted t pla freely without supervi on with th child f lower social tanding It may then very easily happen that the games bec m "naugh that is take sexual character that they play f ther and mother watch each other in the perf rma f intimate cts and stimulate ea h othe s genital parts The care taker daught r ma ha e played th temptress in this ce in sp t f h fi e six years she has been bl to learn great deal bout sexual matters. These occurrences even though they re only kept up f h rt period, will be enough t rouse certain sexual excitat ons in both children which will com t expres on in the practice of masturbat for a few years after th games ha e been discontinued. There is common ground so f but th final result will be very different in the tw hildren. The caretaker daughter will co ue masturba tion, perhaps up to the onset f menstruation, and then give t up without difficulty few years later will find a lover perhaps bear a child choose this or that path in life perhaps become a popula actress and end as an aristo crat. Probably he career will turn out less brilliantly bu in any case he will be unharmed by the premature exual activ ty free from neurosi and able to live her life. Very differ ent is the result in the other child. She will very soon whi e yet child, acquire a sense of ha m done wrong after a fairly short time e will give up the masturbatory satisfaction, though perhaps only with a tremendous trug gl but will nevertheless retain an inner feeling of subdued depres on When later on as a oung girl he comes to learn somethin of sexual i tercourse he will turn from it with inexplicable horror and wish to remain ignoran Probably she will then again suffer a fresh ir resistible impulse t masturbation about wh ch s will n t dare to unburden herself to any one When the time comes for a man t choose her as wif the neuros s will break out and cheat her out f *marriage and the joy of life* If analysis makes t possible to obtain an in sight into this neurosis, it will be found that this well-brought-up intelligent and ideali t girl has comple el repressed her exual desires but that they are unconsciously attached to the few l ttle experiences he had with the childish play mate

The differences which ensue in these two destinies in spite of the common experiences undergone arise because in one girl the ego has sustained a development absent in the other To the caretaker s dau hter sexual activity seemed as *natural and harmless in later years* in childhood. The gentleman s daught r had been "well bro ght-up and had adopted the tandards of her ed cat on Thus stimulated her ego had formed deals of womanly purity and absence of desire that were incompatible with exual ct her intellectual trainin h d caused her t depreciat th feminine role f whi h h is intended. This higher moral and int llectual development in her ego has brought her into conflict with the claims of her sexuality

I will explore one more aspect of the devel opment of the lib do today both because it leads out upon certain wide prospects, and also because it is well-suited to justify the sharp and immediat ly obv ous line of dem ca ti n we are wont t draw between ego-instincts and sexual instincts In c ns dering the two developments undergone by th eg and by the

new and substitutive satisfactions necessitated by the fact of the frustration

The significance of the mental conflict can be defined in another way thus in order to become pathogenic *external* frustration must be supplemented by *internal* frustration When this is so the external and the internal frustration relate of course to different paths and different objects external frustration removes one possibility of satisfaction internal frustration tries to exclude another possibility and it is this second possibility which becomes the debatable ground of the conflict I choose this form of presentation because it contains a certain implication it implies that the internal impediment arose originally in primitive phases of human development out of real external obstacles

But what are these forces out of which the prohibition against the libidinal longings proceeds the other parties in the pathogenic conflict? Speaking very broadly we may say that they are the non sexual instincts We include them all under the name *ego instincts* analysis of the transference neuroses offers no adequate opportunity for further investigation of them at most we learn something of them from the resistances opposed to the analysis The pathogenic conflict is therefore one between the ego instincts and the sexual instincts In a whole series of cases it looks as though there might also be conflict between various purely sexual impulses at bottom however this is the same thing because of the two sexual impulses engaged in a conflict one will always be found *consistent with the ego* (ego syntonic) while the other calls forth a protest from the ego It remains therefore a conflict between ego and sexuality

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way and more general than by emphasizing the attainment of pleasure. We can say that the mental apparatus serves the purpose of mastering and discharging the masses of stimuli and quantities of energy. It is very evident that the sexual instincts pursue the plan that the sexual instincts pursue the aim of gratification from the beginning to the end of their development; throughout they keep up this primary function without alteration. At first the other group, the ego-instincts, do the same, but under the influence of necessity their mistress, they soon learn to replace the pleasure-principle by a modification of it. The task of avoiding pain becomes for them almost equal in importance to that of gaining pleasure; the ego learns that it must inevitably go without immediate satisfaction, postpone gratification, learn to endure a degree of pain, and altogether renounce certain sources of pleasure. Thus trained, the ego becomes "reasonable," is no longer controlled by the pleasure-principle, but follows the REALITY PRINCIPLE, which at bottom also seeks pleasure—although delayed and diminished pleasure, one which is assured by its realization of fact, its relation to reality.

The transition from the pleasure-principle to the reality-principle is one of the most important advances in the development of the ego. We already know that the sexual instincts follow late and unwillingly through this stage; presently we shall learn what the consequences are to man that his sexuality is satisfied with such a slender hold upon external reality. And now in conclusion one more observation relevant in this connection. If the ego in mankind has its evolution like the libido, you will not be surprised to hear that there exist "ego-regressions" too, and will wish to know the part this reversion of the ego to earlier stages in development can play in neurotic disease.

TWENTY THIRD LECTURE

The Paths of Symptom Formation

In the eyes of the general public, the symptoms are the essence of a disease, and to them cure means the removal of the symptoms. In medicine, however, we find it important to differentiate between symptoms and disease, and state that the disappearance of the symptoms is by no means the same as the cure of the disease. The only tangible element of the disease that remains after the removal of the symptoms, however, is the capacity to form new symptoms. Therefore for the moment let us adopt the lay point of view and regard a knowledge of the foundation of the symptoms as equivalent to understanding the disease.

The symptoms—of course we are here dealing with mental (or psychogenic) symptoms, and mental disease—are activities which are detrimental, or at least useless, to life as a whole; the person concerned frequently complains of them as obnoxious to him, or they involve distress and suffering for him. The principal injury they inflict lies in the expense of mental energy they entail, and besides this in the energy needed to combat them. Where the symptoms are extensively developed, these two kinds of effort may exact such a price that the person suffers a very serious impoverishment in available mental energy which consequently disables him for all the important tasks of life. This result depends principally upon the amount of energy taken up in this way; therefore you will see that "illness" is essentially a practical conception. But if you look at the matter from a theoretical point of view and ignore this question of degree, you can very well say that we are all ill, i.e., neurotic; for the conditions required for symptom formation are demonstrable also in normal persons.

Of neurotic symptoms we already know that they are the result of a conflict arising when a new form of satisfaction of libido is sought. The two powers which have entered into opposition meet together again in the symptom and become reconciled by means of the *compromise* contained in symptom formation. That is why the symptom is capable of such resistance; it is sustained from both sides. We also know that one of the two partners to the conflict is the unsatisfied libido, frustrated by reality and now forced to seek other paths to satisfaction. If reality remains inexorable even when the libido is prepared to take another object in place of that denied, the libido will then finally be compelled to resort to regression and to seek satisfaction in one of the organizations it had already surmounted or in one of the objects it had relinquished earlier. The libido is drawn into the path of regression by the fixations it has left behind it at these places in its development.

Now the path of perversion branches off sharply from that of neurosis. If these regressions do not call forth prohibition on the part of the ego, no neurosis results; the libido succeeds in obtaining a real, although not a

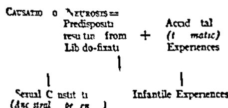
libido we must emphasize an aspect which hitherto has received little attention Both of them are at bottom inheritances abbreviated repetitions of the evolution undergone by the whole human race through long drawn out periods and from prehistoric ages In the development of the libido this phylogenetic origin is readily apparent I should suppose Think how in one class of animals the genital apparatus is in closest relation with the mouth in another it is indistinguishable from the excretory mechanism in another it is part of the organs of motility you will find a delightful description of these facts in W Bolsche s valuable book One sees in animals all the various perversions ingrained so to speak in the form taken by their sexual organizations Now the phylogenetic aspect is to some extent obscured in man by the circumstances that what is fundamentally inherited is nevertheless individually acquired anew probably because the same conditions that originally induced its acquisition still prevail and exert their influence upon each individual I would say where they originally created a new response they now stimulate a predisposition Apart from this it is unquestionable that the course of the prescribed development in each individual can be disturbed and altered by current impressions from without But the power which has enforced this development upon mankind and still today maintains its pressure in the same course is known to us it is again the frustration exacted by reality or if we give it its great real name it is *necessity* the struggle for life *αναγχη* Necessity has been a severe task mistress and she has tau ht us a great deal Neurotics are those of her children upon whom this severity has had evil effects but that risk is inevitable in any education Incidentally this view of the struggle for existence as the motive force in evolution need not detract from the significance of *inner evolutionary tendencies* if such are found to exist

Now it is very noteworthy that sexual instincts and self preservative instincts do not behave alike when confronted with the necessity of real life The self preservative instincts and all that hangs together with them are more easily moulded they learn early to conform to necessity and to adapt their development according to the mandates of reality This is comprehensible for they cannot obtain the objects they require by any other means and without these objects the individual must perish The sexual instincts are less easily moulded for in the beginning they do not know any lack of objects Since they are connected parasitically as it were with the other physical functions and at the same time can be auto erotically gratified on their own body they are at first isolated from the educative influence of real necessity and in most people they retain throughout life in some respect or other this character of obstinacy and inaccessibility to influence which we call *unreasonableness* Moreover the educability of a young person as a rule comes to an end when sexual desire breaks out in its final strength Educators know this and act accordingly but perhaps they will yet allow themselves to be influenced by the results of psycho-analysis so that they will transfer the main emphasis in education to the earliest years of childhood, from the suckling period onward The little human being is frequently a finished product in his fourth or fifth year and only gradually reveals in later years what lies buried in him.

To appreciate the full significance of this difference between the two groups of instincts we must digress some distance and include one of those aspects which deserve to be called *economic* we enter here upon one of the most important but unfortunately one of the most obscure territories of psycho analysis We may put the question whether a main purpo e is discernible in the operation of the mental apparatus and our first approach to an answer is that this purpose is directed to the attainment of pleasure It seems that our entire psychical activity is bent upon *procuring pleasure* and *avoiding pain* that it is automatically re ulated by the PLEASURE PRINCIPLE Now of all things in the world we should l ke to know what are the conditions giving rise to pleasure and pain but that is just where we fall short We may only venture to say that pleasure is *in some way* connected with le ening lowering or extinguishing the amount of stimulation present in the mental apparatus and that pain involves a heightening of the latter Consideration of the most intense plea ure of which man is capable the pleasure in the performance of the sexual act leaves little doubt upon this point Since pleasurable proces es of this kind are bound up with the distribution of quantities of mental excitation and energy we term cons derat ons of this kind *economic* ones It appears that we can describe the tasks and performances of the mental apparatus in another

happens, in favour of ancestral experiences or of experien es in adult life but on the co trary they should be particula ly ppreciated They are all the more pregnant with consequences because they occur at a time of uncompl ted de velopment and for this very reason are likely to have a traumatic effect. The work do e by Roux and others on the m chanism of development has shown that a needle pricked into an embryonic c ll ma s undergoing di ision re sults in serious disturbances of the development the same injury to a larva or a full grown animal would be innocuous

The lib do-fixation of an adult which we have ref rred to as represe ting the co stitu tional f ct r in the aet ology of the neuroses ma theref re now be d ided into two further e ements the inherited predisposit on and the predi pos tion acquired n ea ly childhood Since a schem tic mod f presentat on is alwa s ac ceptable t student let us formulate these relations as follows



CAUSATIO O NEUROSIS = Predispositi resu tin from Lib do-fixati + Accid tal (t matic) Experiences

Sexual C nstit ti (Anc stral pe en) | Infantile Experiences

The h red tary sexual constitut on pro ides a great va ety f predisposit ons c o ding as this o that c mpo t mpulse l e in ombinati w th oth rs is peciall tro gly cce tuated. Togethe w th the infa til ex perien th sexual nstitut f rms anothe c mplem tal ers s qu t m lar t th t al ready described as being f rmed out f the predispos tio and d tal experi ces f an adult I ea h series s mila ext me cases re met with, and als simila degree and rela tionships betwee the f tors o c rned It would be appropri te t this po t to con de whethe th m re striking f the tw kinds of lib o-regress on (that which reverts to ea lie stages f sexual organizat n) s t predominantly co dit ed by th h editary const t tional f ct but th an we t thi que tion is best postponed until a wid rang of f rms of eurotic disease can be con dered

Now l t us devote tt ti t th fact that analytic in est gatio sh ws th lib do f n rotics to be attached to the r infant le sexual experiences In this light these experiences seem to be of enormous importa ce in the l ves and illnesses of mankind This importance re mai s und mini hed in so far as the therapeu t c wo k of analysis is concerned but regarded from another poi t of iew it is easy to see

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but only acquired it later by regression You will remember that we d cu sed a s milar al ternati e before in dealing with the Oed pus complex.

To decide this point is again not difficult. The tatement i u doubtedly correct that re gres great augments the cathexis of the infantile experiences with libido—and with that thei pathogenic gnificance but it would be misleading to allow this alone to become de cisi e O h r con derations m t be taken i t account as well. To begin w th, observatio hows n a manner excluding all do bt that n f tile experie ces ha e th ir own import nce wh h s demonstrated already during child hood There are indeed neuroses in ch dren too n the r neuroses the factor of d splace ment backwards in time is neces arily much d minished or quite absent the outbreak of ill ess followin mmediately upo a traumat c xperience The study of infa tile ne roses guards us from many ri ks of misunderstand i the neuroses of adults just as children s dreams gave u the key to comprehens o f the d eam f ad lts Neuro in childre s very c mmon f more mmon than is u u ally upposed It is often ove looked rega d d s a manif st t on of bad beha our au ht ness and ofte subdued by the autho ti s n th nursery but in retrospect it is alwa s easily recognizable It appears most oft n in th form of anxiety hyst ria we shall learn what that means o a ther occas n Wh n a ne os break out in later lif anal sis i vari ably reveals it to be direct continuat n of that fant le n urosis which had pe haps been expressed in a veiled and cip e t form onl s has bee sa d h wev th are cases in whi h the child h nerv u ne s is carried on

normal satisfaction But if the ego which controls not merely consciousness but also the approaches to motor innervation and hence the realization in actuality of mental impulses is not in agreement with these regressions conflict ensues The libido is blocked as it were and must seek an escape by which it can find an outlet for its cathexis (charge of energy) in conformity with the demands of the pleasure principle it must elude eschew the ego The fixations upon the path of development now regressively traversed—fixations against which the ego had previously guarded itself by repressions—offer just such an escape In streaming backward and re *cathecting* these repressed positions the libido withdraws itself from the ego and its laws but it also abandons all the training acquired under the influence of the ego It was docile as long as satisfaction was in sight under the double pressure of external and internal frustration it becomes intractable and harks back to former happier days That is its essential unchangeable character The ideas to which the libido now transfers its cathexis belong to the unconscious system and are subject to the special processes characteristic of that system—namely condensation and displacement Conditions are thus set up which correspond exactly with those of dream formation Just as the latent dream first formed in the unconscious out of the thoughts proper and constituting the fulfilment of an unconscious wish phantasy meets with some (pre)conscious activity which exerts a censorship upon it and permits according to its verdict the formation of a compromise in the manifest dream so the ideas to which the libido is attached (libido representatives) in the unconscious have still to contend with the power of the preconscious ego The opposition against it in the ego follows it as an anti cathexis (counter charge) and forces it to adopt a form of expression by which the opposing forces can at the same time express themselves In this way the symptom then comes into being as a derivative distorted in manifold ways of the unconscious libidinal wish fulfilment as a cleverly chosen ambiguity with two completely contradictory significations In this last point alone is there a difference between dream formation and symptom formation for the preconscious purpose in dream formation is merely to preserve sleep and to allow nothing that would disturb it to penetrate consciousness it does not insist upon confronting the unconscious wish impulse with a sharp prohibiting No on the contrary It can be more tolerant because a sleeping person is in a less dangerous position the condition of sleep is enough in itself to prevent the wish from being realized in actuality

You see that this escape of the libido under the conditions of conflict is rendered possible by the existence of fixations The regressive cathexis (with libido) of these fixations leads to a circumventing of the repressions and to a discharge—or a satisfaction—of the libido in which the conditions of a compromise have nevertheless to be maintained By this detour through the unconscious and the old fixations the libido finally succeeds in attaining to a real satisfaction though the satisfaction is certainly of an exceedingly restricted kind and hardly recognizable as such Let me add two remarks on this outcome First will you notice how closely connected the libido and the unconscious on the one hand and the ego consciousness and reality on the other show themselves to be although there were no such connections between them originally, and secondly let me tell you that all I have said and have still to say on this point concerns the neurosis of hysteria only

Where does the libido find the fixations it needs in order to break through the repressions? In the activities and experiences of infantile sexuality in the component tendencies and the objects of childhood which have been relinquished and abandoned It is to them therefore that the libido turns back The significance of childhood is a double one on the one hand the congenitally determined instinct dispositions are first shown at that time and secondly other instincts are then first awakened and activated by external influences and accidental events experienced In my opinion we are quite justified in laying down this dichotomy That the innate predisposition comes to expression will certainly not be disputed but analytic observation even requires us to assume that purely accidental experiences in childhood are capable of inducing fixations of libido Nor do I see any theoretical difficulty in this Constitutional predispositions are undoubtedly the after effects of the experiences of an earlier ancestry they also have been at one time acquired without such acquired characters there would be no heredity And is it conceivable that the acquisition of characters which will be transmitted further should suddenly cease in the generation which is being observed today? The importance of the infantile experiences should not however be entirely overlooked as so often

sympt ms seem rema kable and inexplicable as a means of lib dinal satisfaction They so en tirely fail to rem d us f all that we are ac customed normally to connect with satisfact on. They are mostly q te independent of an object and thu have gi en up a relation to ex ternal reality We understand this as a co e quence of th rejection of the reality principle and the return to the plea ure prin iple t is also however a et rn to a kind of amplified auto-e otism, the kind which ffered the exual in tinct its first gratificati ns I the place of eff ctin a change in the outer wo ld they set up a change in the body itself that is an in ternal actio instead f a ternal o e an adaptatio instead of an cti ty—from a phy logenetic po nt of ew again a ery s gnificant regress n. We hall understand thi better

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these f fancy not alw ys true I deed th m y nt f c es they are untru a d som ca th y e in d ct ppo tion t hi t ri al truth Y u will ee that this dis ov ry is m re lik ly tha any other to discredit th th analys wh h lead t such esult th pati t po wh e t timo y the anal d mprehe of the u oses

in ent ons and phanta es of the patient s we should have to forsake th s nsecure foothold and sa e urselves some other way But it is neither one thin nor the other for what we fi d is that the childhood-experiences recon structed or recollected in analys s are on some occas ons undeniabl false while others are just as certainly quite true a d that in most ca es truth and fal ehood a e mixed up So the symptoms re thus at one minute reproduct ons of experiences which actually took place a d which one can credit with an influence on the fixation of the l b do and at the next a reproductio of phantasies of the patient s to which of course it s difficult to a cribe a y aet olo cal s gnificance It is hard to find one s way here We may perhaps find our first clue in a disco ery of a similar kind namely that the meagre childi h recollections which people have always long before analys s consciously pre erved can be falsified n the same way r at le t can co tain a generous admixture of truth and falsehood evidence of error in them i n a ly always plainly vis ble and so we have at least the reassuranc that not the analysis, but the patient in some way must bear the re f th s unexpected d sappo tment.

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d ff rently The pat ent h mseli m u ntally takes th s m tt tud whe he is thinking n rmally When he brings forw rd the material that lead u to the wi hed for situations (which unde h the sympt ms and are formed upon the childhood xperie ces) we are certainly in doubt t fi t wh the we hav to deal w th reality with phantas es Decis on on th s po t be m po s ble lat r by mea s f cer tain indications and we are th n co fro ted w th th task of making thi result known to

subject f rth udd nly d clines—he also wishes to fi d o t f cts and despi s what is

into lifelong illness without a break. In a few instances we have been able to analyse a child actually in a condition of neurosis; far more often we have had to be satisfied with the retrospective insight into a childhood neurosis that can be gained through someone who has fallen ill in mature years, a situation in which due corrections and precautions must not be neglected.

In the second place it would certainly be inexplicable that the libido should regress so regularly to the time of childhood if there had been nothing there which could exert an attraction upon it. The fixation upon certain stages of development which we assume, only has meaning if we regard it as attaching to itself a definite amount of libidinal energy. Finally, I may point out that a complemental relationship exists here between the intensity and pathogenic importance of the *infantile* and of the *later* experiences, again a similar relationship to that found in the other two series we have already studied. There are cases in which the whole accent of causation falls on the sexual experiences in childhood, cases in which these impressions undoubtedly had a traumatic effect, nothing more than the average sexual constitution and its immaturity being required to supplement them. Then there are others in which all the accent lies on the later conflicts and the analytic emphasis upon the childhood impressions seems to be the effect of regression alone. There exist, therefore, the two extremes—*inhibited development* and *regression*—and between them every degree of combination of the two factors.

This state of things has a certain interest for those looking to pedagogy for the prevention of neuroses by early intervention in the matter of the child's sexual development. As long as attention is directed mainly to the infantile sexual experiences one would think everything in the way of prophylaxis of later neurosis could be done by ensuring that this development should be retarded and the child secured against this kind of experience. But we know that the conditions causing neurosis are more complicated than this and that they cannot be influenced in a general way by attending to one factor only. Strict supervision in childhood loses value because it is helpless against the constitutional factor; more than this, it is less easy to carry out than specialists in education imagine, and it entails two new risks which are not to be lightly disregarded. It may accomplish too much, in that it favours an exaggerated degree of sexual [illegible] must be expected at puberty. It therefore remains most doubtful how far prophylaxis in childhood can go with advantage, and whether a changed attitude to actuality would not constitute a better point of departure for attempts to forestall the neuroses.

Let us return to consideration of the symptoms. They yield a satisfaction in place of one lacking in reality; they achieve this by means of a regression of the libido to a previous time of life, with which regression is indissolubly connected a reversion to earlier phases in the object choice or in the organization. We learned some time ago that the neurotic is in some way *tied* to a period in his past life; we know now that this period in the past is one in which his libido could attain satisfaction, one in which he was happy. He looks back on his life story seeking some such period and goes on seeking it, even if he must go back to the time when he was a suckling infant to find it according to his recollection or his imagination of it under later influences. In some way the symptom reproduces that early infantile way of satisfaction, disguised though it is by censorship implicit in the conflict, converted as it usually is into a sensation of suffering and mingled with elements drawn from the experiences leading up to the outbreak of the illness. The kind of satisfaction which the symptom brings has much about it which estranges us, quite apart from the fact that the person concerned is unaware of the satisfaction and perceives this that we call satisfaction much more as suffering and complains of it. This transformation belongs to the mental conflict by the pressure of which the symptom had to be formed; what was at one time a satisfaction must today arouse resistance or horror in him. We are familiar with a simple but instructive instance of such a change of feeling: the same child that sucked milk with voracity from its mother's breast often shows some years later a strong dislike of milk which can with difficulty be overcome by training; this dislike is intensified to the point of horror if the milk or any other kind of liquid containing it has a skin formed upon it. It is possible that the skin calls up reverberations of a memory of the mother's breast, once so ardently desired; it is true that the traumatic experience of weaning has intervened meanwhile.

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a ... r a return to a kind of amplified auto-ero ism, the kind which offered the sexual instinct its first grat ficati ns In the place of effecting a change i the o te wo ld they set up a change in the bod itself that is an in ternal ctio instead of an external o e an adaptation instead f an activ ty—from a phy logenet c point of v ew again a ery s gnificant regres n W hall understand this better when we con ider t in connection with a new fact r yet to be learnt f om among those wh h a ...

... symptom represents something as fulfilled a satisf ct on infantile in charact r but b the utmost condensati n this sati fac tion can be compres ed int a s gle sensat on o in rvation, or by farthest displacement can be wh tled away to a tiny detail out of the en tire libidinal complex. It is no wonde that we often find it difficult to recognise in th symptom th lib dinal satisfaction which we suspect and can always verify in t.

I have indicated that we ha e still t learn of a ew elemen surpri analys f the is fixa ... in the symptoms are made up Now the a toni hing thing is that these scenes of infancy are ot always true In deed in th majority f cases they are untrue and in some cases they are in direct ppo t on to his ori al truth. You will ee that this discovery is m re lik ly than any othe t discredit eith r the analysis which lead t su h results o th pati t upon who t timony the anal is and c mprehens on f the neu oses a a whol is b lt up. There is bes des this stil something utt rly bew ld n abo t it If the infantile experiences b ought to light by th a al were n every case real we sh ld have the feeling that we e on firm ground if they were in ariably fals fied and f und to be inven ions a d phanta es of the patient s we should have to forsake this insecure foothold and save ourselves some other way B t it is neither one thing nor the other for what we find is that the childhood-experiences recon structed or recollected i analysis are on some occasions und niably false, while others are just as certainly quite true and that in most cases truth and falsehood are mixed up So the symptoms are thus at one minute reprod ctions of experiences which actually took place and which one can credit with an influence on the fixation of the libido and at the next a reproduction of phantasies of the patient s to which of course t is difficult to ascribe any aetiologi cal significance. It s hard to find one s way here. We may perhaps find our first clue in a disco ery of a similar kind, namely that the meagre childish recollections which people have always lo g before anal s s consciously pre rved can be falsified in the same way or at least can contain a generous admixture of truth and falsehood evidence of error in th m is nea ly always plainly visible and so we have at least th reassurance that not the analy is, but th patient in s me way must bear the re sponsibility for this unexpected disappo ntment.

After a l ttle reflect on we can easily under stand what it is that is so bewildering in this matte It is the depreciat on f reality the neg lect f the difference between reality and phan tasy w are tempted to be offended with the patient for t kin up our time with in e ted stories According to our way of thinking heaven and earth are n t farthe apart than ficti n f om reality a d we value the two quite differently The pat ent h mself incidentally t ke the same att tud when he is thinking normall When he brings forward the material that lead us to the wished f r situations (which underli th symptoms and are formed upon the childhood experiences) we are certainly in doubt t first whether w have t deal w th reality o with phanta es Decis n on this po t be m s pos b e late by means f er tai indications and we are th n conf onted w th th task of making this result known to th pati nt. This is neve ccomplished without difficul y If we t ll him at the utset that he is n w about to bring t l ht the phantas es in whi h h ha h o ded the history of his child hood just as e ery race weaves myth bout ts forgotten early history we bserve t our dissatisf ction that hi interest in pursuing the ubject furthe suddenly declines—he also wishes to find out facts and despises what is

called *imagination* But if we leave him to be lieve until this part of the work has been car ried throu_h that we are investigatin" the real events of his early years we run the risk of being charged with the mistake later and of being laughed at for our apparent gullibility It takes him a long time to understand the proposal that phantasy and reality are to be treated alike and that it is to begin with of no account whether the childhood experiences un der consideration belong to the one class or to the other And yet this is obviously the only correct attitude towards these products of his mind They have indeed also a kind of reality it is a fact that the patient has created these phantasies and for the neurosis this fact is *hardly less important than the other—if he had* really experienced what they contain In con trast to *material* reality these phantasies pos sess *psychical* reality and we gradually come to understand that *in the world of neurosis* PSY CHICAL REALITY *is the determining factor*

Amon" the occurrences which continually recur in the story of a neurotic s childhood and eem hardly ever absent are some of particular significance which I therefore consider worthy of special attention As models of this type I will enumerate observation of parental inter course seduction by an adult and the threat of castration It would be a great mistake to sup pose that they never occur in reality on the contrary they are often confirmed beyond doubt by the testimony of older relatives Thus for example it is not at all uncommon for a little boy who is be_innin to play with his penis and has not yet learnt that he must conceal such activities to be threatened by parents or nurses that his member or his of fending hand will be cut off Parents will often admit the fact on being questioned since they imagine that such intimidation was the right course to take many people have a clear con scious recollection of this threat especially if it took place in later childhood If the mother or some other woman makes the threat she usually shifts the execution of it to someone else in dicating that the father or the doctor will per form the deed In the famous *Struwelpeter* by the Frankfort physician for children Hoff mann which owes its popularity precisely to his undertanding of the sexual and other com plexes of children you will find the castration idea modified and replaced by cutting off the thumbs as a punishment for stubborn sucking of them It is however highly improbable that the threat of castration has been delivered as often as would appear from the analysis of a neurotic We are content to understand that the child concocts a threat of this kind out of its knowled e that auto-erotic satisfactions are forbidden on the basis of hints and allusions and influenced by the impression received on discoverin_ the female genital organ Similarly it is not at all impossible that a small child credited as he is with no understanding and no memory may be witness of the sexual act on the part of his parents or other adults in other families besides those of the proletariat and there is reason to think that the child can *subsequently* understand the impression re ceived and react to it But when this act of in tercourse is described with minute details which can hardly have been observed or when it ap pears as it most frequently does to have been performed from behind *more ferarum* there can be little doubt that this phantasy has grown out of the observation of copulating animals (do s) and that its motive force lies in the un satisfied skoptophilia (gazing impulse) of the child during puberty The greatest feat achieved by this kind of phantasy is that of observing parental intercourse while still unborn in the mother s womb

The phantasy of seduction has special inter est because only too often it is no phantasy but a real remembrance fortunately however it is still not as often real as it seemed at first from the results of analysis Seduction by chil dren of the same age or older is more frequent than by adults and when girls who brin for ward this event in the story of their childhood fairly regularly introduce the father as the seducer neither the phantastic character of this accusation nor the motive actuating it can be doubted When no seduction has occurred the phantasy is usually employed to cover the child hood period of auto erotic exual activity the child evades feelin s of shame about onanism by retrospectively attributing in phantasy a desired object to the earliest period Do not suppose however that sexual misu e of chil dren by the nearest male relatives is entirely derived from the world of phantasy most analysts will have treated cases in which such occurrences actually took place and could be established beyond doubt only even then they belonged to later years of childhood and had been transposed to an earlier time

All this eems to lead to but one impression that childhood experiences of this kind are in some way necessarily requ red by the neurosis

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that they belong to its unvarying inventory. If they can be found in real events, well and good; but if reality has not supplied them they will be evolved out of hints and elaborated by phantasy ... we ... on ... ally ... plays the greater part in these experiences. Here again is one of those complemental series so often referred to already; it is certainly the strangest of all those we have encountered. Whence comes the necessity for these phantasies and the material for them? There can be no doubt about the instinctual sources; but how is it to be explained that the same phantasies are always formed with the same content? I have an answer to this which I know will seem to you very daring. I believe that these *primal phantasies* (as I should like to name these and certainly some others also) are a phylogenetic possession. In them the individual, wherever his own experience has become insufficient, stretches out beyond it to the experience of past ages. It seems to me quite possible that all that today is narrated in analysis in the form of phantasy, seduction in childhood, stimulation of sexual excitement upon observation of parental coitus, the threat of castration—or rather castration itself—was in prehistoric periods of the human family a reality; and that the child in its phantasy simply fills out the gaps in its true individual experiences with true prehistoric experiences. We have again and again been led to suspect that more knowledge of the primordial forms of human development is stored up for us in the psychology of the neuroses than in any other field we may explore.

Now these things that we have been discussing require us to consider more closely the origin and meaning of that mental activity called *phantasy-making*. In general, as you know, it enjoys high esteem, although its place in mental life has not been clearly understood. I may tell you as much as this about it. You know that the ego in man is gradually trained by the influence of external necessity to appreciate reality and to pursue the reality principle, and that in so doing it must renounce temporarily or permanently various of the objects and aims—not only sexual—of its desire for pleasure. But renunciation of pleasure has always been very hard to man; he cannot accomplish it without some kind of compensation. Accordingly he has evolved for himself a mental activity in which all these relinquished sources of pleasure and abandoned paths of gratification are permitted to continue their existence, a form of existence in which they are free from the demands of reality and from what we call the exercise of *testing reality*. Every longing is soon transformed into the idea of its fulfilment; there is no doubt that dwelling upon a wish-fulfilment in phantasy brings satisfaction, although the knowledge that it is not reality remains thereby unobscured. In phantasy, therefore, man can continue to enjoy a freedom from the grip of the external world, one which he has long relinquished in actuality. He has contrived to be alternately a pleasure-seeking animal and a reasonable being; for the meagre satisfaction that he can extract from reality leaves him starving. "There is no doing without accessory constructions," said Fontane. The creation of the mental domain of phantasy has a complete counterpart in the establishment of reservations and nature parks in places where the inroads of agriculture, traffic, or industry threaten to change the original face of the earth rapidly into something unrecognizable. The *reservation* is to maintain the old condition of things which has been regretfully sacrificed to necessity everywhere else; there everything may grow and spread as it pleases, including what is useless and even what is harmful. The mental realm of phantasy is also such a reservation reclaimed from the encroaches of the reality-principle.

The best known productions of phantasy have already been met by us; they are called *day-dreams*, and are imaginary gratifications of ambitious, grandiose, erotic wishes, dilating the ... which is independent of reality's sanction. We know that these day-dreams are the kernels and models of night-dreams; fundamentally the night-dream is nothing but a day-dream distorted by the nocturnal form of mental activity and made possible by the nocturnal freedom of instinctual excitations. We are already familiar with the idea that a day-dream is not necessarily conscious, that unconscious day-dreams also exist; such unconscious day-dreams are therefore just as much the source of night-dreams as of neurotic symptoms.

The significance of phantasy for symptom-formation will become clear to you in what follows. We said that under frustration, the libido regressively invests the positions it had

left but to which nevertheless some portions of its energy had remained attached We shall not retract or correct this statement but we shall have to interpolate a connecting link in it How does the libido find its way b [illegible] these fi [illegible]

[illegible] in every sense they or their derivatives are still retained to some degree of intensity in the conceptions of phantasy The libido has only to withdraw on to the phantasies in order to find the way open to it back to all the repressed fixations These phantasies had enjoyed a certain sort of toleration no conflict between them and the ego had developed however sharp an oppo [illegible] bet [illegible] pr [illegible] tu [illegible] by the return of the libido stream on to the phantasies By this accession the cathexis of the phantasies with energy becomes so much augmented that they become assertive and begin to press towards realization then however conflict between them and the ego becomes unavoidable Although previously they were preconscious or conscious now they are subject to repression from the side of the ego and are exposed to the attraction exerted from the side of the unconscious The libido travels from the phantasies now unconscious to their ources in the unconscious —back to its own fixation points again

The return of the libido on to phantasy is an intermediate step on the way to symptom formation which well deserves a special designation C G Jung has coined for it the very appropriate name of INTROVERSION but inappropriately he uses it also to describe other things We will adhere to the position that *introversion* describes the deflection of the libido away from the possibilities of real satisfaction and its excessive accumulation upon phantasies previously tolerated as harmless An introverted person is not yet neurotic but he is in an unstable condition the next disturbance of the shifting forces will cause symptoms to develop unless he can yet find other outlets for his pent up libido The unreal character of neurotic satisfaction and the disregard of the difference between phantasy and reality are already determined by the arrest at this stage of introversion

You will doubtless have noticed that in these last remarks I have introduced a new factor into the concatenation of the aetiological chain —namely the *quantity* the magnitude of the energies concerned we must always take this factor into account as well A purely qualitative analysis of the aetiological conditions does not suffice or to put it in another way a purely *dynamic* conception of these processes is insufficient the *economic* aspect is also required We have to realize that the conflict between the two forces in opposition does not break out until a certain intensity in the degree of investment is reached even though the substantive conditions have long been in existence In the same way the pathogenic significance of the constitutional factor is determined by the preponderance of one of the component instincts in *excess* over another in the disposition it is even possible to conceive disposition as qualitatively the same in all men and only differentiated by this quantitative factor No less important is this quantitative factor for the capacity to withstand neurotic illness it depends upon the *amount* of undischarged libido that a person can hold freely suspended and upon *how large* a portion of it he can deflect from the sexual to a nonsexual goal in sublimation The final aim of mental activity which can be qualitatively described as a striving towards pleasure and avoidance of pain is represented economically in the task of mastering the distribution of the quantities of excitation (stimulus masses) present in the mental apparatus and in preventing the accumulation of them which gives rise to pain

I set out to tell you as much as this about symptom formation in the neuroses Yes but I must not neglect to mention once more that everything said today relates only to symptom formation in hysteria Even the obsessional neurosis shows great differences although the essentials are the same The *counter-charges* from the ego against the demands made by instincts for satisfaction mentioned already in connection with hysteria are more strongly marked in the obsessional neurosis and govern the clinical picture in the form of what we call *reaction formations* Similar and more extensive deviations still are found in the other neuroses in which field researches into the mechanisms of symptom formation are not yet complete in any direction

Before you leave today I should like to direct your attention for a moment to a side of phantasy life of very general interest There is in fact a path from phantasy back again to reality and that is—art The artist has also an introverted disposition and has not far to go to become neurotic He is one who is urged

en by instinctual needs which are too clamor ous he longs to attain to honour power r ches fame and the lov of women but he lacks the means of achie g these grat ficat ons. So like any othe with an unsatisfied lo gin he turns away from reality and tran fers all h s inter e t, and all his lib do too on to the creat on of his w hes in the lif of phantasy from which the way might re dily le d to neurosis There must be many factors n combination to pre vent this be omi th whole outcome of his development it i well known how often ar tists in particular suffer f om part al inhib tion of their capacities throu h euro is Probably their co stit tion is e d wed with powerful capac ty f ublimation and w th a certain flexib tv in the repr ss o s det rmin ng the

I

of pha tasy is sa ctioned by general hu an c sent and every hungry oul l oks to it for comfort and o solat on But to those wh a e n t artı ts the gratificat o that can be drawn from the springs of phantasy is ery l mited their in orabl repress ns prevent the e joy ment of ll but the me gre day-dreams wh ch can be me con c ous. A tru artist has more at his disposal F rst of all h underst nds how t laborate hi day-dreams so that they lose that pers nal ot which grates upon strange ears nd become j able to thers h knows too how t modify them sufficiently so that their origin in prohib ted our is not easily detected F rther he po e e the mysteri s abilit to m ld his particular materi l u t l it expresses the deas of his phantasy faithfully and then h knows h w to ttach to this refl c t on f his pha tasy l fe s tr g a st eam of pleasure that for a t m at le st, th repres si ns are out balanced and dispell d by it. When h can d all this he pens t to oth rs the way back to th c mfort d consolat on f the r wn unconscious sources f pleasure and so reaps th grat t de and dmirati the he has w n—thro h h pha tasy—what before he could only win in ph tasy ho our powe and the l e of w men

TWENTY FOURTH LECTURE

ORDINARY NERVOUS ESS

AFTER such difficult pi ce of wo k s we got through in our last lecture I shall l e th ub- ject for a tim and turn to my aud ce

F I know that you are d ssatisfied. You imagined that *A General Int oduct on to Psy cho Analysis* would be something qu te d ffer ent You expected illustrations from life in tead of theories you will tell me that the story of the two children on the ground floor and in the mansion re ealed something of the causation of neurosis to you except that it ought to ha e been an actual fact instead of an in ention of my own Or you will say that when at the beginning I described two symp- toms to you (not also imaginary let us hope) and u folded the olution of them and the r connection w th the li es of the pat ents it threw ome l ght o the mean r of symptoms and you had hoped I would continue in the same way Instead of d ng o I gi e you long drawn-out and very obscure theories which were never complete and to wh ch I was con

changed for one another on account of eu phony I let vast conception such as those of the pleasure and reality pri c ples and the i herited residu of phylo e etic de elopme t appea and then i stead of xpl n g anything to you I let them drift away before your eyes out of s ght

nervous perso th i incomprehen ble reac

the s mple ev ry-day f rms of nervous ess to th problems of the nigmatic extreme man festat s?

Ind ed I cannot deny any of this or ay that you wron I m n t so mu h in lo e w th my powe s of presentat as to imag e that e ery blem h in t is a pecul ar charm I think mys lf that I might with ad anta e to you have p oc eded differently and i deed such w s my i t tion B t o e cannot always carry thr gh ea o ed schem someth ng in th material tself oft n interve es and takes possess n of e d t rns o e f om one s first int t ons Eve h ord nary t k as the arrangem nt f famil r m t rial is not en

tirely subject to the author s will it comes out in its own way and one can but wonder afterwards why it happened so and not otherwise

One of the reasons probably is that my theme an introduction to psycho analysis no longer covers this section dealing with the subject of the neuroses The introduction to psycho analysis lies in the study of errors and of dreams the theory of neurosis is psycho analysis itself I do not think that in such a short time I could have given you any knowledge of the material contained in the theory of the neuroses except in this very concentrated form It was a matter of presenting to you in their proper context the sense and meaning of symptoms together with the external and internal conditions and mechanisms of symptom formation This I attempted to do it is more or less the core of what psycho analysis is able to offer today In conjunction with it there was much to be said about the libido and its development and something about that of the ego You were already prepared by the preliminary lectures for the main principles of our method and for the broad aspects involved in the conceptions of the unconscious and of repression (resistance) In one of the following lectures you will learn at what point the work of psycho analysis finds its organic continuation So far I have not concealed from you that all our results proceed from the study of one single group only of nervous disorders—namely the transference neuroses and even so I have traced out the mechanism of symptom formation only in the hysterical neurosis Though you will probably have gained no very thorough knowledge and have not retained every detail yet I hope that you have acquired a general idea of the means with which psycho analysis works the problems it has to deal with and the results it has to offer

I have ascribed to you a wish that I had begun the subject of the neuroses with a description of the neurotic s behaviour and of the ways in which he suffers from his disorder protects himself against it and adapts himself to it This is certainly a very interesting subject well worth studying and not difficult to treat nevertheless there are reasons against beginning with this aspect The danger is that the unconscious will be overlooked the great impor

liable and impartial authority The ego is after all the force which denies the existence of the unconscious and has subjected it to repressions how then can we trust its good faith where the unconscious is concerned? That which has been repressed consists first and foremost of the repudiated claims of the sexuality it is perfectly self evident that we shall never learn their extent and their significance from the ego s view of the matter As soon as the nature of repression begins to dawn upon us we are advised not to allow one of the two contending parties and certainly not the victorious one to be judged in the dispute We are forewarned against being misled by what the ego tells us According to its evidence it would appear to have been the active force throughout so that the symptoms arise by its will and agency we know that to a large extent it has played a passive part a fact which it then endeavours to conceal and to gloss over It is true that it cannot always keep up this pretence—in the symptoms of the obsessional neurosis it has to confess to being confronted by something alien which it must strenuously resist

It is certainly plain sailin enou h for anyone who does not heed these warnings against taking the falsifications of the ego at their face value he will escape all the opposition which psycho analysis has to encounter in accentuating the unconscious sexuality and the passivity of the ego He can agree with Alfred Adler that the *nervous character* is the cause of the neurosis instead of the result but he will not be in a position to account for a single detail of symptom formation or a single dream.

You will ask May it not be possible to do justice to the part played by the ego in nervousness and in symptom formation without absolutely glaring neglect of the other factors discovered by psycho analysis? I reply Certainly it must be possible and some time or other it will be done but the work which lies at hand for psycho analysis is not suited for a beginning at this end One can no doubt predict the point at which this task also will be included There are neuroses called by us the *narcissistic* neuroses in which the ego is far more deeply involved than in those we have studied analytic investigation of these disorders will enable us to estimate impartially and reliably the share taken by the ego in neurotic disease

One of the relations the ego bears to its neurosis is however so conspicuous that it was quite appreciable from the beginning It never seems to be absent but it is most clearly discernible in a form of disorder which we are far

from understanding the traumatic neurosis. You must know that in the causation and mechanism of all the various different forms of neurosis the same factors are found at work over and over again, only that in one type this factor and in another type that factor is of greatest significance in symptom formation. It is just the same as with the personnel of a theatrical company where every member plays a special type of part—hero, confidant, villain, etc. each of them will choose a different piece for his own benefit-performance. Hence the phantasies which are transformed into the symptoms are nowhere so manifest as in hysteria; the counter-charges (anti-cathexes) or reaction-formations of the ego dominate the picture in the obsessional neurosis; the mechanism which in dreams we called *secondary elaboration* is the prominent feature in the delusions of paranoia, and so on.

In the *traumatic neuroses*, especially in those arising from the terrors of war, we are particularly impressed by a self-seeking, egoistic motive, straining towards protection and self-interest; this alone perhaps could not produce the disease, but it gives its support to the latter and maintains it once it has been formed. This tendency aims at protecting the ego from the dangers which led by their imminence to the outbreak of illness; nor does it permit of recovery until a repetition of the dangers appears to be no longer possible, or until some gain in compensation for the danger undergone has been received.

The ego takes a similar interest in the origin and maintenance of all the other forms of neurosis; we have said already that the symptom is supported by the ego because one side of it offers a satisfaction to the repressing ego-tendency. More than this, a solution of the conflict by a symptom formation is the most convenient one, most in accordance with the pleasure-principle; for it undoubtedly spares the ego a severe and painful piece of internal labour. There are indeed cases in which the physician himself must admit that the solution of a conflict by a neurosis is the one most harmless and most tolerable socially. Do not be astonished to hear then that the physician himself occasionally takes sides with the illness which he is attacking. It is not for him to confine himself in all situations in life to the part of fanatic about health; he knows that there is other misery in the world besides neurotic misery—real unavoidable suffering—that necessity may even demand of a man that he sacrifice his health to it, and he learns that such suffering in one individual may often avert incalculable hardship for many others. Therefore although it may be said of every neurotic that he has taken *flight into illness* it must be admitted that in many cases this flight is fully justified, and the physician who has perceived this state of things will silently and considerately retire.

But let us continue our discussion without regard to these exceptional cases. In the ordinary way it is apparent that by flight into neurosis the ego gains a certain internal *advantage through illness* as we call it; under certain conditions a tangible external advantage more or less valuable in reality may be combined with this. To take the commonest case of this kind: a woman who is brutally treated and mercilessly exploited by her husband fairly regularly takes refuge in a neurosis, if her disposition admits of it. This will happen if she is too cowardly or too conventional to console herself secretly with another man, if she is not strong enough to defy all external reasons against it and separate from her husband, if she has no prospect of being able to maintain herself or of finding a better husband, and last of all, if she is still strongly attached sexually to this brutal man. Her illness becomes her weapon in the struggle against him, one that she can use for her protection or misuse for purposes of revenge. She can complain of her illness, though she probably dare not complain of her marriage; her doctor is her ally; the husband who is otherwise so ruthless is required to spare her, to spend money on her, to grant her absence from home and thus some freedom from marital oppression. Whenever this external or *accidental* advantage through illness is at all pronounced, and no substitute for it can be found in reality, you need not look forward very hopefully to influencing the neurosis by your therapy.

You will now say that what I have just told you about the *advantage through illness* is all in favour of the view I have rejected, namely that the ego itself desires the neurosis and creates it. But just a moment! Perhaps it means merely this: that the ego is pleased to accept the neurosis which it is in any case unable to prevent, and that if there is anything at all to be made out of it it makes the best of it. This is only one side of the matter. In so far as there is advantage in it the ego is quite happy to be on good terms with the neurosis; but there are also disadvantages to be considered. As a

tirely subject to the author s will it comes out in its own way and one can but wonder afterwards why it happened so and not otherwise

One of the reasons probably is that my theme an introduction to psycho analysis no longer covers this section dealing with the subject of the neuroses The introduction to psycho analysis lies in the study of errors and of dreams the theory of neurosis is psycho analysis itself I do not think that in such a short time I could have given you any knowledge of the material contained in the theory of the neuroses except in this very concentrated form It was a matter of presenting to you in their proper context the sense and meaning of symptoms together with the external and internal conditions and mechanisms of symptom formation This I attempted to do it is more or less the core of what psycho analysis is able to offer today In conjunction with it there was much to be said about the libido and its development and something about that of the ego You were already prepared by the preliminary lectures for the main principles of our method and for the broad aspects involved in the conceptions of the unconscious and of repression (resistance) In one of the following lectures you will learn at what point the work of psycho analysis finds its organic continuation So far I have not concealed from you that all our results proceed from the study of one single group only of nervous disorders—namely the transference neuroses and even so I have traced out the mechanism of symptom formation only in the hysterical neurosis Though you will probably have gained no very thorough knowledge and have not retained every detail yet I hope that you have acquired a general idea of the means with which psycho analysis works the problems it has to deal with and the results it has to offer

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[illegible]

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You will ask May it not be possible to do justice to the part played by the ego in nervousness and in symptom formation without absolutely glaring neglect of the other factors discovered by psycho analysis? I reply Certainly it must be possible and some time or other it will be done but the work which lies at hand for psycho analysis is not suited for a beginning at this end One can no doubt predict the point at which this task also will be included There are neuroses called by us the *narcissistic* neuroses in which the e o is far more deeply involved than in those we have studied analytic investigation of these disorders will enable us to estimate impartially and reliably the share taken by the ego in neurotic disease

One of the relations the ego bears to its neurosis is however so conspicuous that it was quite appreciable from the beginning It never seems to be absent but it is most clearly discernible in a form of disorder which we are far

still had similar material for investigation. I noticed often enough that a man who contented himself with some kind of incomplete sexual satisfaction, e.g. with manual masturbation would suffer from a definite type of actual neurosis and that this neurosis would promptly give way to another form if he adopted some other equally unsatisfactory form of sexual life. I was then in a position to infer the change in his mode of sexual life from the alteration in the patient's condition and I learnt to abide stubbornly by my conclusions until I had overcome the prevarications of my patients and had compelled them to give me confirmation. It is true that they then thought it advisable to seek other physicians who would not take so much interest in their sexual life.

It did not escape me at that time either that sexuality was not always indicated as the cause of a neurosis. One person certainly would fall ill because of some injurious sexual condition but another because he had lost his fortune or recently sustained a severe organic illness. The explanation of these variations was revealed later when insight was obtained into the interrelationships suspected between the ego and the libido, and the further this subject was explored the more satisfactory became our insight. A person only falls ill of a neurosis when the ego loses its capacity to deal in some way or other with the libido. The stronger the ego the more easily can it accomplish this task; every weakening of the ego from whatever cause must have the same effect as an increase in the demands of the libido, that is, make a neurosis possible. There are yet other and more intimate relations between the ego and the libido which I shall not go into now as we have not yet come to them in the course of our discussions. The most essential and most instructive point for us is that the fund of energy supporting the symptoms of a neurosis in every case and regardless of the circumstances inducing their outbreak, is provided by the libido which is thus put to abnormal use.

Now I must point out to you the decisive difference between the symptoms of the actual neuroses and those of the psychoneuroses with the first group of which (the transference neuroses) we have hitherto been so much occupied. In both the actual neuroses and the psychoneuroses the symptoms proceed from the libido, that is they are abnormal ways of using it, substitutes for satisfaction of it. But the symptoms of an actual neurosis—headache, sensation of pain, an irritable condition of some organ, the weakening or inhibition of some function—have no meaning, no significance in the mind. Not merely are they manifested principally in the body, as also happens for instance with hysterical symptoms, but they are in themselves purely and simply physical processes; they arise without any of the complicated mental mechanisms we have been learning about. They really are therefore what psychoneurotic symptoms were for so long held to be. But then, how can they be expressions of the libido which we have come to know as a force at work in the mind? Now really the answer to that is very simple. Let me resurrect one of the very first objections ever made against psycho-analysis. It was said that the theories were an attempt to account for neurotic symptoms by psychology alone and that the outlook was consequently hopeless since no illness could ever be accounted for by psychological theories. These critics were pleased to forget that the sexual function is not a purely mental thing any more than it is merely a physical thing. It affects bodily life as well as mental life. Having learnt that the symptoms of the psychoneuroses express the mental consequences of some disturbance in this function, we shall not be surprised to find that the actual neuroses represent the direct somatic consequences of sexual disturbances.

Clinical medicine gives us a useful hint (recognized by many different investigators) towards comprehension of the actual neuroses. In the details of their symptomatology and also in the peculiarity by which all the bodily systems and functions are affected together they exhibit an unmistakable similarity with pathological conditions resulting from the chronic effect or the sudden removal of foreign toxins—with states of intoxication or of abstinence. The two groups of afflictions are brought still closer together by comparison with conditions like Basedow's disease¹ that have also been found to result from poisoning, not however from poisons derived externally but from such as arise in the internal metabolism. In my opinion these analogies necessitate our regarding the neuroses as the effects of disturbances in the sexual metabolism, due either to more of these sexual toxins being produced than the person can dispose of, or else to internal and even mental conditions which interfere with the proper disposal of these substances. Assumptions of this kind about the nature of sexual desire have found acceptance in the mind of

¹ I.e. Graves' disease, exophthalmic goitre.—Tr.

rule it is soon apparent that by accepting a neurosis the ego has made a bad bargain It has paid too heavily for the solution of the conflict the sufferings entailed by the symptoms are perhaps as bad as those of the conflict they replace and they may quite probably be very much worse The ego wishes to be rid of the pain of the symptoms but not give up its advantage through illness and that is just what it cannot succeed in doing It appears therefore that the ego was not quite so actively concerned in the matter throughout as it had thought and we will keep this well in mind

If as physicians you have much to do with neurotics you will soon cease to expect that those who complain most bitterly of their illness will be most ready to accept your help and make least difficulty—quite the contrary You will at all events easily understand that everything which contributes to the advantage through illness reinforces the resistance arising from the repressions and increases the therapeutic difficulties And there is yet another kind of advantage through illness one which supervenes later than that born with the symptom so to speak When such a mental organization as the disea e has persisted for a considerable time it seems finally to acquire the character of an independent entity it displays something like a self preservative instinct it forms a kind of pact a *modus vivendi* with the other forces in mental life even with those fundamentally hostile to it and opportunities can hardly fail to arise in which it once more manifests itself as useful and expedient thus acquiring a *secondary function* which again strengthens its position Instead of taking an example from pathology let us consider a striking illustration in everyday life A capable working man earning his livin is crippled by an accident in the course of his employment he can work no more but he gets a small periodical dole in compensation and learns how to exploit his mutilation as a beggar His new life although so inferior neverthele s

uch destroyed
his disability
of his means

ot subsistence for the question would arise whether he would still be capable of resuming his former work When a secondary exploitation of the illness such as this is formed in a neurosis we can range it alongside the first and call it a *secondary advantage th ough illness*

I should like to advise you in a general way not to underestimate the practical importance of the advantage through illness and yet not to be too much impres ed by its theoretical si nificance Apart from the exceptions previously recognized this factor always remind one of the illustrations of Intelli ence in Animals by Oberlander in *Fliegende Blatter* An Arab is riding a camel along a narrow path cut in the side of a steep mountain At a turn in the path he suddenly finds himself confronted by a lion ready to spring at him There is no escape on one side the abyss on the other the sheer wall retreat and fli ht are impossible he gives himself up for lost Not so the camel He takes one leap with his rider into the abyss—and the lion is left a pectator The remedies provided by neurosis avail the patient no better as a rule perhaps because the solution of the conflict by a symptom formation is after all an automatic process which may show itself inadequate to meet the demands of life and involves man in a renunciation of his best and highest powers The more honourable choice if there be a choice is to go down in fair fight with destiny

I still owe you a further explanation of my motive in not taking ordinary nervousness as my starting point Perhaps you think I avoided doing so because it would have been more difficult to bring in evidence of the sexual origin of the neuroses in that way but in this you would be mistaken In the transference neuroses the symptoms have to be submitted to interpretation before we arrive at this but in the ordinary forms of what are called the ACTUAL NEUROSES the aetiolo ical significance of the sexual life is a crudely obvious fact which courts notice I became aware of it more than twenty years ago as one day I began to wonder why when we examine nervous patients we so invariably exclude from consideration all matters concerning their sexual life Investigations on this point led to the sacrifice of my popularity with my patients but in a very short time my efforts had brought me to this conclusion that no neurosis—actual neurosis I meant—is present where sexual life is normal It is true that this statement ignores the individual differences in people rather too much and it also suffers from the indefinite connotation inseparable from the word *normal* but as a broad outline it has retained its value to this day At that time I got so far as to be able to establish particular connections between certain forms of nervousness and certain injurious sexual conditions I do not doubt that I could repeat these observations today if I

hypochondria and forms of a neurosis which we shall deal with later on, namely paraphrenia (dementia praecox and paranoia). As an example, let us take an hysterical headache or backache. Analysis shows that by means of condensation and displacement it has become a substitutive satisfaction for a whole series of libidinal phantasies or memories. At one time, however, this pain was real, a direct symptom of a sexual toxin, the bodily expression of a sexual excitation. We do not by any means maintain that all hysterical symptoms have a nucleus of this kind, but it remains true that this very often is so, and that all effects (whether normal or pathological) of the libido on upon the body are especially adapted to serve the purposes of hysterical symptom-formation. They play the part of the grain of sand which the oyster envelops in mother-of-pearl. The temporary signs of sexual excitation accompanying the sexual act serve the psychoneurosis in the same way as the most suitable and convenient material for symptom-formation.

There is a similar process of special diagnostic and therapeutic interest. In persons who are disposed to be neurotic without having yet developed a neurosis on a grand scale, some morbid organic condition—perhaps an inflammation, or an injury—very commonly sets the work of symptom-formation in motion, so that the latter process swiftly seizes upon the symptom supplied by reality and uses it to represent those unconscious phantasies that have only been lying in wait for some means of expression. In such a case the physician will try first one therapy and then the other; he will either endeavour to abolish the organic foundation on which the symptom rests, without troubling about the clamorous neurotic elaboration, or he will attack the neurosis which has opportunely been brought to birth, while leaving on one side the organic stimulus which evoked it. Sometimes one and sometimes the other procedure will be found justified by success; no general rules can be prescribed for mixed cases of this kind.

TWENTY-FIFTH LECTURE

ANXIETY

You will certainly have judged the information that I gave you in the last lecture about ordinary nervousness as the most fragmentary and most inadequate of all my accounts. I know that it was, and I expect that nothing surprised you more than that I made no mention of the anxiety which most nervous people complain of and themselves describe as their most terrible burden. Anxiety or dread can really develop tremendous intensity and in consequence be the cause of the maddest precautions. But in this matter at least I wished not to cut you short; on the contrary, I had determined to put the problem of nervous anxiety to you as clearly as possible and to discuss it at some length.

Anxiety (or *dread*) itself needs no description; everyone has personally experienced this sensation, or to speak more correctly this affective condition at some time or other. But in my opinion not enough serious consideration has been given to the question why nervous persons in particular suffer from anxiety so much more intensely and so much more altogether than others. Perhaps it has been taken for granted that they should; indeed, the words *nervous* and *anxious* are used interchangeably as if they meant the same thing. This is not justifiable, however; there are anxious people who are otherwise not in any way nervous and there are besides neurotics with numerous symptoms who exhibit no tendency to dread.

However this may be, one thing is certain, that the problem of anxiety is a nodal point, linking up all kinds of most important questions; a riddle of which the solution must cast a flood of light upon our whole mental life. I do not claim that I can give you a complete solution, but you will certainly expect psycho-analysis to have attacked this problem too in a different manner from that adopted by academic medicine. Interest there centres upon the anatomical processes by which the anxiety condition comes about. We learn that the medulla oblongata is stimulated, and the patient is told that he is suffering from a neurosis in the vagal nerve. The medulla oblongata is a wondrous and beauteous object. I well remember how much time and labour I devoted to the study of it years ago. But today I must say I know of nothing less important for the psychological comprehension of anxiety than knowledge of the nerve-paths by which the excitations travel.

One may consider anxiety for a long time without giving a thought to nervousness. You will understand me at once when I describe this form of anxiety as OBJECTIVE ANXIETY in contrast to neurotic anxiety. Now real anxiety or dread appears to us a very natural and rational thing; we should call it a reaction

the people since the beginning of time love is called an *intoxication* it can be induced by potions —in these ideas the agency at work is to some extent projected on to the outer world We find occasion at this point to remember the erotogenic zones
upon
arise
the su *metabolism* or the *chemistry of sexuality* is an empty chapter we know nothing about it and cannot even determine whether to assume two kinds of sexual substances to be called *male* and *female* or to content ourselves with *one* sexual toxin as the agent of the stimuli effected by the libido The edifice of psycho analytic doctrine which we have erected is in reality but a superstructure which will have to be set on its or anic foundation at some time or other but this foundation is still unknown to us

As a science psycho analysis is characterized by the methods with which it works not by the subject matter with which it deals These methods can be applied without violating their essential nature to the history of civilization to the science of relimon and to mytholo y as well as to the study of the neuroses Psycho analysis aims at and achieves nothing more than the discovery of the unconscious in mental life The problems of the actual neuroses in which the symptoms probably arise through direct toxic injury offer no point of attack for psycho analysis it can supply little towards elucidation of them and must leave this task to biological and medical research Now perhaps you understand better why I chose this arrangement of my material If I had intended an *Introduction to the Study of the Neuroses* it would undoubtedly have been correct to begin with the simple forms of (actual) neuroses and proceed from them to the more complicated psychical disorders resulting from disturbances of the libido I should have had to collect from various quarters what we know or think we know about the former and about the latter psycho analysis would have been introduced as the most important technical means of obtaining insight into these conditions An *Introduction to Psycl o Analysis* was what I had undertaken and announced however I thought it more important to give you an idea of psycho analysis than to teach you something about the neuroses and therefore the actual neuroses which yield nothing toward the study of psycho analysis could not suitably be put in the foreground I think too that my choice was the wiser for you since the radical axioms and far reaching connections of psycho analysis make it worthy of every educated person s interest the theory of the neuroses however is a chapter of medicine like any other

However you are justified in expecting that we should take some interest in the actual neuroses their close clinical connection with the psycho neuroses even ne

ypocnondria Even this classification has been disputed the terms are certainly all in use but their connotation is vague and unsettled There are some medical men who are opposed to all discrimination in the confusing world of neurotic manifestations who object to any distinguishing of clinical entities or types of disease and do not even reco nize the difference between actual neuro es and psychoneuroses in my opinion they go too far and the direction they have cho en does not lead to progre s The three kinds of neurosis named above are occasionally found in a pure form more frequently it is true they are combined with one another and with a psychoneurotic affection This fact need not make us abandon the distinctions between them Think of the difference between the science of minerals and that of ores in mineralogy the minerals are classified individually in part no doubt because they are frequently found as crystals sharply differentiated from their surroundings the ores consist of mixtures of minerals which have indeed coalesced not accidentally but according to the conditions at their formation In the theory of the neuroses we still understand too little of the process of their development to formulate anything similar to our knowled e of ores but we are certainly working in the right direction in first isolating from the mass the recognizable clinical element which are comparable to the individual minerals

A noteworthy connection between the symptoms of the actual neuroses and the psychoneuroses adds a valuable contribution to our knowledge of symptom formation in the latter the symptom of the actual neurosis is frequently the nucleus and incipient stage of the psychoneurotic symptom A connection of this kind is most clearly observable between neurasthenia and the transference neurosis known as conversion hysteria between the anxiety neurosis and anxiety hysteria but also between

Do not imagine that what I am telling you now about aff cts is the common property of normal psych logy On the contr ry these con eptions ha e grown on the soil of psycho anal s and are only indigenous there What psych logy has to say about affects—the James Lange theory for nstan e—is utte ly incom prehensibl to us psycho analysts and impos sible for us to discuss We do not however regard what we kn w of affects as at all final it is a first attempt to take ou bearings in this obscure region. To c ntinue then we believe we know what this early impress on is which is reproduced as a repetitio in the anxi ty a ct. We think t s the experience f *birth*—an xperi nce which n olves ju t such a con

life is endangered ever alt r to be r pa u d again in us as the dread or nxiety co dition The enormous increase in stim lat on effected by the interruption of th re ewal of blood (the int rnal respi ati n) was the cause of the anxiety experience at b rth—the first anxiety was th ref e toxically induced The name *A g t* (anxiety)—*angustiæ E ge* a narrow place a stra t—a ce tuates th characteristic tightening in the breathi g which w s then the consequ ce of a real situation and is subsequently repeated almost invariably with an affect. It is ery sugge tive too that th first anxiety state a e on the occasion of the separation from the moth W n t rally belie that the disposition to reprod ce this first anxiety condition has bec me so deeply in grained n the organism thr u h countless generations that o single indi idual can escape the anxi ty ff ct even though, like the l gend ary M cduff h "was f om h m thers womb untim ly ripped and s did not him elf ex perienc th act of birth. What the pr totype of th anxi ty c d t on may be fo other animals than mammals we cannot say n ther d we know what th comple f sensat ons in them is which equi alent to f in us.

It may pe haps intere t you to know how it was poss ble t rri at su h an d as this—that b rth is th e and prototype of the anxiety ffect Speculation had least of all to do with t on th o trary I b rr wed a thought from the na e tuti e mind f the peopl Many y rs ago a numb of y ung house-ph si ians, in lud g myself were sit ting round dinn t bl d of the assistants at the obst trical clinic was telling us all the funny stories of the last midwi es examination One of the cand dates was asked what it meant when the meconium (child s excreta) was present in the waters at b rth and promptly replied That the child is frightened. She was ridiculed and failed. But I silently took her part and began to suspect that the poor unsophisticated woman s u erring perception had revealed a very important connection

Now let us turn to neu otic anxiety what are the special man festations and conditions found in the anxiety of nervous persons? There is a great deal to be described here F rst of all, we find a general apprehensiveness in them a *free float ng* anxiety as we call it ready to ttach itself to any thou ht which is at all app opriate affecting judgments induci g expectat ons lying in wait for any opportunity to find a justification for itself We call this conditi n *expectant dread* or *anxious expectat on* P ople who are tormented with this kind of anxiety always antic pate the worst of all po ible outcomes interpret every chance happening as an evil omen and exploit every uncertainty to mean the worst. The tende cy to this kind of expectation of evil is found as a character trait in many people who cannot be described as ill n any othe way and we call them *ver-anxious* or pessimistic but a ma ked degree of expectant dread is an invari bl accompan me t of the nervous d sorder wh ch I ha e called anxiety neu os s and in clude m ng the actual neuroses

In contrast t this type of anxiety a second form of it is found to be much more circum scribed in the m nd, and attached t defin te objects and situatio s This is the anxiety of

phobia by go g u Greek title they s und like th te pl gues of Egypt e ept that there are far more than ten of th m J t l sten to

by land or sea and s on As a first att mpt to take s be rings in thi cha s we m y d vide them into three gr ups Many of the obj cts and s tuatio s feared are ath s niste even to u n rm l peopl th y have some c nn t on w th danger and these ph b as are not entirely

to the perception of an external danger of an injury which is expected and foreseen it is bound up with the reflex of flight and may be regarded as an expression of the instinct of self preservation The occasions of it i e the objects and situations about which anxiety is felt will obviously depend to a great extent upon the state of the person s knowled e and feeling of power regarding the outer world It seems to us quite natural that a savage should be afraid of a cannon or of an eclipse of the sun while a white man who can handle the weapon and foretell the phenomenon remains unafraid in the same situation At other times it is knowledge itself which inspires fear be cause it reveals the dan er sooner thus a savage will recoil with terror at the sight of a track in the jungle which conveys nothing to an ignorant white man but means that some wild beast is near at hand and an experienced sailor will perceive with dread a little cloud on the horizon because it means an approaching hurricane while to a passenger it looks quite insignificant

The view that objective anxiety is rational and expedient however will on deeper con sideration be admitted to need thorough re vision In face of imminent danger the only expedient behaviour actually would be first a cool appraisement of the forces at disposal as compared with the ma nitude of the danger at hand and then a decision whether flight or defence or possibly attack offered the best prospect of a successful outcome Dread how ever has no place in this scheme everything to be done will be accomplished as well and probably better if dread does not develop You will see too that when dread is excessive it becomes in the highest degree inexpedient it paraly es every action even that of flight The reaction to danger usually consists in a com bination of the two things the fear affect and the defensive action the frightened animal is afraid *and* flees but the expedient element in this is the *flight* not the *being afraid*

One is tempted therefore to assert that the development of anxiety is never expedient perhaps a closer dissection of the situation in dread will give us a better insight into it The first thing about it is the *readiness* for danger which expresses itself in heightened sensorial perception and in motor tension This ex pectant readiness is obviously advantageous indeed absence of it may be responsible for grave results It is then followed on the one hand by a motor action taking the form pri marily of flight and on a higher level of defensive action and on the other hand by the condition we call a ensation of *anxiety* or dread The more the development of dread is limited to a flash to a mere signal the less does it hinder the transition from the state of anx ious readiness to that of action and the more expediently does the whole course of events proceed The *anxious readiness* therefore eems to me the expedient element and the *develop ment* of anxiety the inexpedient element in what we call anxiety or dread

I shall not enter upon a discussion whether the words *anxiety fear fright* mean the same or different things in common usage In my opinion *anxiety* relates to the condition and ignores the object whereas in the word *fear* attention is directed to the object *fright* does actually seem to possess a special meaning—namely it relates specifically to the condition induced when danger is unexpectedly encoun tered without previous anxious readiness It might be said then that anxiety is a protection again fright

It will not have escaped you that a certain ambiguity and indefiniteness exists in the use of the word *anxiety* It is generally understood to mean the subjective condition arising upon the perception of what we have called *de veloped* anxiety such a condition is called an *affect* Now what is an affect in a dynamic sense? It is certainly something very complex An affect comprises first of all certain motor innervations or discharges and secondly cer tain sensations which moreover are of two kinds—namely the perceptions of the motor actions which have been performed and the directly pleasurable or painful sensations which give the affect what we call its dominant note But I do not think that this description pene trates to the essence of an affect With certain affects one seems to be able to see deeper and to recognize that the core of it binding the whole complex structure together is of the nature of a *repetition* of some particular very significant previous experience This experience could only have been an exceedingly early im pression of a universal type to be found in the previous history of the species rather than of the individual In order to be better understood I might say that an affective state is con structed like an hysterical attack i e is the pre cipitate of a reminiscence An hysterical attack is therefore comparable to a newly formed individual affect and the normal affect to a universal hysteria which has become a heritage

bring neurotic anxiety in which uch a small part o e at *all* is played by dan~er into relation with *object e anxiety* wh ch is essen tially a reacti to *danger*? And how is neu rotic anx ty to be understood? We will at present hold fa t to the expectation that where there i anxiety the e must be som thing of wh h one is fraid.

Clinical observation yields various clues to th compreh sion of neurot c anxiety and I will now discuss th ir ignificance with you

(a) It is not difficult to see that expectant dread or general apprehensi e ess tands in intimat relation to certain proces es in the sexual life—let us say to certain modes of lib do-utilization The implest and most in structive case of this kind arises in people who expose themselves to what is called frustrated excitation, i.e. when a powerful *sexual* e cita ti experiences insuffic ent dis harge and is not carried o to *satisfying terminat on*. This occurs f r nst nce n men during th time of an engagement to marry and in women whose husbands are t uffic ently pote t or who per form the sexual ct too rapidly or incompletely with a view to preventing con epti n. Under these conditions the libidinal excitat on disappears and anxiety appears in place of t both in the f rm f expectant dread and in that of tacks and anx ty-equi alents The precau tionary measu of *oitus nterruptus* when practised as a customary sexual égime is so regularly th cause of anx ty neu osis in men, and even m e so in women, that medical prac titioners would be wise to enquir first of all int the poss bility f su h an *etiology in all* such cases. Innum rable examples show that the anxiety-neurosis vanishes when the sexual malpractice is given up

So far as I know the fact that a connection exists between sexual restraint nd anxiety on ditions is o longer disputed en by physi cians wh h ld aloof from psy ho-analysis Nevertheles I can w ll magine that they do not ne ect to invert the conn ct on and t put forward the ew that such persons are pre disposed t apprehens enes and consequently practice ca tion in sexual matters Again t this however deci d ce is found in the re ctions in women in whom th sexual funct n is essentially passive so that its c rse is determined by the treatment acc rded by the man. The mor *temperament* e. the mo e inclination for sexual intercourse and capacity for satisfaction, w man has the more cer tainly will she react with anxiety manifesta tions to the man s impotence or to *co tus nter ruptus* whe eas such abuse entails far less h esthetic women or those

ays so course only has the same ignificance for anxi ty con ditions when the l b d which is denied a satisfactory outlet is correspo dingly ins stent and is not being utilized to a large extent in sublimation Whether or not illness will ensue is indeed alw ys a matter of the quantitati e fac tor E en apart from illness *it is easy to see* in the pher of character format o that sex ual restraint goes hand *in* hand with a ertain anxiousness and cautiou ne s whereas fearlessness and a boldly ad enturous spirit bring with th m a free tolerance of sexual needs However *these relations* may be altered and complicated by the manifold influ nces of ci lization it re mains inconte tible that for the a erage hu man being anxiety is closely connected with sexual restriction.

I ha e by no means told you all the observa ti ns which point to this genetic connection betwee lib do and anx ty The e is for in st nce the effect upo anxiety tates of certain periods of life such as puberty and the menopause in which th p oduction of l b do is c ns derably ugme ted In many states of excit m t too the mi gling of sexual excita ti with anxiety may be directly observed as well as th final replacement of the lib dinal excitation by anx ty Th impress on rece ed from ll this is double o first that t is *a matter of an a cumulation of libido* d barred f om its n rmal utilizat o and seco dly that *th question is ne of mat c p ocesses only* H w anx ty develops o t of sexu l desir is at present bscure we can only *ascertain* that des re is lacking and anxiety is found in ts plac

(b) A second clue s obtained f om analysis f the psy h u oses in particula of hys t ria. We ha e heard that anx ty frequently ac mpanie th sympt ms in this disea e and that unattached anxiety may lso be chronically present or com t exp es on ttacks The patients cannot say what t is they fea they link it up by unmistakable seco dary elabora tion to the m st nvent t phobias f dying of go mad of having a troke etc When we subj ct to analysis the *situation in* which the anxiety th symptom ccompanied by anx ety arose we can rul discover what normal m tal p ocess has been checked in its

incomprehensible to us although their intensity seems very much exaggerated Most of us for instance have a feeling of repulsion upon encountering a snake It may be said that the snake phobia is universal in mankind Charles Darwin has described most vividly how he could not control his dread of a snake that darted at him although he knew that he was protected from it by a thick plate of glass The second group consists of situations that still have some relation to danger but to one that is usually belittled or not emphasized b mo t

u i way train than at home —namely a collision we also know that a ship may sink whereupon it is usual to be drowned but we do not brood upon these dangers and we travel without anxiety by train and boat Nor can it be denied that if a bridge were to break at the moment we are crossing it we should be hurled into the torrent but that only happens so very occasionally that it is not a danger worth considering Solitude too has its dangers which in certain circumstances we avoid but there is no question of never bein able to endure it for a moment under any conditions The same thing applies to crowds enclosed spaces thunderstorms and so on What is foreign to us in these phobias is not so much their content as their intensity The anxiety accompanying a phobia is positively indescribable! And we sometimes get the impression that neurotics are not really at all fearful of those things which can under certain conditions arouse anxiety in us and which they call by the same names

There remains a third group which is entirely unintelligible to us When a strong full grown man is afraid to cross a street or square in his own so familiar town or when a healthy well developed woman becomes almost senseless with fear because a cat has brushed against her dress or a mouse has scurried through the room how can we see the connection with danger which is obviously present to these people? With this kind of animal phobia it is no question of an increased intensity of common human antipathies to prove the contrary there are numbers of people who for instance cannot pass a cat without attracting and petting it A mouse is a thing that so many women are afraid of and yet it is at the same time a very favourite pet name many a girl who is delighted to be called so by her lover will scream with terror at the sight of the dainty little creature itself The behaviour of the man who is afraid to cross streets and squares only suggests one thing to us—that he behaves like a little child A child is directly taught that such situations are dangerous and the man s anxiety too is allayed when he is led by ome one across the open space

The two forms of anxiety described the *free floating* expectant dread and that attached to phobias are independent of each other The one is not the other at a further sta e they are only rarely combined and then as if fortuitously The most intense general apprehensiveness does not necessarily lead to a phobia people who have been hampered all their lives by agoraphobia may be quite free from pessimistic expectant dread. Many phobias e g fear of open spaces of railway travellin are demonstrably acquired first in later life others such as fear of darkness thunder animal seem to have existed from the beginnin The former signify serious illness the latter are more of the nature of idiosyncrasies peculiarities anyone exhibiting one of these latter may be suspected of harbouring others imilar to it I must add that we group all these phobias under *anxiety hysteria* that is we regard them as closely allied to the well known di order called conversion hysteria

The third form taken by neurotic anxiety brings us to an enigma there is no visible connection at all between the anxiety and the dan er dreaded This anxiety occurs in hysteria for instance accompanying the hysterical symptoms or under various conditions of excitement in which it is true we should expect some affect to be displayed but least of all an anxiety affect or without reference to any conditions incomprehensible both to us and to the patient an unrelated anxiety attack We may look far and wide without discovering a danger or an occasion which could even be exaggerated to account for it These spontaneous attacks show therefore that the complex condition which we describe as anxiety can be split up into components The whole attack can be represented (as a substitute) by a single intensively developed symptom—shuddering faintness palpitation of the heart inability to breathe—and the general feeling which we recognize as anxiety may be absent or may have become unnoticeable And yet these states which are termed *anxiety equivalents* have the same clinical and aetiological validity as anxiety itself

Two questions arise now Is it possible to

ing neurotic anxiety in which such a small part or none at all is played by danger into

there is anxiety there must be something of which one is afraid.

Clinical observation yields various clues to the comprehension of neurotic anxiety and I will now discuss their significance with you.

(a) It is not difficult to see that expectant dread or general apprehensiveness stands in intimate relation to certain processes in the sexual life—let us say to certain modes of libido-utilization. The simplest and most instructive case of this kind arises in people who expose themselves to what is called frustrated excitation, i.e., when a powerful sexual excitation experiences insufficient discharge and is not carried on to a satisfying termination. This occurs, for instance, in men during the time of an engagement to marry and in women whose husbands are not sufficiently potent or who perform the sexual act too rapidly or incompletely with a view to preventing conception. Under these conditions the libidinal excitation disappears and anxiety appears in place of it both in the form of expectant dread and in that of attacks and anxiety-equivalents. The precautionary measure of *coitus interruptus* when practised as the customary sexual regime is so regularly the cause of anxiety-neurosis in men, and even more so in women, that medical practitioners would be wise to enquire first of all into the possibility of such an etiology in all such cases. Innumerable examples show that the anxiety-neurosis vanishes when the sexual malpractice is given up.

So far as I know the fact that a connection exists between sexual restraint and anxiety conditions is no longer disputed, even by physicians who hold aloof from psycho-analysis. Nevertheless I can well imagine that they do not neglect to invert the connection, and to put forward the view that such persons are predisposed to apprehensiveness and consequently practise caution in sexual matters. Against this however decisive evidence is found in the reactions in women, in whom the sexual function is essentially passive so that its course is determined by the treatment accorded by the man. The more *temperament*, i.e. the more inclination for sexual intercourse and capacity for satisfaction, a woman has the more certainly will she react with anxiety manifestations to the man's impotence or to *coitus interruptus* whereas such abuse entails far less serious results with anaesthetic women or those in whom the sexual hunger is less strong.

Sexual abstinence which is nowadays so warmly recommended by physicians of course only has the same significance for anxiety conditions when the libido which is denied a satisfactory outlet is correspondingly insistent and is not being utilized to a large extent in sublimation. Whether or not illness will ensue is indeed always a matter of the quantitative factor. Even apart from illness it is easy to see in the sphere of character formation that sexual restraint goes hand in hand with a certain anxiousness and cautiousness whereas fearlessness and a boldly adventurous spirit bring with them a free tolerance of sexual needs. However these relations may be altered and complicated by the manifold influences of civilization, it remains incontestible that for the average human being anxiety is closely connected with sexual restriction.

I have by no means told you all the observations which point to this genetic connection between libido and anxiety. There is for instance the effect upon anxiety states of certain periods of life such as puberty and the menopause in which the production of libido is considerably augmented. In many states of excitement too the mingling of sexual excitation with anxiety may be directly observed as well as the final replacement of the libidinal excitation by anxiety. The impression received from all this is a double one: first that it is a matter of an accumulation of libido debarred from its normal utilization and secondly that *the question is one of somatic processes only*. How anxiety develops out of sexual desire is at present obscure; *we can only ascertain that desire is lacking and anxiety is found in its place.*

(b) A second clue is obtained from analysis of the psychoneuroses in particular of hysteria. We have heard that anxiety frequently accompanies the symptoms in this disease and that unattached anxiety may also be chronically present or come to expression in attacks. The patients cannot say what it is they fear; they link it up by unmistakable secondary elaboration to the most convenient phobias of dying, of going mad, of having a stroke etc. When we *subject to analysis the situation* in which the anxiety or the symptom accompanied by anxiety arose we can as a rule discover what *normal* mental process has been checked in its

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There remains a third group which is entirely unintelligible to us When a strong full grown man is afraid to cross a street or square in his own so familiar town or when a healthy well developed woman becomes almost senseless with fear because a cat has brushed against her dress or a mouse has scurried through the room how can we see the connection with danger which is obviously present to these people? With this kind of animal phobia it is no question of an increased intensity of common human antipathies to prove the contrary there are numbers of people who for instance cannot pass a cat without attracting and petting it A mouse is a thing that so many women are afraid of and yet it is at the same time a very favourite pet name many a girl who is delighted to be called so by her lover will scream with terror at the sight of the dainty little creature itself The behaviour of the man who is afraid to cro s streets and squares only suggests one thing to us—that he behaves like a little child A child is directly taught that such situations are dangerous and the man s anxiety too is allayed when he is led by ome one across the open space

The two forms of anxiety described the *free floating* expectant dread and that attached to phobias are independent of each other The one is not the other at a further stage they are only rarely combined and then as if fortuitously The most intense general apprehensiveness does not necessarily lead to a phobia people who have been hampered all their lives by agoraphobia may be quite free from pessimistic expectant dread Many phobias e g fear of open spaces of railway travelling are demonstrably acquired first in later life others such as fear of darkness thunder animals seem to have existed from the beginnin The former signify serious illness the latter are more of the nature of idiosyncrasies peculiarities anyone exhibiting one of these latter may be suspected of harbouring others similar to it I must add that we group all these phobias under *anxiety hysteria* that is we regard them as closely allied to the well known di order called conversion hysteria

The third form taken by neurotic anxiety brings us to an enigma there is no visible connection at all between the anxiety and the danger dreaded This anxiety occurs in hysteria for instance accompanying the hysterical symptoms or under various conditions of excitement in which it is true we should expect some affect to be displayed but least of all an anxiety affect or without reference to any conditions incomprehensible both to us and to the patient an unrelated anxiety attack We may look far and wide without discovering a dan er or an occasion which could even be exaggerated to account for it These spontaneous attacks show therefore that the complex condition which we describe as anxiety can be split up into components The whole attack can be represented (as a substitute) by a single intensively developed symptom—shuddering faintness palpitation of the heart inability to breathe—and the general feeling which we rec o nize as anxiety may be absent or may have become unnoticeable And yet these states which are termed *anxiety equivalents* have the same clinical and aetiological validity as anxiety itself

Two questions arise now Is it possible to

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TWENTY SIXTH LECTURE

THE THEORY OF THE LIBIDO NARCISSISM

We ha e repeatedly and gai quit recently referred to the dist ct n betw en th sexual and the ego-instincts F rst f all repre sion showed how they can oppose each other how the sexual in t ncts are then apparently brought to subm sion, and required to procure their satisf ction by circuit us regres ive paths where in their impregnab l ty they obtain com pensation fo their defeat. Then it appeared that from the out et they each ha e a d ffere t relation to the ta k mist ess Necess ty so that the developments are d fferent and they ac qu e diffe ent attit des to the reality-pri ciple Finally we bel e e we can ob erve that the sexual i stincts are connected by much closer t es with the affecti e state of anxiety than are th ego-instincts—a co clusion which in o e important point only st ll eems incomplete. In support of t we may bring forward the further remarkable fact that want of satisfac t on f h nger or thirst the two most ele mental f the self preservati e inst ncts never results in c n e s n f them into anxiety whereas the conversion of unsatisfied libido i to anxiety is as we have hea d a ery well kn wn and frequently observed phenom n n.

Our justifi at n for distinguishin between sexual d ego in tincts can surely n t be con tested t is indeed a sumed by the exi te ce of the exual stinct as a pec al activity in the i dividual. The only que ti n is what signifi cance is t be attach d to this d t n t n, how radical a d decisive w intend to consider it The answ to this depends upon what w can as ertain ab ut the ext t to wh ch the sexual instincts both in the r bodily and the mental man festat ons ond ct them elves d ffere tly from the th r instincts whi h w set ag inst th m and how important the r ults arising f m these diffe e ces are found to be We ha e of ourse no moti e for m intai ing a y difference in the fundame tal nature of the two groups f instincts and by the way t would be difficult t app ehend any They both present themsel es to u merely as descriptio s f th so rces f e ergy in the indi d l and the discuss on wheth r fundamentally they are e r essentially differe t and if e wh n th y becam sep rated f m each oth r can n t be carri d th u h on the bas s of these c cepts lo e but must be grounded on the b ol gical f cts und lying th m At p ese t w kn w too little bout this and eve if w knew m re t w uld not be elevant to the task f psycho-analys

W sh uld clea ly also profit ery l ttl by emphasizi g the primordial unity of all the in stin ts as Jung has d n and d s ribing all the energie which flow f om them as *l bido*

ing that real anxiety does eventually awake in him

Now if some children embrace this training in apprehensiveness very readily and then find for themselves dangers which they have not been warned against it is explicable on the ground that these children have inherently a greater amount of libidinal need in their constitution than others or else that they have been spoiled early with libidinal gratifications It is no wonder if those who later become nervous also belong to this type as children we know that the most favourable circumstance for the development of a neurosis lies in the inability to tolerate a considerable degree of pent up libido for any length of time You will observe now that here the constitutional factor which we have never denied comes into its own We protest only when others emphasize it to the exclusion of all other claims and when they introduce the constitutional factor even where according to the unanimous findings both of observation and of analysis it does not belong or only plays a minor part

Let us sum up the conclusions drawn from the observation of apprehensiveness in children Infantile dread has very little to do with objective anxiety (dread of real danger) but is on the other hand closely allied to the neurotic anxiety of adults It is derived like the latter from undischarged libido and it substitutes some other external object or some situation for the love object which it misses

Now you will be glad to hear that the analysis of phobias has little more to teach us than we have learnt already The same thing happens in them as in the anxiety of children libido that cannot be discharged is continuously being converted into an apparently *objective* anxiety and so an insignificant external danger is taken as a representative of what the libido desires The agreement between the two forms of anxiety is not surprising for infantile phobias are not merely prototypes of those which appear later in anxiety hysteria but they are a direct preliminary condition and prelude of them Every hysterical phobia can be traced back to a childish dread of which it is a continuation even if it has a different content and must be called by a different name The difference between the two conditions lies in their mechanism In order that the libido should be converted into anxiety in the adult it is no longer sufficient that the libido should be momentarily unable to be utilized The adult has long since learned to maintain such libido suspended or to apply it in different ways But, when the libido is attached to a mental excitation which has undergone repression conditions similar to those in the child in whom there is not yet any distinction between conscious and unconscious are re established and by a regression to the infantile phobia a bridge so to speak is provided by which the conversion of libido into anxiety can be conveniently effected As you will remember we have treated repression at some length but in so doing we have been concerned exclusively with the fate of the *idea* to be repressed naturally because this was easier to recognize and to present But we have so far ignored the question of what happened to the *affect* attached to this idea and now we learn for the first time that it is the immediate fate of the affect to be converted into anxiety no matter what quality of affect it would otherwise have been had it run a normal course This transformation of affect is moreover by far the more important effect of the process of repression It is not so easy to present to you for we cannot maintain the existence of unconscious affects in the same sense as that of unconscious ideas An idea remains up to a point the same whether it is conscious or unconscious we can indicate something that corresponds to an unconscious idea But an affect is a process involving a discharge of energy and it is to be regarded quite differently from an idea without searching examination and clarification of our hypotheses concerning mental processes we cannot tell what corresponds with it in the unconscious— and that cannot be undertaken here However we will preserve the impression we have gained that the development of anxiety is closely connected with the unconscious system

I said that conversion into anxiety or better discharge in the form of anxiety was the immediate fate of libido which encounters repression I must add that it is not the only or the final fate of it In the neuroses processes take place which are intended to prevent the development of anxiety and which succeed in so doing by various means In the phobias for instance two stages in the neurotic process are clearly discernible The first effects the repressions and conversion of the libido into anxiety which is then attached to some external danger The second consists in building up all those precautions and safeguards by which all contact with this externalized danger shall be avoided Repression is an attempt at flight on the part of the ego from the libido which it

feels to be dangerous the phob a ma be com pared to fortificati n gain t the outer dan ger which now tand for the dreaded lib do The weakness of this defe e system in the phob as i. of course that the fortress whi h is so well guarded from without rema ns ex posed t danger from within projection ex ternally of dange from lib do can never be a ery succe ful m asure In the oth r neurose therefore other defensive syst m are emplo ed against the pos bility of the devel pment of anxiety this is a ery inte estin part of the psy hology of the neuroses U f rtunately it would tak us too far field and al t would require a thoro gh grounding in special knowl edge of the subject. I will m rely add this I have already poke of the *counte -charges* that are in tituted by the ego upo repres i n which must be maintained so that the repre n can persist. It is the ta k of this counte -charge to carry out the vari us f rm f defe ce against th developme t of anxiety after repression

T return t the ph bias I may n w hope that you realize how inadequate t is to ttempt merely to explain their c t nt and to tak no in erest in them apart from their deri at n— this or that object or s tuat on which has bee mad into a phobia. The co tent of the ph bia has an importance comparabl to that of the manifest dream—it is a façad With all d e modifications it is to be dm tted that among th tents of th arıou ph b as ma y re found which, as tanle Hall points o t re specially suited by phyl gen t inheritance to become objects of dread It is even in gre ment with this that many f these dread d things ha e c nn ction with danger e cept through a *symb lic* relati to t.

Thus we re con nced of the quite entral posi n which the problem f anxi ty fills in the psych logy f the eu oses. We ha e re cei ed strong imp ession f how th develop ment f anxi ty bound up with th f te of the lib do and with th un nsci u ystem There is only on unco nected thread only o gap in o tructur th fact whi h fter all can hardly be d puted that *b tive* *kety* must be regarded as xp es on f the ego s inst ct for self pres rvation.

TWENTY SIXTH LECTURE

THE T EO Y HE LIBIDO NARCISSISM

WE ha e repeatedl and gai quit recently ref rred to th d stinct between the sexual and the ego-in tincts First f all, repre sion showed how they can oppose each other how the sexual i tincts are then apparently brought to submi on and required to procure their sat sfact on by c rcu tous regress e paths where in their impregnability they obtain com pensation for the r defeat. Then it appeared that from the out et they each ha e a d fferent relat on to the task m stress Necess ty so that the r developments are different and they ac quire different attitudes to the reality-principle Finally we believe we can observe that the sexual instincts are conn cted by much closer ties with the affective tate of anxiety than re the ego-inst ncts—a conclusion which in one important po nt only still eems incomplete. I support of it we ma brin forward the further rem kable fact that want of satisfac tion f hunger or thirst the two mo t ele mental f th self preservati e insti cts never results in con ers on of th m into nxiety whereas th con ers n of unsatisfied l b do into anxiety is as we have heard, a very well known and frequently observed phen menon.

Our justificatio for distingui hin between sexual and ego-instincts can surely n t be con tested it is indeed a sumed by the existence of th sexu l i stinct as a special activity in the indiv dual. The only questi n s what signifi cance is to be tt hed t this d tinct on h w radical and deci ive we intend to ons de it. The answe to this depends upon what we can ascertain abo t the xte t to whi h the sexual instinct both the bodily and th r mental manifestat ons, c nd ct them elve d fferently from the th r instincts which we set aga nst them and how important the results arising f om these differ nces a e found to be We ha e of course no m ti e for maintaining any difference in the fundame tal nature f the two groups of nstincts and by th way it would be difficult to app h nd any They both p esent themsel es to us merely as descript ons f the sou s f energy in the individ l and the di cuss on whether fundamentally they re o e essentially different and if ne when they becam separated f om each the can t be carried thr ugh on the bas s of thes c cepts alon but must be grounded on th b l gical facts und lying them At present w know too l ttl about this, and even if we knew m re it w uld not be relevant to th task of psy ho-analysi

We hould clea ly als profit ery l ttle by emphasizing th prim rdial un ty of all the in stin ts as Jung has done and describ g all th energie which fl w from them as *l bido*

We should then be compelled to peak of sex ual and asexual libido since the sexual func tion is not to be eliminated from the field of mental life by any such device The name *libido* however remains properly reserved for the in stinctual forces of the sexual life as we have hitherto employed it

In my opinion therefore the question how far the quite justifiable distinction between sex ual and self preservative instincts is to be car ried has not much importance for psycho analy sis nor is psycho analysis competent to deal with it From the biolo ical point of view there are certainly various indications that the d t [illegible]

[illegible] uual and secures its connec tion with its species It is undeniable that the exercise of this function does not always bring advantage to the individual as do his other activities but that for the sake of an excep tionally high de ree of pleasure he is involved by this function in dangers which jeopardize his life and often enough exact it Quite pe culiar metabolic processes different from all others are probably required in order to pre serve a portion of the individual s life as a disposition for posterity And finally the indi vidual organism that regards itself as first in importance and its sexuality as a means like any other to its own satisfaction is from a biological point of view only an episode in a series of generations a short lived appendage to a germ plasm which is endowed with virtual immortality comparable to the temporary holder of an entail that will survive his death

We are not concerned with such far reaching considerations however in the psycho analytic elucidation of the neuroses By means of fol lowing up the distinction between the sexual and the ego instincts we have gained the key to comprehension of the group of transference neuroses We were able to trace back their ori gin to a fundamental situation in which the sexual instincts had come into conflict with the self preservative instincts or—to express it bi ologically though at the same time less exactly —in which the ego in its capacity of independ ent individual organism had entered into oppo sition with itself in its other capacity as a member of a series of generations Such a dis sociation perhaps only exists in man so that taken all in all his superiority over the other animals may come down to his capacity for neurosis The excessive development of his libido and the rich elaboration of his mental life (perhaps directly made possible by it) seem to constitute the conditions which give rise to a conflict of this kind It is at any rate clear that these are the conditions under which man has progressed so greatly beyond what he has in common with the animals so that his capacity for neurosis would merely be the obverse of his capacity for cultural develop ment However these again are but specula tions which distract us from the task in hand.

Our work so far has been conducted on th assumption that the manifestations of the ex ual and the ego instincts can be distinguished from one another In the transference neuroses this is possible without any difficulty We called the investments of energy directed by the ego towards the object of its sexual desires *libido* and all the other investments proceeding from the self preservative instincts its *interest* and by following up the investments with libido their transformations and their final fates we were able to acquire our first insight into the workings of the forces in mental life The trans ference neuroses offered the best material for this exploration The ego however—its compo sition out of various organizations with their structure and mode of functioning—remained undiscovered we were led to believe that analy sis of other neurotic disturbances would be required before light could be gained on these matters

The extension of psycho analytic conceptions on to these other affections was begun in early days Already in 1908 K Abraham expressed the view after a discussion with me that the main characteristic of dementia praecox (reck oned as one of the psychoses) is that in this disease *the investments of objects with libido is lacking (The Psycho Sexual Differences be tween Hysteria and Dementia Praecox)* But then the question arose what happens to the libido of dementia patients when it is diverted from its objects? Abraham did not hesitate to answer that it is turned back upon the ego and that *this reflex reversion of it is the sou ce of the delusions of grandeur in dementia prae cox* The delusion of grandeur is in every way comparable to the well known overestimation of the object in a love relationship Thus we come for the first time to understand a feature of a psychotic affection by bringing it into re lation to the normal mode of loving in life

I will tell you at once that these early views of Abraham s have been retained in psycho- analysis and have become the basis of our posi tion regarding the psychoses We became slowly

accustomed to the conceptio that the *libido* which we find attached t certain bjects and ich th expres o of a desire to gain some satisfaction in these objects can also abandon these bjects and set the ego tself n the r plac and gradually this view d eloped t elf mor and m re consistently The name for this utilization of the lib do—Narcissism—we borrowed from a pervers n described by P Nacke in which an ad lt indi id al la hes upon his own body all th caresses usually xpended o ly upon a sexual obj ct *other than himself*

Reflection, then at once di cl sed that if a fixati n of this kind to the subject s own body and his own perso can o cur it cannot be an entirely exceptio al or meani less phenome non. On th c ntrary t is probable that this narcissism is the universal original co dition o t f which *object-l ve* dev lops later w th out thereby ecessarily ffecting a d sappear ance f the na cissism One also had to remember th evol tion f object lib do in which to begin w h many of the sexual impulses are gratified on the child s own body—as we say a to-erotically—and that this capac ty fo au

was the sexual activity of th na c ssisti phase of direction of the Lib d

To put t briefly w f rmed n dea f the relat between the *ego-lib do* and the *object lib do* which I can ill trat t you by a comparison taken f om zool gy Think f the m plest form f lif onsi ting of little mass of only slightly di ere tiated protoplasmi substances. They extend protrusi ns which are called p dopodia nto which the protoplasm overfl ws They can however gain withdraw these exten ns of themsel es and e form themselves into mass W mpare this ex tending f pr tru on to th radiation of lib do on t th bject while the greatest v lum f libid may yet remain within the ego we inf that und rmal c d t ns ego-lib do can transform tself int obj ct lib d without dif ficulty and that thi can gain subsequently be bsorbed into the eg

W th th help of these c cept ns t is n w pos b to explain a whol series f mental st es or to express t m re modestly t describe in terms f the l b do-theory co diti ns that be ong t rmal l f f nstan e th mental tutud pertaining to th conditi ns f "bei g i lo e of rgani llness and of leep Of th condit f leep w as umed that it is f unded upon a withdrawal from the outer world and a concentration upon the wish to sleep We found that the nocturnal mental ac ti ty which is expres ed in dreams served the purpose of the wish to leep a d moreo er that it was go erned exclu i ely by ego st c moti es In the l ght of the libido theory we may carry this further and say that sleep is a — f ob ects

not this hed a new li ht upon t e re pe a afforded by sleep a d upon the nature of fa tigu in general? The likeness we see in the condi n which the sleeper conjures up again ev ry night to the blissful isolat on of the intra uterine existence is thus confirmed and ampli fied i ts mental a pects In the sleeper the primal state of the libido-d stribution is again rep od ced that of absolut narc ssism in which lib do and ego-interests dwell together still un ted and indistinguishable in the self sufficient elf

Two observati ns are in place here. First, how is the co cept *narcissism* distingu hed fr m *egoism?* In my opinion, narcissi m is the lib dinal omplement f eg ism When one pe ks of egoism o e i thinki g only of the *terest* f the pers n concerned narcis ism relates also t the satisf cti n of his l bidinal needs It is poss ble t f llow up the two separately for a cons derable d tance as practi cal moti es in life A man m y be abs l tely egoi tic and yet ha e strong lib dinal att ch

the object in ol e no injury to his ego A man may be egoi tic and at the same time stron ly narcissistic (i e feel very little need for object) a d this again e ther in the f rm taken by the need for direct sexual satisfaction o in those higher f rms of feeling deri ed f om the sexual needs which are commonly call d *love* and a su h are c trast d with *sensual ty* In ll thes tuat ons g sm s the self ev dent th con tant eleme t, and narcissism th ariabl on Th antithes s of eg sm c. *tru m* not a alternati e t rm f r th in estm t of an object with lib d t distinct from the latte in its lack of the desire f r sexual sati faction in the bj ct. B t wh n the co diti f l e is developed t it fullest in ten ty ltruism coincides w th the in estm nt f an bject with lib do As a rule th sexual bject draws to tself a porti n f the ego s

narcissism which becomes apparent in what is called the *sexual overestimation* of the object If to this is added an altruism directed towards the object and derived from the egoism of the lover the sexual object becomes supreme it has entirely swallowed up the ego

I think you will find it a relief if after these scientific phantasies which are after all very dry I submit to you a poetic description of the *economic* contrast between the condition of narcissism and that of love in full intensity I take it from a dialogue between Zuleika and her lover in Goethe s *Westostliche Divan*

Zuleika

The slave the lord of victories
The crowd with single voice confess
In sense of personal being lies
A child of earth s true happiness
There s not a life he need refuse
If his true self he does not miss
There s not a thing he cannot lose
If he remains the man he is

Hatem

So it is held! so well may be!
But down a different track I come
Of all the bliss earth holds for me
I in Zuleika find the sum
Does she expend her being on me
Myself grows to myself of cost
Turns she away then instantly
I to my very self am lost
And then with Hatem all were over
Though yet I should but change my state
Swift should she grace some happy lover
In him I were incorporate

The second observation is an amplification of the theory of dreams The way in which a dream originates is not explicable unless we assume that what is repressed in the unconscious has acquired a certain independence of the ego so that it does not subordinate itself to the wish for sleep and maintains its investments although all the object investments proceeding from the ego have been withdrawn for the purpose of sleep Only this makes it possible to understand how it is that this unconscious material can make use of the abrogation or diminution in the activities of the censorship which takes place at night and that it knows how to mould the day s residue so as to form a forbidden dream wish from the material to hand in that residue On the other hand some of the resistance against the wish to sleep and the withdrawal of libido thereby induced may have its origin in an association already in existence between this residue and the repressed unconscious material This important dynamic factor must therefore now be incorporated into the conception of dream formation which we formed in our earlier discussions

Certain conditions—organic illness painful accesses of stimulation an inflammatory condition of an organ—have clearly the effect of loosening the libido from its attachment to its objects The libido which has thus been withdrawn attaches itself again to the ego in the form of a stronger investment of the diseased region of the body Indeed one may venture the assertion that in such conditions the withdrawal of the libido from its objects is more striking than the withdrawal of the egoistic interests from their concerns in the outer world This seems to lead to a possibility of understanding hypochondria in which some organ without being perceptibly diseased becomes in a very similar way the subject of solicitude on the part of the ego I shall however resist the temptation to follow this up or to discuss other situations which become explicable or capable of exposition on this assumption of a return of the object libido into the ego for I feel bound to meet two objections which I know have all your attention at the moment First of all you want to know why when I discuss sleep illness and similar conditions I insist upon distinguishing between libido and interests sexual instincts and ego instincts while the observations are satisfactorily explained by assuming a single uniform energy which is freely mobile can invest either object or ego and can serve the purposes of the one as well as of the other Secondly you will want to know how I can be so bold as to treat the detachment of the libido from its objects as the origin of a pathological condition if such a transformation of object libido into ego libido —or into ego energy in general—is a normal mental process repeated every day and every night

The answer is Your first objection sounds a good one Examination of the conditions of sleep illness and falling in love would probably never have led to a distinction between ego libido and object libido or between libido and interests But in this you omit to take into account the investigations with which we start

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ed in the light of which we now regard the mental situations under discussion The necessity of distinguishing between libido and interests between sexual and self preservative instincts has been forced upon us by our insight into the conflict from which the transference neuroses arise We have to reckon with this distinction henceforth The assumption that object libido can transform itself into ego-libido in other words that we shall also have to reckon with an ego-libido appears to be the only one capable of solving the riddle of what are called the narcissistic neuroses e.g. dementia praecox or of giving any satisfactory explanation of their likeness to hysteria and obsessions and differences from them. We then apply what we have found undeniably proved in these cases to illness sleep and the condition of intense love We are at liberty to apply them in any direction and see where they will take us The single conclusion which is not directly based on analytical experience is that libido is libido and remains so whether it is attached to objects or to the ego itself and never transformed into egoistic interests and vice versa. This statement however is another way of expressing the distinction between sexual instincts and ego-instincts which we have already critically examined and which we shall hold to from heuristic motives until such time as it may prove valueless

Your second objection too raises a justifiable question, but it is directed to a false issue. The withdrawal of object libido into the ego is certainly not pathogenic it is true that it occurs every night before sleep and ensues and that the process is reversed upon awakening. The protoplasmic animalcule draws in its protrusions and sends them out again at the next opportunity But it is quite a different matter when a definite very forcible process compels the withdrawal of the libido from its objects The libido that has then become narcissistic can no longer find its way back to its objects and this obstruction in the way of the free movement of the libido certainly does prove pathogenic It seems that an accumulation of narcissistic libido over and above a certain level becomes intolerable. We might well imagine that it was this that first led to the investment of objects that the ego was obliged to send forth its libido in order not to fall ill of an excessive accumulation of it. If it were part of our scheme to go more particularly into the disorder of dementia praecox I would show you that the process which detaches the libido from its objects and blocks the way back to them again is closely allied to the process of repression and is to be regarded as a counterpart of it In any case you would recognize familiar ground under your feet when you found that the preliminary conditions giving rise to these processes are almost identical so far as we know at present, with those of repression. The conflict seems to be the same and to be conducted between the same forces. Since the outcome is so different from that of hysteria for instance the reason can only lie in some difference in the disposition. The weak point in the libido-development in these patients is found at a different phase of the development the decisive fixation which as you will remember enables the process of symptom formation to break out is at another point probably at the stage of primary narcissism to which dementia praecox finally returns It is most remarkable that for all the narcissistic neuroses we have to assume fixation points of the libido at very much earlier phases of development than those found in hysteria or the obsessional neuroses You have heard however that the concepts we have elicited from the study of the transference neuroses also suffice to show us our bearings in the narcissistic neuroses which are in practice so much more severe. There is a very wide community between them fundamentally they are phenomena of a similar class You may imagine how hopeless a task it is for anyone to attempt to explain these disorders (which properly belong to psychiatry) without being first equipped with the analytic knowledge of the transference neuroses

The picture formed by the symptoms of dementia praecox incidentally a very variable one is not determined exclusively by the symptoms arising from the forcing of the libido back from the objects and the accumulation of it as narcissism in the ego Other phenomena occupy a large part of the field, and may be traced to the efforts made by the libido to reach its objects again which correspond therefore to attempts at restitution and recovery These are in fact the conspicuous clamorous symptoms they exhibit marked similarity to those of hysteria or more rarely of the obsessional neuroses they are nevertheless different in every respect It seems that in dementia praecox the efforts of the libido to get back to its objects that is to the mental ideas of its objects, do really succeed in conjuring up something of them, something that at the same

narcissistic type of object choice is also found as a trait in the disposition of manifest homo sexuals

You will remember that in the first lecture given this session I described to you a case of delusional jealousy in a woman Now that we have so nearly reached the end you will cer tainly want to know how we account for a delusion psycho analytically I have less to say about it than you would expect however The inaccessibility of delusions to logical argu ments and to actual experience is to be ex plained as it is with obsessions by the con nection they bear to the unconscious material which is both expressed by and held in check by the delusion or the obsession The differ ences between the two are based on the topo graphical and dynamic differences in the two affections

As with paranoia so also with melancholia (under which by the way very different clini cal types are classified) it has been possible to obtain a glimpse into the inner structure of the disorder We have perceived that the self re proaches with which these sufferers torment themselves so mercilessly actually relate to an other person to the sexual object they have lost or whom they have ceased to value on account of some fault From this we concluded that the melancholic has indeed withdrawn his libido from the object but that by a process which we must call *narcissistic identification* he has set up the object within the ego itself projected it on to the ego I can only give you a descriptive representation of this process and not one expressed in terms of topo raphy and dynamics The e o itself is then treated as though it were the abandoned object it suffers all the revengeful and aggressive treatment which is designed for the object The suicidal impulses of melancholics also become more in telligible on the supposition that the bitterness felt by the diseased mind concerns the ego itself at the same time as and equally with h

ly to the fore by this we mean a d recting of antithetical feelings (affectionate and hostile) towards the same person It is unfortunate that I have not been able to say more about ambiv alence in these lectures

There is also besides the narcissistic an hysterical form of identification which has long been known to us I wish it were possible to make the differences between them clear to you in a few definite statements I can tell you something of the periodic and cyclic forms of melancholia which will interest you It is pos sible in favourable circumstances—I have twice achieved it—to prevent the recurrence of the condition or of its antithesis by analytic treatment during the lucid intervals between the attacks One learns from this that in melan cholia and mania as well as other conditions a special kind of solution of a conflict is going on which in all its pre requisites a rees with those of the other neuroses You may imagine how much there remains for psycho analysis to do in this field

I also told you that by analysis of the nar cissistic disorders we hoped to gain some knowledge of the composition of the ego and of its structure out of various faculties and elements We have made a beginnin towards this at one point From analysis of the de lusion of observation we have come to the con clusion that in the ego there exists a faculty that incessantly watches criticizes and com pares and in this way is set against the other part of the ego In our opinion therefore the patient reveals a truth which has not been ap preciated as such when he complains that at every step he is spied upon and observed that his very thought is known and examined He has erred only in attributing this disagreeable power to something outside himself and for eign to him he perceives within his ego the rule of a faculty which measures his actual ego and all his activities by an *ego ideal* which he has created for himself in the course of his development We also infer that he created this ideal for the purpose of recovering thereby the self satisfaction bound up with the pri mary infantile narcissism which since tho e days has suffered so many shocks and mortifi cation We recognize in this self criticizin fac ulty the ego censorship the *conscience* it is the same censorship as that exercised at night upon dreams from which the repressions against inadmissible wish-excitations proceed When this faculty disintegrates in the delusion of being observed we are able to detect its origin and that it arose out of the influence of parents and those who trained the child to gether with his social surroundings by a proc ess of identification with certain of these per sons who were taken as a model

These are some of the results yielded by the application of psycho analysis to the narcis

... c disorders. They are still not very numer ous a d many of them still la k that harpness of outline which cannot be achieved in a new field until some degree of familiarity has been attained. All of them have been made pos ble by employin the conception of e o- libido or narcissistic lib do by means f which we can extend the conclusions established for the transference neuroses o to the narcissistic euroses But now you will put the question whether it is po sible f r us to bring all the disorders of the narcis tic neuroses and of the psychoses into the range of the lib do theory for us to find th lib dinal f ct in mental life alwa s a d everywhere respo ble for the development of disease and for us never to have to attribute any part in the cau sation to the ame alteration in the functions of the elf-preservative instincts Well now it seems t me that d cision on this point is not very urgent, and bo e all that the time is not yet ripe for us to mak t we may lea e it calmly to be d cided by ad ance in the work of science. I hould ot be astonished if it would prove that the capa ty t ndu e a pathogenic eff ct were actually a prerogative of th libidinal mpul es o that th theory of the lib do would triumph all al n the line from the ctual euroses to th severest psy chot f rm f indi dual d rang m t For we know t to be characteristic of the lib d that t refuses t bordinate tself to reality n lif to eces ty B t I cons d t extremely probabl that the ego-instincts are in l ed secondarily and that di tu bances in th func tions may be ecessitat d by the path enic affections f the l'b d Nor can I see that the direction taken by our investigations will be invalidated f we h uld ha e to recogniz that in severe psychosis the go nstincts th msel es re primarily deranged the future will decide —f r you, t lea t.

Let me return for m ment to anxiety in or r to throw li ht po the one obscure point we l ft there W sa d that th relat on be tween anxiety and lib d otherwise so well de fi ed, is with difficulty harmonized w th the almost indisputable a sumpt that object e anxiety in the fa of da g r is the expres on of the self-preservative i stincts B t how if the anxiety affect is p ovided not by self n terest on th part of the ego-instincts but by the ego-lib d The cond't n of anx ty is afte all invariably detrimental ts disad vanta e becomes consp cuous wh it reaches an intense degree. It then interf res with th action that alone would be expedient and would serve the purposes of self preservat on whether it be flight or self-defence Therefore if we ascribe the affecti e compo ent of objecti e anxiety to the ego-lib do and the action under — every will away *because* we perce e fear? No we pe cei e fear *and* we take to fl ght out of the common impulse that is roused by the perception of — — ed ... es of lid —

fo instance pointed their gun at the o com n beast—which was undoubtedly the best thing they c uld do

TWENTY SEVENTH LECTURE

TRANSFERENCE

Now that we are comin t the end of our dis cuss ons you will feel a certain expectat on which must not be allowed to mislead you You are probably thinking that I su ely have not led you through all these complicated mazes of psycho-analysis only to d smiss you at the end without a word about the therapy upon which aft r all the possib'lity of undertaking psycho-analytic work depe ds As a matter of fact I could not poss'bly lea out this aspect of it for some of the phenomena belonging to it will teach you a new fact without knowledge of which you would be quite unable to a simi late properly your understa d ng of the d s- ea es we have been studying

I know you do not expect directions in the te hnique of pract ing analys s for therapeutic purpo e you only want to know in a general way by what means the psy ho-analyt c the apy wo ks and to ga a g ral idea of what it omplı hes And y u ha e an undeniable right to learn this everthele s I am n t going to t ll y u—I am g ing t insi t upon your finding out fo y rsel es

Think for a moment You have l eady learnt everythi g essential fr m the o dit ns by wh h illnes is p o oked to all the f ctors which tak effect w thin the d ea d mind Where is the penin in all this for therapeut c influ n e? First f ll there is the he ed tary dispo t n—w do n t often ment n t be caus it o tro gly emphasized oth r quarters d w ha noth g new t v bout it B t do t suppose that w u d restim te it as practiti rs we are w ll aware *of its*

power In any event we can do nothing to change it for us also it is a fixed datum in the problem which sets a limit to our efforts Next there is the influence of the experiences of childhood which we are accustomed in analysis to rank as very important they belong to the past we cannot undo them Then there is all that unhappiness in life which we have included under *frustration in reality* from which all the absence of love in life proceeds—namely poverty family strife mistaken choice in marriage unfavourable social conditions and the severity of the demands by which moral convention oppresses the individual There is indeed a wide opening for a very effective treatment in all this but it would have to follow the course of the dispensations of Kaiser Joseph in the Viennese legend—the benevolent despotism of a potentate before whose will men bow and difficulties disappear! But who are we that we can exert such beneficence as a therapeutic measure? Poor as we are and without influence socially with our living to earn by our medical practice we are not even in a position to extend our efforts to penniless folk as other physicians with other methods can do our treatment takes too much time and labour for that But perhaps you are still clinging on to one of the factors put forward and believe you see an opening for our influence there If the conventional restrictions imposed by society have had a part in the privations forced upon the patient the treatment could give him the courage and even directly advise him to defy these obstacles and to seize satisfactions and health for him elf at the cost of failing to achieve an ideal which though highly esteemed is after all often set at nau ht by the world Health is to be won by free living then There would be this blot upon analysis to be sure that it would not be serving general morality what it gave to the individual it would take from the rest of the world

But now who has given you such a false impression of analysis? It is out of the question that part of the analytic treatment should consist of advice to live freely —if for no other reason because we ourselves tell you that a stubborn conflict is going on in the patient between libidinal desires and sexual repression between sensual and ascetic tendencies This conflict is not resolved by helping one side to win a victory over the other It is true we see that in neurotics ascetism has gained the day the result of which is that the suppres ed sexual impulses have found a vent for themselves in the symptoms If we were to make victory possible to the sensual side instead the disregarded forces repressing sexuality would have to indemnify themselves by symptoms Neither of these measures will succeed in ending the inner conflict one side in either event will remain unsatisfied There are but few cases in which the conflict is so unstable that a factor like medical advice can have any effect upon it and these cases do not really require analytic treatment People who can be so easily influenced by physicians would have found their own way to that solution without this influence After all you know that a young man livin in abstinence who makes up his mind to illicit sexual intercourse or an unsatisfied wife who seeks compensation with a lover does not as a rule wait for the permission of a physician still less of an analyst to do so

In considering this question people usually overlook the essential point of the whole difficulty—namely that the pathogenic conflict in a neurotic must not be confounded with a normal struggle between conflictin impulses all of which are in the same mental field It is a battle between two forces of which one has succeeded in coming to the level of the preconscious and conscious part of the mind while the other has been confined on the unconscious level That is why the conflict can never have a final outcome one way or the other the antagonists meet each other as little as the whale and the polar bear in the well known story An effective decision can be reached only when they confront each other on the same ground And in my opinion to accomplish this is the sole task of the treatment

Besides this I can assure you that you are quite misinformed if you imagine that advice and guidance concerning conduct in life forms an integral part of the analytic method On the contrary so far as possible we refrain from playing the part of mentor we want nothin better than that the patient should find his own solutions for himself To this end we expect him to postpone all vital decisions affecting his life such as choice of career business enterprises marriage or divorce during treatment and to execute them only after it has been completed Now confess that you had imagined something very different Only with certain very young or quite helple s and defenceless persons is it impossible to keep within such strict limitations as we should wi h With them we have to combine the positions of physician and educator we are then well aware of

our responsibility and ct with the necessary
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influence them in f our of con entional lio-
n That is at lea t s far removed from
ur purpose as the other We are not reformers
it is tr we are merely observers but we
cannot oid observing with critical eyes and
have found t imposs bl to give ou support
t conventional sexual morality o to appro e
highly f the means by which soci t attempts
to arrange the practical prob ems of sexuality
in life We can dem nstrate with ease that what
the world calls its ode of morals demands
more sacrifices than it is worth, and that its
beha iour is ne ther dictated by ho esty nor
instituted with wisdom. We d not absol e our
patients from listening to these crit cisms we
accus m them to an unprej diced considera
tion of sexual matters like all other matters
and if after they ha e be om indepe dent by
the effect of th treatment they choose some
intermediate course between unrestrained sex
ual licence and unco ditional a cet ism our
conscience is n t burdened whatever the out
come. W say to oursel es that anyone who
has successfully undergon the training of
learning and recognizing the truth about him
self is hencef rth strengthened gainst the
dangers f immorality even f his tandard of
morality should in som respect deviat from
the common ne Incidentally we must beware
of ov restim tin the importance f ab tinence
in a ctin neurosis only min rity of patho-
genic s uations d e to fru tration nd the ub-
sequent accum atu of lib do th reby induced
can be relieved by the kind of sexual inter
course that is procurable without any difficulty

So you can t explain the therapeutic effect
f psycho-analysis by upposing that t permits
pa ient free sexual indulge ce you must look
round for somethi lse I think that f
the emarks I made while I was disposin of
this conjecture on you part will ha e put you
on the ri ht tra k. Probably t is the substit
tion of something onscious for something un
onscious the transformati f th un on
scious thought into consci us thoughts that
makes our w k ffecti e You are right that
is exactly what it is By ext ending the un on
scious int co sciousne s th repressi ns are
raised the conditi of symptom format on
are abolished and the pathogenic c flict ex

changed for a normal one which must be de-
cided o e way or the other We do nothi for
our patients but enabl this one mental cha e
to take place in them the extent to which it
is achieved is the extent of the benefit we do
them Where th re is no repression or ment l
process a alogous to it to be undone there is
n thing for our therapy to do

Th aim of o r efforts may be expressed in
various formulas—m king conscious the un
con cious remo ing the repre ns filling in
the gaps in mem ry they all amount to the
same thi But perhaps ou are di satisfied
with this declaration you imagined the recov
ery of a nervous perso rather di erently that
after he had been bjected to the laborious
process f psycho-anal sis he would emerge a
different person altogether and then you hear
that th whole thi only amounts to his ha ing
a little less that is unconsc ous and a little more
that is con cious in him than before Well you
probably do not appreciate the importanc of
an inner change of this kind A neurotic who
has been cured has really become a different
person although at bottom of course he re
mains th same—that is he has bec me his
best self what he would ha e been under the
most favourabl c ditions That howe er is
a great deal. Then when ou hear of all that
has to be done of the tremendous xerti n
required to carry o t this apparently trifling
change in his mental life the significance at
tached to these differences between the various
mental levels will appear more comprehens ble
t you

I will digress a moment to enquire wh ther
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caus f the illness Now is psycho-analysis a
causal therapy not? The answ r s t a im
ple one, but t may give us an opportunity to
convince ourselves f the futili y of such ques
tions In o far as psycho-analytic therapy does
not aim immedi t ly t removin the sympt ms
t is cond cted like a causal therapy In oth r
respects you may say it is not for we ha e
fol wed the ca sal chain back fa bey nd the
repressions to the instincti e predispos tions
th relative inte ty th c nstitut on d
th berrations in th course f their develop-
men Now suppose tha it were pos bl by
some chemical means to ffect this mental
machin ry t increase r decrease the amount
of lib do ailable t any gi en mom n or to

reinforce the strength of one impulse at the expense of another—that would be a causal therapy in the literal sense and our analysis would be the indispensable preliminary work of reconnoitring the ground As you know there is at present no question of any such influence upon the processes of the libido our mental therapy makes its attack at another point in the concatenation not quite at the place where we perceive the manifestations to be rooted but yet comparatively far behind the symptoms themselves at a place which becomes accessible to us in very remarkable circumstances

What then have we to do in order to bring what is unconscious in the patient into consciousness? At one time we thought that would be very simple all we need do would be to identify this unconscious matter and then tell the patient what it was However we know already that that was a short sighted mistake Our knowledge of what is unconscious in him is not equivalent to his knowledge of it when we tell him what we know he does not assimilate it *in place of* his own unconscious thoughts but *alongside* of them and very little has been changed We have rather to regard this unconscious material topographically we have to look for it in his memory at the actual spot where the repression of it originally ensued This repression must be removed and then the substitution of conscious thou ht for unconscious thought can be effected straightway How is a repre sion such as this to be removed? Our work enters upon a second phase here first the discovery of the repression and then the removal of the resistance which maintains this repression

How can this resistance be got rid of? In the same way by finding it out and telling the patient about it The resistance too arises in a repression either from the very one which we are endeavouring to dispel or in one that occurred earlier It is set up by the counter charge which rose up to repress the repellent impulse So that we now do just the same as we were trying to do before we interpret identify and inform the patient but this time we are doing it at the right spot The counter charge or the resistance is not part of the unconscious but of the ego which co operates with us and this is so even if it is not actually conscious We know that a difficulty arises here in the ambiguity of the word *u iconscious* on the one hand as a phenomenon on the other hand as a system That sounds very obscure and difficult but after all it is only a repetition of what we have said before is it not? We have come to this point already long ago Well then we expect that this resistance will be abandoned and the counter-charge withdrawn when we have made the recognition of them possible by our work of interpretation What are the instinctive propelling forces at our disposal to make this possible? First the patient s desire for recovery which impelled him to submit himself to the work in co operation with us and secondly the aid of his intelli ence which we reinforce by our interpretation There is no doubt that it is easier for the patient to recognize the resistance with his intelligence and to identify the idea in his unconscious which corresponds to it if we have first given him an idea which rouses his expectations in regard to it If I say to you Look up at the sky and you will see a balloon you will find it much more quickly than if I merely tell you to look up and see whether you can see anything a student who looks through a microscope for the first time is told by the instructor what he is to see otherwise he ees nothing although it is there and quite visible

And now for the fact! In quite a number of the various forms of nervous illness in the hysterias anxiety conditions obsessional neuroses our hypothesis proves sound By seeking out the repression in this way discovering the resistances indicating the repressed it is actually possible to accomplish the task to overcome the resistances to break down the repression and to change something unconscious into something conscious As we do this we get a vivid impression of how as each individual resistance is being mastered a violent battle goes on in the soul of the patient—a normal mental struggle between two tendencies on the same ground between the motives striving to maintain the counter charge and those which are ready to abolish it The first of these are the old motives which originally erected the repression among the second are found new ones more recently acquired which it is hoped will decide the conflict in our favour We have succeeded in revivifying the old battle of the repression again in bringing the issue so long ago decided up for revision again The new contribution we make to it lies first of all in demonstrating that the original solution led to illness and in promising that a d fferent one would pave the wav to health and secondly in pointing out that the circumstances have all changed immen ely since the time of that orig

ral repudiation of these impulses Then the ego was weak infantile and perhaps had rea on to hrink with horror f om the claims of th Ei d as being darge ous to t Today it i st ong and experie ced and moreover has a helpe at hand in the physi ian So we may expect to lead the rev ed conflict through a better t ome than repres i n a d as has been said, in hyst ria anxiety eu os s and th bses onal neuro is cce s in the main justi fies our claims.

There are ther forms of illness however with which our therapeutic treatment never is succes ful in sp te f the similarity of th c n ditions. I them also the was originally a conflict between ego and lib d leading to repres on—alth gh this c flict m y be char c terized by topographical differe ces from the conflict of th transf rence euroses in them too it is pos ble t trac out the point in the pa ent s lif t whi h th repress ons ccurred we apply the same method re ready to make t same assura ces ffer the same ta ce b telling th patie t what t look out for d here al the interval in tim between the pres en and the point t which the repressions were est blished is all in fa of bette outc me of the co flict. And yet we cannot s cceed in ov rcoming o e re tanc r in removi g e f the repress io s Thes pat ent para oiacs melanch lics and th se s ff ring from demen ta p aec x, emai on th wh le un ffected proof against psycho- nalytic t eatment. What can be th ca se f this? It is ot d t lack f in elligence a c rtain d gree f tellectual capacity must nat rally be t pulated fo anal ysis, but there is o d fi ency in this respect m, f stan e the very quick witt d ded c tn paranoi N any f th oth p o pelling f es regularly absent m lancholics for instance in ontra t to paran iacs experi enc a very high degree f ealization th t they are ill and that the r uff ri gs are du to thi but they re not on that ac ount any m re a es bl t in ence I th w e con fro ted with a f ct that w d ot understand a d re theref re called upo to d bt whether we ha e really understood all th ditı n of t e succes pos bl w th th ther neu oses

When w keep to on d ration of hysterical and obsessional eu t cs we are very oon o f ted with a sec d f t f which we were quite unprepared. After the treatment ha proceeded for a whil we tice that these patients be ave in qu t peculi man er tow rds our sel es We th ught indeed that w had taken into a count all the moti e forces affecting the treatment and had reas ned out the s tuation between oursel es and the patient fully so that it balanced like a sum in arithmetic and then after all something seems to sl p n which was quite left o t of our calculation This new and unexpected feature s in tself many s ded and complex I will first of all describe some of its mor frequent and simpl r forms to you

We observe the that the patient who ou ht t be thi ki g of nothing but the olution of his own di tressing co flicts begins to develop a particular nterest in the person of the phy s cian E erything co nected with this person seems to him more important than his own aff irs a d to d tract him f om his illness Relations with th pati nt then become for a time very agreeabl he s particularly docile e dea rs to show his gratitud wherever he ca exhib ts a fi ess of charact r and other good qual t es which we had perhaps not an t c pated in him The nalyst thus forms a very good op n of th patient and value his luck in be g able to render assistance to u h an adm rable perso al ty If the phy cia has oc ca on to see the patie t s relati es he hears with satisf ct on that this esteem mut l Th patie t at hom i never ti ed of praising the nalyst and attributing n w virtues to him

th way he ne r speaks of anything but you he quotes you all the time

We will h pe that the physician is modest enou h to ascribe the pat ent s estim te of his val e to the hopes f co ery which he has bee ble t offe to him and t the widening in th patient s intell tual h riz n c nsequent upon the surprising evelat ns e tailed by the treatment d th r liberati g influence Th analys t o makes ple did p gress unde these co ditions th patie t understands the s gg tions ffered to him conc trates upon the tasks appointed by the treatment the ma teri l eeded—his re llect on and ociations —is abunda tly a ailabl he astonishes the analyst by the urenes and accuracy of his int rpretati ns and the latte has o ly t bserve w th satisf ctio how read ly and will ingly a sick man will ccept ll th new psy hological ideas that are hotly c tested by the healthy in th wo ld outs d A g ral m provement in th patient s conditi objec

tively confirmed on all sides also accompanies thi harmonious relationship in the analysis

But such fair weather cannot last for ever There comes a day when it clouds over There begin to be difficulties in the analysis the patient says he cannot think of anything more to say One has an unmistakable impression that he is no longer interested in the work and that he is casually ignoring the injunction given him to say everything that comes into his mind and to yield to none of the critical objections that occur to him His behaviour is not dictated by the situation of the treatment it is as if he had not made an agreement to that effect with the physician he is obviously preoccupied with something which at the same time he wishes to reserve to himself This is a situation in which the treatment is in danger Plainly a very powerful resistance has risen up What can have happened?

If it is possible to clear up this state of things the cause of the dist h [illegible] I

I [illegible] accounted for by the latter's behaviour nor by the relationship involved by the treatment The form in which this affectionate feeling is expressed and the goal it seeks naturally depend upon the circumstances of the situation between the two persons If one of them is a young girl and the other still a fairly young man the impression received is that of normal love it seems natural that a girl should fall in love with a man with whom she is much alone and can speak of very intimate things and who is in the position of an adviser with authority—we shall probably overlook the fact that in a neurotic girl some disturbance of the capacity for love is rather to be expected The farther removed the situation between the two persons is from this supposed example the more unaccountable it is to find that nevertheless the same kind of feeling comes to light in other cases It may be still comprehensible when a young woman who is unhappily married seems to be overwhelmed by a serious passion for her physician if he is still unattached and that she should be ready to eek a divorce and give herself to him or where circumstances would prevent this to enter into a secret love affair with him That sort of thing indeed is known to occur outside psycho analysis But in this situation girls and women make the most astonishing confessions which reveal a quite peculiar attitude on their part to the therapeutic problem they had

a] t t a [illegible] them what life had so far denied them It was only with this hope that they had taken such pains over the analysis and had conquered all their difficulties in disclosing their thoughts We ourselves can add and had understood so easily all that is usually so hard to accept But a confession of this kind astounds us all our calculations are blown to the winds Could it be that we have omitted the most important element in th whole problem?

And actually it is so the more experience we gain the less possible does it become for us to contest this new factor which alters the whole problem and puts our scientific calculations to shame The first few times one might think that the analytic treatment had stumbled upon an obstruction in the shape of an accidental occurrence extraneous to its purpose and unconnected with it in origin But when it happens that this kind of attachment to the physician regularly evinces itself in every fresh case under the most unfavourable conditions and always appears even in circumstances of a positively grotesque incongruity—in elderly women in relation to grey bearded men even on occasions when our judgment assures us that no temptations exist—then we are compelled to give up the idea of a disturbing accident and to admit that we have to deal with a phenomenon in itself essentially bound up with the nature of the disease

The new fact which we are thus unwillingly compelled to recognize we call *transference* By this we mean a transference of feelings on to the person of the physician because we do not believe that the situation in the treatment can account for the origin of such feelings We are much more disposed to suspect that the whole of this readiness to develop feeling originates in another source that it was previously formed in the patient and has seized the opportunity provided by the treatment to transfer itself on to the person of the physician The transference can express itself as a passionate petitioning for love or it can take less extreme forms where a young girl and an elderly man are concerned instead of the wish to be wife or mistress a wish to be adopted as a favourite daughter may come to light the libidinous desire can modify itself and propose itself as a wish for an everlasting but ideally platonic friendship Many women understand how to

sublimate the transference and to mould it until it acquires a sort of justification for its existence others have to express it in its crude, almost impossible form. But a bottom it is always the same and its origin in the same source can never be mistaken.

Before we enquire where we are to range this new fact, we will amplify the description of it a little. How is it with our male patients? There at least we might hope to be spared the troublesome element of sex difference and sex attraction. Well, the answer is very much the same as with women. The same attachment to the physician, the same overestimation of his qualities, the same adoption of his interests, the same jealousy against all those connected with him. The sublimated kinds of transference are the forms more frequently met with between man and man, and the directly sexual declaration more rarely in the same degree to which the manifest homosexuality of the patient is subordinated to the other ways by which this component instinct can express itself. Also it is in male patients that the analyst more frequently observes a manifestation of the transference which at the first glance seems to controvert the description of it just given—that is, the hostile or *negative* transference.

First of all, let us realize at once that the transference exists in the patient from the beginning of the treatment, and is for a time the strongest impetus in the work. Nothing is seen of it and one does not need to trouble about it as long as its effect is favourable to the work in which the two persons are co-operating. When it becomes transformed into a resistance attention must be paid to it and then it appears that the two different and contrasting states I mind have supervened in it and have altered its attitude to the treatment: first, when the affectionate attraction has become so strong and betrays its origin in sexual desure so clearly that it was bound to arouse an inner opposition against itself and secondly when it consists in antagonistic instead of affectionate feeling. The hostile feelings as a rule appear later than the affectionate and under cover of them; when both occur simultaneously they provide a very good exemplification of that ambivalence in feeling which governs most of our intimate relationships with other human beings. The hostile feelings therefore indicate an attachment of feeling quite similar to the affectionate just as defiance indicates a similar dependence upon the other person to that belonging to obedience though with a reversed

prefix. There can be no doubt that the hostile feelings against the analyst deserve *the name of transference* for the situation in the treatment certainly gives no adequate occasion for them; the necessity for regarding the negative transference in this light is a confirmation of our previous similar view of the positive or affectionate variety.

Where the transference springs from, what difficulties it provides for us, how we can overcome them and what advantage we can finally derive from it, are questions which can only be adequately dealt with in a technical exposition of the analytic method. I can merely touch upon them here. It is out of the question that we should yield to the demands made by the patient under the influence of his transference; it would be nonsensical to reject them unkindly and still more so indignantly. The transference is overcome by showing the patient that his feelings do not originate in the current situation, and do not really concern the person of the physician, but that he is reproducing something that had happened to him long ago. In this way we require him to transform his *repetition* into *recollection*. Then the transference which, whether affectionate or hostile, every time seemed the greatest menace to the cure becomes its best instrument so that with its help we can unlock the closed doors in the soul. I should like, however, to say a few words to dispel the unpleasant effects of the shock that this unexpected phenomenon must have been to you. After all, we must not forget that this illness of the patient's which we undertake to analyse is not a finally accomplished and, as it were consolidated thing but that it is growing and continuing its development all the time like a living thing. The beginning of the treatment puts no stop to this development, but as soon as the treatment has taken a hold upon the patient, it appears that the entire productivity of the illness henceforward becomes concentrated in one direction—namely upon the relationship to the physician. The transference then becomes comparable to the cambium layer between the wood and the bark of a tree from which proceeds the formation of new tissue and the growth of the trunk in diameter. As soon as the transference has taken on this significance the work upon the patient's recollections recedes far into the background. It is then not incorrect to say that we no longer have to do with the previous illness but with a newly created and transformed neurosis which has replaced the earlier one. This new edition

of the old disease has been followed from its inception one sees it come to light and grow and is particularly familiar with it since one is oneself its central object All the patient s symptoms have abandoned their original significance and have adapted themselves to a new meaning which is contained in their relationship to the transference or else only those symptoms remain which were capable of bein adapted in this way The conquest of this new artificially acquired neurosis coincides with the removal of the illness which existed prior to the treatment that is with accomplishing the therapeutic task The person who has become normal and free from the influence of repressed instinctive tendencies in his relationship to the physician remains so in his own life when the physician has again been removed from it

The transference has this all important absolutely central significance for the cure in hysteria anxiety hysteria and the obsessional neurosis which are in consequence rightly grouped together as the *transference neuroses* Anyone who has grasped from analytic experience a true impression of the fact of transference can never again doubt the nature of the suppressed impulses which have manufactured an outlet for themselves in the symptoms and he will require no stronger proof of their libidinal character We may say that our conviction of the significance of the symptoms as a substitutive gratification of the libido was only finally and definitely established by evaluating the phenomenon of transference

Now however we are called upon to correct our former dynamic conception of the process of cure and to bring it into agreement with the new discovery When the patient has to fight out the normal conflict with the resistances which we have discovered in him by analysis he requires a powerful propelling force to influence him towards the decision we aim at leading to recovery Otherwise it might happen that he would decide for a repetition of the previous outcome and allow that which had been raised into consciousness to slip back again under repression The outcome in this struggle is not decided by his intellectual insight—it is neither strong enough nor free enou h to accomplish such a thing—but solely by his relationship to the physician In so far as his transference bears the positive sign it clothes the physician with authority transforms itself into faith in his findings and in his views Without this kind of transference or with a negative one the physician and his arguments would never even be listened to Faith repeats the history of its own origin it is a derivative of love and at first it needed no arguments Not until later does it admit them so far as to take them into critical consideration if they have been offered by someone who is loved. Without this support arguments have no wei ht with the patient never do have any with most people in life A human being is therefore on the whole only accessible to influence even on the intellectual side in so far as he is capable of investing objects with libido and we have good cause to reco nize and to fear in the measure of his narcissism a barrier to his susceptibility to influence even by the best analytic technique

The capacity for the radiation of libido towards other persons in object investment mu t of course be ascribed to all normal people the tendency to transference in neurotics so called is only an exceptional intensification o' a universal characteristic Now it would b very remarkable if a human character trait o this importance and universality had never been observed and made use of And this has really been done Bernheim with unerring perspicacity based the theory of hypnotic manifestations upon h

more

What

but the tendency to transference rather too narrowly circumscribed so that the negative transference did not come within its cope But Bernheim could never say what suggestion actually was nor how it arises it was an axiomatic fact to him and he could give no explanation of its origin He did not recognize the dependence of *suggestibility* on sexuality on the functioning of the libido And we have to admit that we have only abandoned hypnosis in our methods in order to discover suggestion again in the shape of transference

But now I will pause and let you take up the thread I observe that an objection is invading your thoughts with such violence that it would deprive you of all power of attention if it were not given expression So now at last you have confessed that you too work with the aid of suggestion like the hypnotists We have been thinkin so all along But then what is the use of all these round about routes by way of past experiences d scovering the unconscious material interpreting and retranslating the d stortions and the enormous expenditure of time trouble and money when after all

the only effective agent is suggestion Why do you not suggest directly against the symptoms, as others do who are honest hypnotists And besides if you are going to make out that by these round-about routes you have made numerous important psychological discoveries, which are concealed in direct suggestion who is to vouch for the validity Are not they too the result of suggestion of unintentional suggestion, that is? Can not you impress upon the patient what you please and whatever seems good to you in this direction also

What you charge me with in this way is exceedingly interesting and must be answered. But I cannot do that today our time is up Till next time then. You will see that I shall be answerable to you. Today I must finish what I began. I promised to explain to you, through the factor of transference why it is that our therapeutic efforts have no success in the narcissistic neuroses

I can do it in a few words and you will see how simply the riddle is solved, and how well everything fits together Experience shows that persons suffering from the narcissistic neuroses have capacity for transference only insufficient remnants of it. They turn from the physician not in hostility but in indifference. Therefore they are not to be influenced by him what he says leaves them cold makes no impression on them, and therefore the process of cure which can be carried through with others the revivification of the pathogenic conflict and the overcoming of the resistance due to the repressions cannot be effected with them. They remain as they are They have often enough undertaken attempts at recovery on their own account which have led to pathological results we can do nothing to alter this

On the basis of our clinical observations of these patients we stated that they must have abandoned the investment of objects with libido and transformed object-libido into ego-libido By this we differentiated them from the first group of neuroses (hysteria, anxiety and obsessional neurosis) Their behavior during the attempt to cure them confirms this suspicion. They produce no transference and are therefore ma es he t our rts not to be cured by us.

TWENTY EIGHTH LECTURE

The Analytic Therapy

You know what we are going to discuss today When I admitted that the influence of the psycho-analytic therapy is essentially founded upon transference i.e., upon suggestion you asked me why we do not make use of direct suggestion, and you linked this up with a doubt whether in view of the fact that suggestion plays such a large part, we can still vouch for the objectivity of our psychological discoveries I promised to give you a comprehensive answer

Direct suggestion is suggestion delivered directly against the forms taken by the symptoms a struggle between your authority and the motives underlying the disease In this struggle you do not trouble yourself about *these motives you only require the patient to* suppress the manifestation of them in the form of symptoms. In the main it makes no difference whether you place the patient under hypnosis or not. Bernheim with his characteristic acuteness repeatedly stated that suggestion was the essence of the manifestations of hypnotism, and that hypnosis itself was already a result of suggestion, a suggested condition he preferred to use suggestion in the waking state which can achieve the same results in hypnosis.

Now which shall I take first, the results of experience or theoretical considerations

Let us begin with experience. I sought out Bernheim in Nancy in 1889 and became a pupil of his I translated his book on suggestion into German. For years I made use of hypnotic treatment, first with prohibitory suggestions and later combined with Breuer's system of the fullest inquiry into the patient's life I can therefore speak from wide experience about the results of the hypnotic or suggestive therapy According to an old medical saying an ideal therapy should be rapid reliable and not disagreeable to the patient Bernheim's method certainly fulfilled two of these requirements It was much more rapid, that is incomparably more rapid in its course than the analytic, and it involved the patient in no trouble or discomfort. For the physician, it eventually became monotonous it meant treating every case in the same way always employing the same ritual to prohibit the existence of the most diverse symptoms without being able to grasp anything of their meaning or significance It was a sort of mechanical drudgery—hodman's work—not scientific work it was reminiscent of magic conjuring and hocus-pocus, yet in the patient's interests had to ignore that. In the third desideratum however it failed was not reliable in any respect. It could be

of the old disease has been followed from its inception one sees it come to light and grow and is particularly familiar with it since one is oneself its central object All the patient s symptoms have abandoned their original sig nificance and have adapted themselves to a new meaning which is contained in their re lationship to the transference or else only those symptoms remain which were capable of bein adapted in this way The conquest of this new artificially acquired neurosis coincides with the removal of the illness which existed prior to the treatment that is with accomplishing the therapeutic task The person who has be come normal and free from the influence of repressed instinctive tendencies in his relation ship to the physician remains so in his own life when the physician has again been removed from it

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The capacity for the radiation of libido to wards other persons in object investment must of course be ascribed to all normal people the tendency to transference in neurotics so called is only an exceptional intensification of a universal characteristic Now it would be very remarkable if a human character trait of this importance and universality had never been observed and made use of And this has really been done Bernheim with unerring perspicacity based the theory of hypnotic manifestations upon the proposition that all human beings are more or less open to suggestion are *suggestible* What he called *suggestibility* is nothing else but the tendency to transference rather too narrowly circumscribed so that the negative transference did not come within its scope But Bernheim could never say what suggestion actually was nor how it arises it was an axi omatic fact to him and he could give no ex planation of its origin He did not recognize the dependence of *suggestibility* on sexuality on the functionin of the libido And we have to admit that we have only abandoned hypnosis in our methods in order to discover suggestion again in the shape of transference

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Not until after the transference has been ... resolved can one begin to reconstruct in the ... the dispositions of the libido that were possessed by the illness.

In the light of the libido theory there is a final word to be said about dreams. The dreams of neurotics, like their errors and their free associations, ... us to find the meaning of the symptoms and to discover the dispositions of the libido. They ... forms taken by the wish-fulfilment ... in them show us what are the wishes that have undergone repression, and what are the objects to which the libido has attached itself after withdrawal from the ego. The interpretation of dreams therefore plays a great part in psycho-analytic treatment, and in many cases it is for lengthy periods the most important instrument at work. We already know that the condition of sleep in itself produces a certain relaxation of the repressions. By this diminution in the heavy pressure upon it, the repressed desire is able to create for itself far clearer expression in a dream than can be permitted to it by day in the symptom. Hence the study of dreams becomes the easiest approach to a knowledge of the repressed unconscious which is where the libido which has withdrawn from the ego belongs.

The dreams of neurotics, however, differ in no essential from those of normal people; they are indeed perhaps not in any way distinguishable from them. It would be illogical to account for the dreams of neurotics in a way that would not also hold good of the dreams of normal persons. We have to conclude, therefore, that the difference between neurosis and health prevails only by day; it is not sustained in dream life. It thus becomes necessary to transfer to healthy persons a number of conclusions arrived at as a result of the connections between the dreams and the symptoms of neurotics. We have to recognize that the healthy man as well possesses those factors in mental life which alone can bring about the formation of a dream or of a symptom, and we must conclude further that the healthy also have instituted repressions and have to expend a certain amount of energy to maintain them; that their unconscious minds too harbour repressed impulses which are still suffused with energy, and that *a part of the libido is in them also withdrawn from the ego*. The healthy man, too, is therefore virtually a neurotic, but the only symptom that he seems capable of developing is a dream. To be sure, when you subject his waking life also to critical investigation, you discover something that contradicts this specious conclusion, for this apparently healthy life is pervaded by innumerable trivial and practically unimportant symptom-formations.

The difference between nervous health and nervous illness (neurosis) is narrowed down therefore to a practical distinction, and is determined by the practical result—how far the person concerned remains capable of a sufficient degree of capacity for enjoyment and active achievement in life. The difference can probably be traced back to the proportion of the energy which has remained free relative to that of the energy which has been bound by repression, i.e., it is a quantitative and not a qualitative difference. I do not need to remind you that this view provides a theoretical basis for our conviction that the neuroses are essentially amenable to cure, in spite of their being based on a constitutional disposition.

So much, therefore, in the way of knowledge of the characteristics of health may be inferred from the identity of the dreams dreamt by neurotic and by healthy persons. Of dreams themselves, however, a further inference must be drawn—namely, that it is not possible to detach them from their connection with neurotic symptoms; that we are not at liberty to believe that their essential nature is exhausted by compressing them into the formula of a *translation of thoughts into archaic forms of expression*; and that we are bound to conclude that they disclose dispositions of the libido and objects of desire which are actually in operation and valid at the moment.

We have now come very nearly to the end. Perhaps you are disappointed that, under the heading of psycho-analytic therapy, I have limited myself to theory and have told you nothing of the conditions under which the cure is undertaken, or of the results it achieves. I omit both, however: the first, because in fact I *never intended* to give you a practical training in the exercise of the analytic method; and the last, because I have several motives against it. At the beginning of these discussions I said emphatically that under favourable conditions we achieve cures that are in no way inferior to the most brilliant in other fields of medical therapy. I may perhaps add that these results could be achieved by no other method. If I said more I should be suspected of wishing to drown the deprecatory voices of our opponents by self-advertisement. Medical colleagues have, even at public congresses, repeatedly held

between his ego and his libido came to an end and if his ego again had the libido at its dis posal The task of the treatment therefore consists in the task of loosening th [illegible]

[illegible] the libido of a neurotic? Easily found it is attached to the symptoms which offer it the substitutive satis faction that is all it can obtain as things are We must master the symptoms then dissolve them—just what the patient asks of us In or der to dissolve the symptoms it is necessary to go back to the point at which they originated to review the conflict from which they proceed ed and with the help of propelling forces which at that time were not available to guide it to wards a new solution This revision of the process of repression can only partially be ef fected by means of the memory traces of the processes which led up to repression The de cisive part of the work is carried through by creating—in the relationship to the physician in the *transference*—new editions of those early conflicts in which the patient strives to behave as he originally behaved while one calls upon all the available forces in his soul to bring him to another decision The transference is thus the battlefield where all the contending forces must meet

All the libido and the full strength of the opposition against it are concentrated upon the one thing upon the relationship to the phy sician thus it becomes inevitable that the symptoms should be deprived of their libido in place of the patient s original illness appears the artificially acquired transference the trans ference disorder in place of a variety of un real objects of his libido appears the one object also *phantastic* of the person of the physician This new struggle which arises concerning this object is by means of the analyst s suggestions lifted to the surface to the higher mental levels and there worked out as a normal men tal conflict Since a new repression is thus avoided the opposition between the ego and the libido comes to an end unity is restored within the patient s mind When the libido has been detached from its temporary object in the person of the physician it cannot return to its earlier objects but is now at the disposal of the ego The forces opposing us in this struggle during the therapeutic treatment are on the one hand the ego s aversion against certain tend encies on the part of the libido which had ex pressed itself in repressin tendencies and on the other hand the tenacity or *adhesiveness* of the libido which does not readily detach itself from objects it has once invested

The therapeutic work thus falls into two phases in the first all the libido is forced away from the symptoms into the transference and there concentrated in the second the bat tle rages round this new object and the libido is made free from it. The change that is decisive for a successful outcome of this renewed con flict lies in the preclusion of repression so that the libido cannot again withdraw itself from the ego by a flight into the unconscious It is made possible by changes in the ego ensuin as a consequence of the analyst s sug estions. At the expense of the unconscious the e o becomes wider by the work of interpretation which brings the unconscious material into conscious ness through education it becomes reconciled to the libido and is made willing to grant it a certain degree of satisfaction and its horror of the claims of its libido is lessened by the new capacity it acquires to expend a certain amount of the libido in sublimation The more nearly the course of the treatment correspond with this ideal description the greater will be the success of the psycho analytic therapy Its barriers are found in the lack of mobility in the libido which resists bein released from its objects and in the rigidity of the patient s narcissism which will not allow more than a certain degree of object transference to de velop Perhaps the dynamics of the process of recovery will become still clearer if we describe it by saying that in attracting a part of it to our elves through transference we gather in the whole amount of the libido which has been withdrawn from the ego s control

It is as well here to make clear that the dis tributions of the libido which ensue during and by means of the analysis afford no direct in ference of the nature of its disposition during the previous illne s Given that a case can be successfully cured by establishing and then re solving a powerful father transference to the person of the physician it would not follow that the patient had previously suffered in this way from an unconscious attachment of the libido to his father The father transference is only the battlefield on which we conquer and take the libido pri oner the patient s libido has been drawn hither away from other positions The battlefield does not necessarily constitute one of the enemy s most important strongholds the defence of the enemy s capital city need not be conducted immediately before its gates.

man with whom he had established relation ship that had proved satisfying in more than one respect. Made suspicious by her daughter's passionate demands the mothe suddenly apprehended wat the girls dread signified She had become ill in rder to make he m th r a prisoner and rob her of th freed m necessary for her to maintain her relat ns with her love The mothers d cision was instantly taken She pu an end to the harmful treatment. The girl was sent t a home for nervous patients, and fo many years was there pointed out as an "unhappy victim of psycho-analysis for just as long I was pursued by damaging ru mours about the unf rtunat result f the treatment I maintained sil n e because I supposed myself bound by the rules of professional secrecy Years later I learned from a colleague who had visited the home and there seen the girl with agoraphobia that the intimacy between the m ther and th wealthy man was ... ures by taking int account these disturbing external factors! Friends of analysis have ad vised us to counte -balance a collection of failures by drawing up a tatistical enumeration of our u cesses I ha e not taken up this sug gestio either I brought f rward the argument that tatistics would be aluleless if the units collated were not alike and the cases which had been treated were in fact n t equ alent in man re pects Further the period of time that could be reviewed was too hort for one t be abl to judge of the permanence of the cures and of many cases it would be mposs ble to give any account Th y were pers ns who had kept both the r illness and their treat me t se ret and whose recovery in consequence had imila ly to be kept secret. The strongest reaso gainst it however lay in th recogni tion f the fact that in matters f therapy humanity is in the highest degree irrat onal o that there is n prospect of influencing it by reasonable arguments A ovelty in th rapeutics is e her taken up with frenzied enthusiasm as ...

of pa ents f om many c untries m ce the independent of th goodwill o disfa ou f my native city I made t rule neve to take for treatment anyone wh was ot *sui juris* ind pendent of thers in all th essential relations of life E ery psycho-anal st cann t make these stipu tions P haps you will co clude from m warnings about relatives that one should tak the patient out f his family circle in the in erests of analysi a d restrict this therapy t those li ing in pri at instit ti s. I could t support this sugges on however it is far m re antageous f th patients—those wh re t in ondition f severe prostration t least—to remain during the treat men in those ci cum ta ce in which they have t struggl with the demands that the r rdi nary li makes on them B t th relati es ought ot to count ract this d antage by thei beh our a d bo e all hould n t oppose their hostility t one s profes ional fforts B t how are ou going to ind ce people wh re ina ces ble t y to tak up this ttitud ? You will nat rall lso conclude that th oci l atmosphere and degree f cult rat f the patient mmedia e surround. gs ha e co id era influence upo the prospe ts f th treatment.

Th is a gloomy outlook f r th fficacy of psycho-analysis as therapy en if w may explain the overwhelming majority f our fail

opponent A ery ev dent prejud ce gainst Wh on

when a patient wh had already go through fou cycles of depres n and mania came to me in an int rval after the melancholia and three weeks late again began to develop an attack of mani all the members of the family and also all the high medical authorities who were called in, were con inced that th fresh attack could be nothing but a consequence of the attempted analysi Against prej d ce one can d n thin as o can now see once m re in the prejudices that ea h group f the na tions t war has developed gainst th th The most sen bl thing to do is t wait and allow them t wear ff with the passage of time A day comes when th same people regard th same things quite a different light from what they did bef why they thought dif f rently bef re remains dark secret.

It is po bl that th prejudice against the analytic therapy has lready begun to relax. The contin al spread of analyti doctrine and the mbers f medical men taking up anal tic treatment in many countries seem to point in

out a threat to psycho analysts that by pub lishing a collection of the failures and harmful effects of analysis they will open the eyes of the injured public to the worthlessness of this method of treatment Apart from the malicious denunciatory character of such a measure how ever a collection of that kind would not even be valid evidence upon which a correct esti mate of the therapeutic results of analysis might be formed Analytic therapy as you know is still young it needed many years to elaborate the technique which could only be done in the course of the work under the influence of in creasing experience On account of the difficul ties of imparting instruction in the methods the beginner is thrown much more upon his own re ources for development of his capacity than any other kind of specialist and the re sults of his early years can never be taken as indicating the full possible achievements of analytic therapy

Many attempts at treatment made in the beginning of psycho analysis were failures be cause they were undertaken with cases alto gether unsuited to the procedure which nowa days we should exclude by followin certain indications These indications however could only be discovered by trying In the beginning we did not know that paranoia and dementia præcox when fully developed are not amena ble to analysis we were still justified in trying the method on all kinds of disorders Most of the failures of those early years however were not due to the fault of the physician or to the unsuitability in the choice of subject but to unpropitious external conditions I have spoken only of the inner resistances those on the part of the patient which are inevitable and can be overcome The external resistances which the patient s circumstances and surroundings set up against analysis have little theoretic interest but the greatest practical importance Psycho analytic treatment is comparable to a surgical operation and like that for its success it has the right to expect to be carried out under the most favourable conditions You know the pre liminary arrangements a surgeon is accustomed to make—a suitable room a good light expert assistance exclusion of the relatives and so on Now ask yourselves how many surgical operations would be successful if they had to be conducted in the presence of the patient s entire family poking their noses into the scene of the operation and shrieking aloud at every cut. In psycho analytic treatment, the inter vention of the relatives is a positive danger and moreover one which we do not know how to deal with We are armed against the inner resistances of the patient which we recogn..e as necessary but how can we protect our elves against these outer resistances? It is impos. ble to get round the relatives by any sort of expla nation nor can one induce them to hold aloof from the whole affair one can never take them into one s confidence becau e then we run the danger of losing the patient s trust in us for h —quite rightly of course—demands that the man he confides in should take his part. Any one who knows anything of the dissen ions commonly splitting up family life will not be astonished in his capacity of analyst to find that tho e nearest to the patient frequently show less interest in his recovery than in keeping him as he is Wh n

I ke much of putting his own interest before the patient s recovery After all it is not sur prising that the hu band does not favour a treatment in which as he correctly supposes his sins will all come to light nor do we wonder at this but then we cannot blame ourselves when our efforts remain fruitless and are pre maturely broken off because the husband s re sistance is added to that of the sick wife We had simply undertaken something which under the existing conditions it was impossible to carry out

Instead of describing many cases to you I will tell you of one only in which I had to suffer for the sake of professional conscientiou ness I took a youn girl—many years ago—for analytic treatment for a considerable time previously she had been unable to go out of doors on account of a dread nor could be stay at home alone After much hesitation the patient confessed that her thoughts had been a good deal occupied by some signs of affection that she had noticed by chance between her mother and a well to-do friend of the family Very tactlessly—or else very cleverly—she then gave the mother a hint of what had been dis cussed during the analysis she did this by altering her behaviour to her mother by insist ing that no one but her mother could protect her against the dread of being alone and by holding the door against her when she at tempted to leave the hou e The mother herself had formerly been very nervous but had been cured years before by a vis t to a hydropathic establishment—or putting it otherwise we may say she had there made the acquaintance of the

Beyond the Pleasure Principle[1]

I

In the psycho-analytical theory of the mind, we take it for granted that the course of mental processes is automatically regulated by *the pleasure-principle*: that is to say, we believe that any given process originates in an unpleasant state of tension and thereupon determines for itself such a path that its ultimate issue coincides with a relaxation of this tension, i.e. with avoidance of "pain"[2] or with production of pleasure. When we consider the psychic processes under observation in reference to such a sequence we are introducing into our work the *economic* point of view. In our opinion a presentation which seeks to estimate *not only* the *topographical* and *dynamic* but also the economic element is the most complete that we can at present imagine and deserves to be distinguished by the term *meta-psychological*.

We are not interested in examining how far in our assertion of the pleasure-principle we have approached to or adopted any given philosophical system historically established. Our approach to such speculative hypotheses is by way of our endeavour to describe and account for the facts falling within our daily sphere of observation. Priority and originality are not among the aims which psycho-analysis sets itself, and the impressions on which the statement of this principle is founded are of so unmistakable a kind that it is scarcely possible to overlook them. On the other hand we should gladly acknowledge our indebtedness to any philosophical or psychological theory that could tell us the meaning of these feelings of pleasure and "pain" which affect us so powerfully. Unfortunately no theory of any value is forthcoming. It is the obscurest and least penetrable region of psychic life and, while it is impossible for us to avoid touching on it, the most elastic hypothesis will be, to my mind, the best. We have decided to consider pleasure and "pain" in relation to the quantity of excitation present in the psychic life—and not confined in any way—along such lines that "pain" corresponds with an increase and pleasure with a decrease in this quantity. We do not thereby commit ourselves to a simple relationship between the strength of the feelings and the changes corresponding with them; least of all, judging from psycho-physiological experiences, to any view of a direct proportion existing between them; probably the amount of diminution or increase in a given time is the decisive factor for feeling.

We cannot, however, profess the like indifference when we find that an investigator of such penetration as G. Th. Fechner has advocated a conception of pleasure and "pain," which in essentials coincides with that forced upon us

schichte der Organismen, 1873 (Section XI, note p. 94) and reads as follows: "In so far as conscious impulses always bear a relation to pleasure or 'pain,' pleasure or 'pain' may be thought of in psycho-physical relationship to conditions of stability and instability, and upon this may be based the hypothesis I intend to develop elsewhere: viz., that every psycho-physical movement rising above the threshold of consciousness is charged with pleasure in proportion as it approximates—beyond a certain limit—to complete equilibrium, and with 'pain' in proportion as it departs from it beyond a certain limit; while between the two limits which may be described as the qualitative thresholds of 'pain' or pleasure there is a certain area of aesthetic indifference...."

The facts that have led us to believe in the supremacy of the pleasure-principle in psychic life also find expression in the hypothesis that there is an attempt on the part of the psychic apparatus to keep the quantity of excitation present as low as possible or at least constant. This is the same supposition only put into another form, for if the psychic apparatus operates in the direction of keeping down the quantity of excitation, all that tends to increase it must be felt to be contrary to function, that is to say painful. The pleasure-principle is deduced from the principle of constancy; in reality the principle of constancy was inferred

[1] Translated from the second German edition.—Ed.

[2] The word "pain" as in the phrase "pleasure-pain principle" has been translated as "pain"; pain without quotation marks signifies *Schmerz* in the original.—Tr.

that direction As a young man I was cau ht in just such a storm of indignation roused in the medical profession by the hypnotic sugges tion treatment which nowadays is held up in opposition to psycho analysis by the sober minded As a therapeutic instrument how ever hypnotism did not bear out the hopes placed in it we psycho analysts may claim to be its rightful heirs and should not forget how much encouragement and theoretic enlighten ment we owe to it The harmful effect [illegible] of [illegible]

[illegible] of when it is broken off suddenly You have heard an account of what we do with our patients and you can form your own judgment whether our efforts are likely to lead to lasting injury Misuse of analysis is pos sible in various ways the transference especial ly in the hands of an unscrupulous physician is a dangerous instrument But no medical remedy is proof against misuse if a knife will not cut neither will it serve a surgeon.

I have now reached the end It is more than a conventional formality when I say that I myself am heavily oppressed by the many de fects of the lectures I have delivered before you I regret most of all that I have so often promised to return again in another place to a subject that I had just touched upon shortly and that then the context in which I could keep my word did not offer itself I undertook to give you an account of a thing that is still un finished still developing and now my short summary itself has become an incomplete one In many places I laid everything ready for drawing a conclusion and then I did not draw it But I could not aim at making you experts in psycho analysis I only wished to put you in the way of some understanding of it and to arouse your interest in it

dim of impulse and these threats of danger a reaction in which the real activity of the psychic apparatus is manifested may be guided correctly by the pleasure-principle or by the reality-principle which modifies this. It seems thus unnecessary to recognize a still more far reaching limitation of the pleasure-principle and, nevertheless, it is precisely the investigation of the psychic reaction to external danger that may supply new material and new questions in regard to the problem here treated.

II

After severe shock of a mechanical nature, railway collision, or other accident in which danger to life is involved, a condition may arise which has long been recognized and to which the name *traumatic neurosis* is attached. The terrible war that is just over has been responsible for an immense number of such maladies and, at least, has put an end to the inclination to explain them on the basis of organic injury to the nervous system due to the operation of mechanical force. The clinical picture of traumatic neurosis approaches that of hysteria in its wealth of similar motor symptoms, but usually surpasses it in its strongly marked signs of subjective suffering—in this, resembling rather hypochondria or melancholia—and in the evidences of a far more comprehensive general weakening and disturbing of the mental functions. Neither the war neuroses nor the traumatic neuroses of peace are as yet fully understood. With the war neuroses something was contributed, but, also on the other hand, certain confusion introduced by the fact that the same type of malady could occasionally occur without the interposition of gross mechanical force. In the traumatic neuroses, there are two outstanding features which might serve as clues for further reflection: first, that the chief causal factor seemed to lie in the element of surprise in the fright, and second, that an injury or wound sustained at the same time generally tended to prevent the occurrence of the neurosis. *Fright, fear, apprehension* are incorrectly used as synonymous expressions in their relation to danger. They admit of a clear distinction. Apprehension (*Angst*) denotes a certain condition as of expectation of danger and preparation for it even though it be an unknown one. Fear (*Furcht*) requires a definite object of which one is afraid. Fright

(*Schreck*) is the name of the condition to which one is reduced if one encounters a danger without being prepared for it; it lays stress on the element of surprise. In my opinion, apprehension cannot produce a traumatic neurosis; in apprehension there is something which protects against fright and therefore against the fright-neurosis. We shall return later to this dictum.

The study of dreams may be regarded as the most trustworthy approach to the exploration of the deeper psychic processes. Now in the traumatic neuroses the dream life has this peculiarity: it continually takes the patient back to the situation of his disaster from which he awakens in renewed terror. This fact has caused less surprise than it merits. The obtrusion on the patient over and again, even in sleep, of the impression made by the traumatic experience is taken as being merely a proof of its strength. The patient has, so to speak, undergone a psychical fixation as to the trauma. Fixations of this kind on the experience which has brought about the malady have long been known to us in connection with hysteria. Breuer and I stated in 1893 that hysterics suffer for the most part from reminiscences. In the war neuroses observers such as Ferenczi and Simmel, have been able to explain a number of motor symptoms as fixation on the factor of the trauma.

But I am not aware that the patients suffer much from traumatic neuroses are much occupied in waking life with the recollection of what happened to them. They perhaps strive rather not to think of it. To regard as self-evident that the dream at night takes them back to the situation which has caused the trouble is to misunderstand the nature of dreams. It would be more in correspondence with that nature if the patient were presented (in sleep) with images from the time of his normal health or of his hoped for recovery. If we are not to go thoroughly astray as to the wish fulfilment tendency of the dream in consequence of these dreams of the shock neuroses, perhaps the expedient is left us of supposing that in this condition the dream function suffers dislocation along with the others and is diverted from its usual ends, or else we should have to think of the enigmatic masochistic tendencies of the ego.

I propose now to leave the obscure and gloomy theme of the traumatic neuroses and to study the way in which the psychic apparatus works in one of its earliest normal activities. I refer to the play of children.

The different theories of child-play have

Ferenczi, Abraham, Simmel and Ernest Jones, *Psycho-Analysis and the War Neuroses*, No. 1 of the International Psycho-Analytical Library.

from the facts that necessitated our assumption of the pleasure principle On more detailed dis cussion we shall find further that this tendency on the part of the psychic apparatus postulated by us may be classified as a special case of Fechner s principle of the *tendency towards sta bility* to which he has related the pleasure pain feelings

In that event however it must be affirmed that it is not strictly correct to speak of a supremacy of the pleasure principle over the course of psychic processes If such existed then the vast majority of our psychic proces es would necessarily be accompanied by pleasure or would conduce to it while the most ordinary experience emphatically contradicts any such conclusion One can only say that a strong tendency towards the pleasure principle exists in the psyche to which however certain other forces or conditions are opposed so that the ultimate issue cannot always be in accordance with the pleasure tendency Compare the com ment of Fechner in a similar connection Therewithal it is to be noted that the tendency towards the goal does not imply the attainment of it and that in general the goal is only ap proximately attainable If we now address ourselves to the question of what circumstances have the power to frustrate the successful carrying out of the pleasure principle we shall be treading on safer and better known ground and we can draw in abundant measure on our analytical experiences for the answer

The first case of such a check on the pleas ure principle is perfectly familiar to us in the regularity of its occurrence We know that the pleasure principle is adjusted to a primary mode of operation on the part of the psychic apparatus and that for the preservation of the organism amid the difficulties of the external world it is *ab initio* useless and indeed ex tremely dangerous Under the influence of the instinct of the ego for self preservation it is replaced by the *reality principle* which without giving up the intention of ultimately attaining pleasure yet demands and enforces the post ponement of satisfaction the renunciation of manifold possibilities of it and the temporary endurance of pain on the long and circuitous road to pleasure The pleasure principle how ever remains for a long time the method of operation of the sex impulses which are not so easily educable and it happens over and over again that whether acting through these im pulses or operating in the ego itself it prevails over the reality principle to the detriment of the whole organism

It is at the same time indubitable that the replacement of the pleasure principle by the reality principle can account only for a mall part and that not the most intense of painful experiences Another and no less regular source of pain proceeds from the conflicts and dis sociations in the psychic apparatus during the development of the ego towards a more highly co ordinated organization Nearly all the energy with which the apparatus is charged comes from the inborn instincts but not all of these are allowed to develop to the same stage On the way it over and again happens that partic ular instincts or portions of them prove ir reconcilable in their aims or demand with others which can be welded into the compre hensive unity of the ego They are thereupon split off from this unity by the proce s of repression retained on lower stages of psychic development and for the time being cut off from all possibility of gratification If they then succeed as so easily happens with the repressed sex impulses in fighting their way throu h—alon circuitous routes—to a direct or a substitutive gratification this success which might otherwise have brought pleasure is experienced by the ego as pain In conse quence of the old conflict which ended in re pression the pleasure principle has been vio lated anew just at the moment when certain impulses were at work on the achievement of fresh pleasure in pursuance of the principle The details of the process by which repression changes a possibility of pleasure into a ource of pain are not yet fully understood or are not yet capable of clear presentation but it is certain that all neurotic pain is of this kind is pleasure which cannot be experienced as such

The two sources of pain here indicated still do not nearly cover the majority of our painful experiences but as to the rest one may say with a fair show of reason that their pres ence does not impugn the supremacy of the pleasure principle Most of the pain we ex per ence is of a perceptual order perception either of the urge of unsatisfied instincts or of something in the external world which may be painful in itself or may arouse painful an ticipations in the psychic apparatus and is rec ognized by it as *danger* The reaction to these

[1] *Op cit* p 9

Th d *B t g* (l i lly tate (be g occup ed) s th xp ss s *B trx gsenergie* d *E erg b t g* h bee re d red by the w rds tm t d ch g th l tte be g taken fr m th a al *gy* of elect city —TR

cl ms of impulse and these th eats of da er a re ctio in which the e l act vity of the psychic pp ratu is manifested may be gu d d c rrectly by the pleasure pri ciple or by the real ty princ ple which mod fies th s It seems th unnecessary to recogn ze st ll more far re h g l m tat on of the pl asu e prin ple a d neverth les it p ecisely the nvestiga ti n of the p ych c reacti n to external d nger that may supply new mate al and new ques tions in regard to the p oblem here treated

A t which with on the — — hen

The study of dreams may be r ga ded as the most tru tworthy app oach to the explorat on of the de per psych c proces es Now in the

II

AFTER seve e shock of a me han cal nature railw y ollis o or other ac de t n wh ch da g to lif s olv d a cond tion may arise which h s lo g been recognized and to hich the name *traumat c eurosis* is attached The terribl w that is j st over has been respons'ble f an immens number f s ch mal di s and at lea t has put n end to the inclinat o to expl th m on the basis of o ganic injury to the nerv us sy tem d e to the operation of mechanical force The clinical pictu e f traumat c n uros s approaches that of hysteria in its wealth of s mil motor symptom b t usu lly s rpasses it its st o gly marked gns of s bj ctive suff ring—in th s resembling rath hypo hondria o mela h l a —and in the evide es of a far mo e omp hen e general weakening a d shatt ri g of the mental funct Ne th the war eur ses no th t umat c eu oses of peace are s yet fully und rstood W th the war neu s s some light w co trib ted but also on the other hand a c rt in f tr d d by th f ct that the same type of m lady could oc ca nally occu w thout the t rposit on of gr m cha cal fo I the traumatic neu roses the re two outstanding feat which might serve a clue f r f rther reflect n fi t that th chi f causal fa to se med to l e in the l me t of surpri m the fright and e dly that an i j ry or wo d st d at the same time generally tend d t prevent the c rren

awakens in r ewed terror This fact has caused less surp se than it mer ts The obtru ion on the pati nt over and again even in sleep of the mp essio made by the t aumatic experi e ce is t ken a be g merely a pr of of its strength The pat ent h so to speak under g a psychical fixatio s to the trauma Fix t o s of this ki d on the xperience which has b ought about the malady have l g b e known to us in con ection with hysteria Breu and I stated in 1893 that hyste s suffer for the most pa t f om reminis ences In the war ne o e observ rs uch as Ferencz nd Simmel ha been able t expla n a numbe of motor symptoms as fixat on o the f ct of the trauma

But I am not aware that th patient suffer ing from t aumat c neuroses a e m ch occup d in waking lif with the recollection of what happened to them They pe haps tr ve rath r not to think f t T gard t a lf ev de t that the dream at n ght tak s them back to the s tuation which has caus d th t ble i t m su derstand the n tu e f dr ms It w uld be mo e in correspondence with that nature if the patient were presented (in sleep) with m g s from the time of his normal health o of h h ped for recovery If we e not to go tho oughly tray s to the wish f lfilm t te dency of the dream in c eq ence of these d eams f th hock n uro e pe h ps the ex ped ent is left us of supposi g that in this condit o the d m funct ffers disl cat n al g with the others d is d ve ted fr m its usual end el e w sh uld h ve to think f the nigmat c m ch t c t de c es of the ego

I p po e now t lea e th obscure nd gl my them of the traum t c neu ses and to st dy the way which th psych c pparat works on f its ea l t normal ct vities I ref r t th pl y of child e

The d ffe t th orie f child-play have

ten tes a certai co d t on a f expectat f dang ard prepar t n for t e en th gh it be an unk wn o e f (*F cht*) requires a definite bj ct of whi h o is afra d fright

F renczi Ab ham S mm l d Ernes J es P ych Anal nd h lt N ar N f the Interna nal P ycho-Analytical Library 9

from th f [illegible]
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[1] *Op cit* p 90

Th w d *B* *t* *g* (l te lly t te f be g occ p d) a th vp f *B s t g* *enerz* d *E erg b t g* h s bee re d ed by the w rds tme t d h g th l tte bel g tak f m the anal gy f elect city —TR

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II

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The study of dreams may be regarded as the most trustworthy approach to the exploration of the deeper psychic processes. Now in the traumatic neuroses the dream life has this peculiarity [illegible] continually takes the patient back to the situation [illegible] his disaster, from which he awakens in renewed terror. This fact has caused less surprise than it merits. The obtrusion on the patient ever and again, even in sleep, of the impression made by the traumatic experience is taken as being merely a proof of [illegible] strength. The patient has, so to speak, undergone [illegible] psychical fixation as to the trauma. Fixation of this kind on the experience which has brought about the malady have long been known to us in connection with hysteria. Breuer and I stated in [illegible] that hysterics suffer for the most part from reminiscences. In the war neuroses observers such as Ferenczi and Simmel, have been able [illegible] explain a number of motor symptoms as fixation on the [illegible] factor of the trauma.

But I am not aware that the patients suffering from traumatic neuroses are much occupied in waking life with the recollection of what happened to them. They perhaps strive rather not [illegible] think of it. To regard [illegible] as self-evident that the dream [illegible] takes them back [illegible] the situation which has caused the trouble is [illegible] misunderstand the nature [illegible] dreams. I would be more in correspondence with that nature if the patient were presented (in sleep) with [illegible] from the time of his normal health [illegible] of his hoped for recovery. If we are not [illegible] go thoroughly astray as to the wish-fulfilment tendency [illegible] the dream in consequence of these dreams [illegible] the shock neuroses, perhaps the expedient is left us of supposing that in this condition the dream function suffers dislocation along with the others and is diverted from its usual end, or else we should have to think [illegible] the enigmatic masochistic tendencies of the ego.

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The different theories [illegible] child-play have

Ferenczi, Abraham, Simmel and Ernest Jones, *Psycho-Analysis and the War Neuroses*, No. [illegible] of the International Psycho-Analytical Library [illegible]

recently been collated by S Pfeifer in *Imago* and their analytical value estimated I may here refer the reader to this work These theories endeavour to conjecture the motives of children s play thou h without placing any special stress on the *economic* point of view i e consideration of the attainment of pleasure Without the intention of m[illegible] a com p[illegible] availed m[illegible] of elu ci[illegible] game invented by himself of a boy eighteen months old It was more than a casual observation for I lived for some weeks under the same roof as the child and his parents and it was a considerable time before the meaning of his puzzling and continually repeated performance became clear to me

The child was in no respect forward in his intellectual development at eighteen months he spoke only a few intelligible words making besides sundry significant sounds which were understood by those about him But he made himself understood by his parents and the maid servant and had a good reputation for behaving properly He did not disturb his parents at night he scrupulously obeyed orders about not touching various objects and not going into certain rooms and above all he never cried when his mother went out and left him for hours together although the tie to his mother was a very close one she had not only nourished him herself but had cared for him and brought him up without any outside help Occasionally however this well behaved child evinced the troublesome habit of flinging into the corner of the room or under the bed all the little things he could lay his hands on so that to gather up his toys was often no light task He accompanied this by an expression of interest and gratification emitting a loud long drawn out o o o oh which in the judgment of the mother (one that coincided with my own) was not an interjection but meant go away *(fort)* I saw at last that this was a game and that the child used all his toys only to play being gone *(fortsein)* with them One day I made an observation that confirmed my view The child had a wooden reel with a piece of string wound round it It never occurred to him for example to drag this after him on the floor and so play horse and cart with it but he kept throwing it with considerable skill held by the string over the side of his little draped cot so that the reel disappeared into it then said his si nificant o o o oh and drew the reel by the string out of the cot again greeting its reappearance with a joyful *Da* (there) This was therefore the complete game di appearance and return the first act bein the only one generally observed by the onlookers and the one untiringly repeated by the child as a game for its own sake although the greater pleasure unquestionably attached to the second act

The meaning of the game was then not far to seek It was connected with the child s remarkable cultural achievement—the foregoing of the satisfaction of an instinct—as the re ult of which he could let his mother go away without making any fuss He made it right with himself so to speak by dramatizing the same disappearance and return with the objects he had at hand It is of course of no importance for the affective value of this game whether the child invented it himself or adopted it from a suggestion from outside Our interest will a tach itself to another point The departure of the mother cannot possibly have been pleasant for the child nor merely a matter of indifference How then does it accord with the pleasure principle that he repeats this painful experience as a game? The answer will perhaps be forthcoming that the departure must be played as the necessary prelude to the joyful return and that in this latter lay the true purpose of the game As a ainst this however there is the observation that the first act the going away was played by itself as a game and far more frequently than the whole drama with its joyful conclusion

The analysis of a single case of this kind yields no sure conclusion on impartial consideration one gains the impression that it is from another motive that the child has turned the experience into a game He was in the first place passive was overtaken by the experience but now brings himself in as playing an active part by repeating the experience as a game in spite of its unpleasing nature This effort might be ascribed to the impulse to obtain the mastery of a situation (the *power* instinct) which remains independent of any question of whether

*Th t rp etat w f lly st bl hed by a f th b rv t O d y wh th m th b d be t f m b rs sh w g eet d b ret rn by th f rm t B by *o-o-o-o* which t first re m d t ll g bl It oo p d th t d g h l g l ly h h h d f d m thod f b g g b t b wn d ppe H h d d sc red h flect th l g m wh ch ly hed t th g d d h d th er ched dow i f t f lt, s th t th flect was f f

the recollection was a pleasant one or not. But another interpretation may be attempted The flinging away of the object so that it is gone might be the gratification of an impulse of revenge suppressed in real life but directed against the mother for going away and would then have the defiant meaning Yes you can go I don t want you, I am sendin you away myself The same child a year later than my observation used t thr w on th floor a toy which displeased him and to say Go to the war He had been told that his absent f ther was at the war and he did not miss him at all giving the clearest indicat ons that he did not wish t be disturbed in the ole posses on of his mothe It is known f other children lso that they can give vent to imilar hostile feel ings by throwing objects way in place of people Thus one is l ft in d ubt whether the compulsion to work over in psychi life what has made deep impress on to make oneself fully master of t can express itself primarily and independently of the pleasure principl In the case discussed here however the child might have repeated disagreeable impres ion in play only because with the repet tion was bound up pleasure gain f a different kind but more direct.

Nor does the further pursuit f the question of play resolve our hesit t ons between two concepts n. W see that children repeat in their play everything that ha mad a great impre on o them in actual lif that they thereby b-react the t ength f the impressi n and so to speak mak themselves ma ters of the situati n. But on the her hand t is lear en gh that all their play is influenced by th dominant wish of th tim f life viz. to be grown-up and t be ble t do what grown up people d It is also observable that the un pleasing character f the xperience does not always prevent its being tilized as a gam If doctor examines a child thro t perf rms small operation on him the larming ex perience will quit ertainly be mad the subject f th ext gam but in this th pleasure gain from an ther sour is not t be over looked. In passing from the passivity f ex perien e to the ct ty f play the hild applies to his playf llow th unpleasant occurrence that befell himself and so avenges himself on the person of this proxy

From this d cu s on it is at all events evident that it is unnecessary to assume a particular imitation impulse as the moti e of play We ma add the reminder that the dramatic a d im tative art of adults wh ch differs from the behaviour of children in being directed towards the spectator does not however spare the lat ter the most painful impres ons e.g in trag edy and yet can be felt by him as h ghly enjoyable This con nces us that even u der the domination of the pleasure principle there are wa s and means enough of making what is in itself disagreeable the object of mem ry and of psychic preoccupation A theory of aes het ics with an eco omic point of view should deal with these cases and situations end g in final pleasure gain for our purposes they are of no h lp sinc they presuppose the exi tence and supremacy of the pleasure principle a d bear n witness to the operation of tendencies bey nd the pl asure principle that s to say tendencies which might be of earlier origin and independent of this.

III

FIVE-AND-TWENTY years of inten e wo k have brought about complete change in the more immediate aim of psycho-analytic technique At first the endea ours of the a al tic ph si cian were confined to divining the uncon cious f which his patient was unaware effectin a synthesis of ts arious components and com municating it a the right time Psycho-anal sis was bove ll an art f interpretat n Since the therapeut c ta k was n t thereby acc m plished, the next aim wa to compel th patient to c nfirm the reconstruction through his own memory In this endea our th chief empha is was on the re istances of th patient the rt now lay in un eiling these as soon as po ble in call g th patient s ttenti n to them and by human influence—here came in suggestion cting as *tr nsferen e*—teaching him to ban don the resistances

It then becam increasingly clear however that the aim m ew the bringing into con ciousness of the unconscious was not fully ttainable by this method either The patient cann t recall ll f what lies repressed perhaps n t even the essential part of it and so gains no con ction that th co clus n presented to him is correct. H is bliged rather to *r p at* as a current experien what repressed, in stead of as th physician would prefer to see

When the child was five and three-quarter years old h mothe died Now hen he was reall gone (o-o-o the boy owed no grief f her A second child had, is true been born in the meantime and had roused his fiercest jealousy

See A Childhood Memory from *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in *Collected P pers* IV

him do *recollecting* it as a fragment of the past This reproduction appearing with un welcome fidelity always contains a fragment of the infantile sex life therefore of the Oedipus complex and its off shoots and is played regu larly in the sphere of transference i e the relation hip to the physician When this point in the treatment is reached it may be said that the earlier neurosis is now replaced by a fresh one viz the transference neurosis The physi cian makes it his concern to limit the scope of this transference neurosis as much as he can to force into memory as much as possible and to leave as little as possible to repetition The relation established between memory and re production is different for every case As a rule the physician cannot spare the patient this phase of the cure he must let him live throu h a certain fragment of his forgotten life and has to see to it that some measure of ascendency remains in the light of which the apparent reality is always recognized as a re flection of a forgotten past If this is success fully accomplished then conviction on the part of the patient is attained and with it the ther apeutic result that depends on it

In order to render more comprehen ible this *repetition compulsion* which appears in the psycho analytic treatment of neurotics we must above all get entirely rid of the erroneous idea that in this struggle with resistances we are concerned with any resistance on the part of the unconscious The unconscious i e the *repressed* material offers no resistance what ever to the curative efforts indeed it has no other aim than to force its way through the pressure weighin on it either to consciousness or to discharge by means of some real action The resistance in the treatment proceeds from the ame higher levels and systems in the psy chic life that in their time brought about the repression But since the motives of the resist ance and indeed the resistances themselves are found in the process of the treatment to be unconscious we are well advi ed to amend an inadequacy in our mode of expression We es cape ambiguity if we contrast not the conscious and the unconscious but the coherent ego and the repressed Much in the ego is certainly unconscious itself just what may be called the kernel of the ego only a part of it comes under the category of *preconsc ous* After thus replac ing a purely descriptive method of expression by a systematic or dynamic one we may say that the resistance on the part of the analysed per on proceed from his ego and then we at once see that the *repetition compulsion* must be ascribed to the repressed element in the un conscious It probably could not find expression till the work of the treatment coming to meet it had loosened the repression

There is no doubt that the resistance of th conscious and preconscious e o subserves the pleasure principle it is trying to avoid the pain that would be aroused by the release of the repressed material and our efforts are di rected to effecting an entry for such painful feeling by an appeal to the reality principle. In what relation to the pleasure principle then does the repetition compulsion stand that which expres es the force of what is repressed? It is plain that most of what is revived by the repetition compulsion cannot but brin discom fort to the ego for it promotes the bringing to light of the activities of repressed impulses but that is a discomfort we have already taken into account and without subversion of th pleasure principle since it is pain in re pect of one system and at the same time satisfaction for the other The new and remarkable fact however that we have now to describe is that the repetition compul ion also revives experi ences of the past that contain no potentiality of pleasure and which could at no time have been satisfactions even of impulses since repressed

The efflorescense of infantile sex life was by reason of the irreconcilability of its wishes with reality and the inadequacy of the childhood stage of development reached destined to pass away It perished in mo t painful circumstances and with feelings of a deeply distressing nature. Loss and failure in the sphere of the affections left behind on the ego feelin marks of injury comparable to a narcissistic scar which accord ing to my experience and the em h

[illegible] sex-quest to which the physical development of the child set limits could be brought to no satisfyin conclusion hence the plaint in later life I can t do any thin I am never successful The bonds of tenderness linkin the child more especially to the parent of the opposite sex succumbed to disappointment to the vain expectation of sat

See F rth Recomm d t th T ch q f P ych A ly II R llect R petiti and W rking Thr gh *Collected P p* II

M wski *D er t k Q ll der M nd u t gk t g f hl Z t k jt j Sex l e ens k jt* 9 8 IV

sfaction, and to the j al usy aroused by the b-th f a new ch. d, unmistakable proof as it is f the fa thlessness f the loved parent the ch.. s attempt, undert ken with trag c enous ness, to produce an ther such child himself met with humiliating failure while the partial w hdrawal of the tend mess lavished on the L.e o the m re exactin demands of d s cipline and educatio severe words a d an oc casional p.n.hm t fi all revealed to him the whole exten of the d sda n wh ch s h port on. Som few regularly recurring types a e to be found, a ording to the way in which th typical love of this period was bro ght to an end

All these u desired happenin s and pai f l a ctive situation re repe ted by neurotics in the *transference* ta e d re-animated w th m h ... u.ty They .ruggl to break off the m.m.hed treatment th kn w how to re cre the feelin of being d sdained how to forc the physician to dopt bru que speech and a chilli.. mann r towa ds them they find su.able object for their jealousy th ub ti tute for the ardentl de red child of ea lv days t.e promise f som gr at gift which bec mes as li tle real as that was Nothing f ll this c ..d ever ha e aff ded n plea.ure o e would suppose it ught to bri g somewhat less 'pa.n f revealed as mem ry rathe than if lived t.rough s new experience It is ques- tio nat rally f th ct n of impul.es that sh u.d l d to sati f ction but th experience th.t in.tead f thi they en then bro .ht pain has born o result Th ct is repe ted in sp te of everything a powerful compul. on m.sts on t.

That which psych analy reveals in the transf re ce phen m na with eurotics can also be bserved in the lif f ormal persons It here gives th impre of pursu. g f t a d m nic trait in thei destiny and psycho- anal has from th t t regarded uch a lif hi t ry as large meas re self imposed and det rmi d by inf tile i.fl en e The mpu. on whi h thereby finds expre on m n way diff rent from th repet ti n-com puls on f eurot cs even th h h pers ns ha ver sh wn ns f a eu otic conflict resulting in sympt ms Thus o knows peopl with hom ev ry huma. rel t nship end in the same way be f ct rs wh se proteges h weve diff rent they m y otherwise ha been in ari bly fte tim desert them in ill wi.l, so that they ar pparently demned t drain t the dreg all the b tterness f in gratit d men with wh m every friend.hip ends in th friend s treachery others who i defin tely often in their li es in rest some other person w th au hori either in the r own eyes or generall and themsel es overthrow such authority after a given time only to replace it by a new one lovers whose te d r relationsh ps with women each and all run through the same phases and come to the same end and so on. We are less ast ni hed at th.s endless repeti tion of the same if there is i vol ed a ques tion of act behav our o. the part of the person concerned and if we detect in his cha.r acter an unalt rable tra t which must alwa s mani.f st itself in the repetition of identical experiences Far more strik ng are those cases where the person seems to be experiencing someth.. pas ely without exert g any n fluence f his own and yet always meets with the sam fate er and over again One may recall for example the st ry of the woman who married three men in succession each of whom f ll ill after a short time and wh m she had to urse till the r death Tas.o gi es a singularly affecting poetical portrayal of uch trend f fat in th romantic ep c *Geru salemme Liberta*. The hero Tancred, has un wittingl slain Clorinda the maiden he lo ed, wh f ght w th h m d gu sed in the armour of an n my kni ht. After her buri l he pe e- trates nto the mysterious e cha ted wood the bane of th army of the crusaders Here he hews d wn a tall tree with h s sword but f om the gash in the trunk blood st ams f rth a d th vo ce of Clorinda, whose soul is impri.o ed in the trees cries ut to him i reproach that he ha m re wrou.ht a baleful deed on his beloved

In the li ht of uch observations as these drawn from the beha our duri g transference and from the fate of human bein s we may ventur to mak th a umption that there really exi ts i. psy hic l fe repet tion-com puls which goes be o d the pleasure prin i pl W hall ow al o f el disposed to relate to this mpelling f ce th dreams f hock patients and the pla impulse in children We mu.t f c rse rem nd o rsel es that only in rare cas can w rec gnize the w kin s of this repet t o -c mpuls on in a pure form with out th co-operation of oth r mot ves As re gards children s play we ha e al eady pointed out what th r terp etations its origin per mit The r petiti -c mpulsion and direct

See the pertinen bserva [illegible] C. G J g in his artic[illegible] D Bedeu ung d [illegible] ter f das Sch [illegible] Em [illegible] Jhrb [illegible] p y k [illegible] I, [illegible]

pleasurable satisfaction of impulse eem there to be inextricably intertwined The transference phenomena obviously subserve the purpo e of the resistance made by the ego persisting in its repression the repetition compulsion is as it were called to the aid of the ego which is resolved to hold fast to the pleasure principle In what one might call the destiny compulsion much appears capable of rational explanation so that no need is felt to establish a new and mysterious impulse The least suspicious case is perhaps that of the shock dream but on closer examination it must be admitted that in the other examples too the state of affairs is not completely explained by the operation of the motives known to us There remains enou h over to justify the assumption of a repetition compulsion and this seems to us more primitive more elementary more instinctive than the pleasure principle which is displaced by it But if there is such a repetition compul ion in psychic life we should naturally like to know with what function it corresponds under what conditions it may appear and in what relation it stands to the pleasure principle to which we have heretofore ascribed the domination over the course of the processes of excitation in the psychic life

IV

WHAT follows now is speculation speculation often far fetched which each will according to his particular attitude acknowledge or ne lect Or one may call it the exploitation of an idea out of curiosity to see whither it will lead

Psycho-analytic speculation starts from the impression gained on investigating unconscious processes that consciousness cannot be the most general characteristic of psychic processes but merely a special function of them Metapsychologically expressed it asserts that consciousness is the functioning of a particular system which may be called *Bw* Since consciousness essentially yields perceptions of excitations comin from without and feeling *(Empfindungen)* of pleasure and pain which can only be derived from within the psychic apparatus we may allot the system *W Bw* (= perceptual consciousness) a position in space It must lie on the boundary between outer and inner must face towards the outer world and must envelop the other psychic systems We then note that in this assumption we have ventured nothing new but are in agreement with the localizing tendencies of cerebral anatomy which places the *seat* of consciousness in the cortical layer the outermost enveloping layer of the central organ Cerebral anatomy does not need to wonder why—anatomically speaking—consciousness should be accommodated on the surface of the brain instead of being safely lod ed somewhere in the deepest recesses of it Perhaps we may carry matters a little further than this in our deduction of such a position for our system *W Bw*

Consciousness is not the only peculiar feature that we ascribe to the processes in this system Our impre sions gained by psycho analytic experience lead us to the supposition that all excitation processes in the other systems leave in them permanent traces formin the foundations of memory records which have nothing to do with the question of becoming conscious They are often strongest and most enduring when the process that left them behind never reached consciou ness at all But we find it difficult to believe that such lasting traces of excitation are formed also in the system *W Bw* itself If they remained permanently in consciousness they would very soon limit the fitness of the system for registration of new excitations on the other hand if they became unconscious we should be confronted with the task of explaining the existence of unconscious processes in a system whose functioning is otherwise accompanied by the phenomenon of consciousness We should so to speak have gained nothing and altered nothing by our supposition which relegates to a special system the process of becoming conscious Though this may not be an absolutely bindin consideration it may at any rate lead us to conjecture that becoming conscious and leaving behind a memory trace are processes incompatible with each other in the same system We should thus be able to say in the system *Bw* the process of excitation becomes conscious but it leaves behind no lasting trace all the traces of it on which memory rel es would come about in the next systems inward from the propagation of the excitation on to them It is on these lines that the scheme is sketched which I inserted into the speculative section of my *Interpretation of Dreams* in 1900 If one reflects how little we know from other sources about the origin of consciousness the pronouncement that *consc ousness arises in*

Th med ft th *Ge m* w rds W k h m g (=pe ceptio) d *Bew* t (=c i ess) —TR

H I f ll w th gh t J Bre a xpo t o f the theo t cal sect f th *St d* *ber Hy ter* 1895

the pace of the m mory t ace must be con ceded at l t the mpo t ce of a statement which is t some exte t defin te

Th syst m *Bw* would thus be characterized by the pe uliar ty that the e citat on p oce s does n t lea e in it as it does n all oth r psy hic y t ms a perman nt lterat n of its elem t but is as t were d charg d i the phen menon of becom ng co c ous and van hes S ch a departure f om the general rule requires an explanation o th gro d of a f c to h ch comes i to account in th s on system onl this fa tor which s be t from all ther yst ms might w ll be the expo ed s t ation of th *Bw* y t m— ts mmediate co tact with the outer wo ld.

Let us imag ne the l ing o gan m in the simpl st pos b f rm as a und ff rent ted ves cl of ensit substa ce th n it s rface exposed as it i to th o t w rld is by its very po ti n d ffe entiat d d erves as an organ fo ecei ing stim li Embryology repeating as t does th history of evolut o does n f ct how that the ce t al ers us s stem ari s f m the ectod rm th grey c rte f the brain em s a d ri at e of the primit ve superfici l layer and may have in herit d esse tial p opert from this It would then be e ly c ce vable that wing to the co tant impact of external stimul on the superfici s f the e t le ts substan e would und rgo lasting alterati n to a cert in d pth so that ts e citati n p ocess takes a differ t ourse f om that take in th d epe lay rs Th a rind w uld be form d wh h would finally ha e been o burned th u h by th f fects of timulatio th t t p ese ts th mo t fa o rable o ditio s fo the recept on of timul a d s incapabl of any further mod fi cati n Applying this d a t the y tem *Bw* this would m an that ts lement are not us c ptible of any f rthe last g alte ati n f om th pa ag f th e c tat n be a e they re al eady modified t th utt rm st in th t re spect B t th y the capable f gi ing ri e t on cio nes In what xactly thes mod fi ti of the s b tan a d f the e tat on p es in t cons t many views may be h ld which a yet an t be t ted It may be a sumed that the e citat ha in ts transm s on f om o leme t t a th t e com a res tan and that thi d m ut f th es t ts lf lays d wn the perma nt tra of th citat on (a path) in yst m *Bw* the would no l ng exi t y s h e tanc t tran m on f om e l m t t a ther We ma a ciate with this conception Breuer s dist nct on bet een qu e cent (bou d) and free mo ing *t te tment-ene gy* in th elements of the psych c systems the elements of the sys tem *Bw* would then convey no *bo d* energy only free energy capable of d scha ge In my opinion h we er it is bett r for the present to expre s one elf as to these cond tions i the lea t c mm ttal way At any rate by the e speculat o s we hould have b ou ht the or gin

cribed to th s

We ha e more to say about the l ng ves cle with its recepti e uter layer Th s morsel of li in ub ta ce floats about in an ter wo ld wh ch is charged with th mos po en

q s tu s in ough it o termost layer—which gi es th structure that belongs to li ng matte —becom ng in a m a ure i organic and th s now ope tes as a spec al i tegument or membrane that keeps off the stimul i e makes t impo ble for the en rg es of the out r wo ld to act w th more than a fragment of the r nten ity on th lay ers imm d at ly below wh ch ha e p eserved the vital ty These are now able under cover of the pr tect g layer to de ote themselves to the ecept on of those stimulus ma es that have be n let through. But the out r layer has by ts own death secured all the deeper layers f m a like f te—at least so long as no st muli p esent them l es of such a stre gth as to b eak throu h the p otect ve barr er For the l g o gan sm protection aga n t st mul is alm t a m re important task than reception of stimuli the p otective barrier s equ pped w th ts own store of en rgy and m st abo e all ndea ou to p otect the pecial f rm of e ergy transf rmat s go g n with n t lf f m the qu l s d th efo e destruct e flu nce of the eno m us e ergie at work in th ut r world The recept o of t muli serve bo e all the purpose of collect ing informat on ab ut the d e t on nd nature of the external st mul and for that t mu t suff c to t ke l ttle sample of the outer wo ld to t ste t o t pe k in small qu t t I highly dev l ped rg n sms the ecept v t m l l yer of wh t w s nce a ves cl h s l g be withdrawn to th d pths of the

J Bre d S F d *S ud* *ber H terie*

body but portions of it have been left on the surface immediately beneath the common protective barrier These portions form the sense organs which essentially comprise arran e ments for the reception of specific stimuli but also possess pecial arrangements adapted for a fresh protection against an overwhelming amount of stimulus and for warding off unsuitable kinds of stimuli It is characteristic of them that they assimilate only very small quantities of the outer stimulus and take in only samples of the outer world one might compare them to antennae which touch at the outer world and then constantly withdraw from it again

At this point I shall permit myself to touch cursorily upon a theme which would deserve the most thorough treatment The Kantian proposition that time and space are necessary modes of thought may be submitted to discussion today in the light of certain knowledge reached throu h psycho analysis We have found by experience that uncon cious mental processes are in themselves *timeless* That is to say to begin with they are not arranged chronologically time alters nothing in them nor can the idea of time be applied to them These are ne ative characteristics which can be made plain only by instituting a comparison with conscious psychic processes Our abstract conception of time seems rather to be derived wholly from the mode of functioning of the system W *Bw* and to correspond with a self perception of it In this mode of functionin of the system another form of protection against stimulation probably comes into play I know that these statements sound very obscure but I must confine myself to these few hints

So far we have got to the point that the living vesicle is equipped with a protection a ainst stimuli from the outer world Before that we had decided that the cortical layer next to it must be differentiated as the or an for reception of external stimuli But this sensitive layer (what is later the system *Bw*) also receives excitations from within the position of the system between outer and inner and the difference in the conditions under which this receptivity operates on the two s des become decidin factors for the functioning of the system and of the whole psychic apparatus Towards the outer world there is a barrier against stimuli and the mass of excitations coming up against it will take effect only on a reduced scale towards what is within no protection against stimuli is possible the excitations of the deeper layers pursue their way direct and in undiminished mass into the system while certain characteristics of their course produce the series of pleasure pain feelin s Naturally the excitations coming from within will in conformity with their intensity and other qualitative characteristics (or possibly their amplitude) be more proportionate to the mode of operation of the system than the stimuli streamin in from the outer world Two thin s are however decisively determined by the e condition fire the pre...
pleasu...
for pr... the mechani m and secondly a shaping of behaviour towards uch inner excitations as bring with them an overplus of pain There will be a tendency to treat them as thou h they were acting not from within but from without in order for it to be possible to apply against them the defensive measures of the barrier a ainst stimuli (*Reischut*) This is the origin of projection for which so important a part is reserved in the production of pathological states

I have the impression that by these last considerations we have approached nearer to a comprehension of the supremacy of the pleasure principle but we have not attained to an explanation of those cases which are oppo ed to it Let us therefore go a step further Such external excitations as are strong enough to break through the barrier against stimuli we call *traumatic* In my opinion the concept of trauma involves such a relationship to an otherwise efficacious barrier An occurrence uch as an external trauma will undoubtedly provoke a very extensive disturbance in the workings of the energy of the organism and will et in motion every kind of protective mea ure But the pleasure principle is to begin with put out of action here The flooding of the psychic apparatus with large masses of stimuli can no lon er be prevented on the contrary another task presents it elf—to bring the stimulus under control to *b nd* in the psyche the stimulus mass that has broken its way in so as to bring about a discharge of it.

Probably the specific discomfort of bodily pain is the result of some local breakin throu h of the barrier against stimuli From this point in the periphery there stream to the central psychic apparatus continual excitations such as would otherwise come only from within. What are we to expect as the reaction of the

S th p p *Inst ct d th r) scu tud* p 4 3 abo e

psychic life to th n a on? From ll s des the *charging energy* is cal ed in order to cre al round the breach correspondingly high *charges* of energy An immense *counter charge* is set up in fa our of which all the other psychic s tems are impoverished so that a wide-spread paral sis or diminutio of her psychi acti ty follows. We endeavour to learn from examples s ch as these to base our meta psychological co j ctures o su h prototypes Th from this beha our we draw the con clusion that even a highly charged system is a e to recei e new energy streaming in to convert it into a *quiescent charge* thus t *bind* it psychically The more in ens is the intrinsic quiescent charge th great s s binding force and, co versely the l wer the charge of the system the less capable s t of receiving the energy tha stream in, and o the m re ve ent re the consequences when the barri r against stimul is broken through. It is not a valid object t thi view that th intensify g f the harges round the pla e f rruption could be much m re imply explained a the direct ction of the o c ming mass of e c a t . If that w re so th p ch c apparatus ould m rely und r o an increase of ts en rgy charges and th paral zi g character f pai with the impo eri hm t of all the ther systems, would remain wi h t explanatio Nor d the very o t discharge ff cts of pain m allicate our xpla on f they happen in a re ex mann tha is t ay they foll w wi o t the in rpo t of the ps ch c p-paratus Th definit nat e f all the dis cus ons that we t rm *m t psy h og cal* na turally m f m th fact that we kn w n thing abo t t natu of the excitation proc ess in th elements f th ps hic syst m and do not feel j fied in makin any assumption bou Thus are all th tim operating with lar X wh h we carry o e into every ew f rmula. That thi process is accomplished with energi h h diffe quantit t el is an ea ly dm ib po tu t that t h o has more than o quality (e.g in the direct f amp de) m y be egarded a probabl the new on d ration we ha e brought in is Breue propos t that w ha t d with tw w vs in which y t m ma be filled with energy so that d ct o has t be made be tween *h g g f the psy hi sy t m* (o ts elements) that is f fl wi g and tri ing to be discharged and ne that is qui ent. P haps we may dmit the conjecture that th bindi g of the energy streaming into the psychic p-

I think o e ly regard the ord n ry traumatic neuros s as the result of a exten i e rupture of th barrier a a n t s mul In this wa the old nai e doc tri e of *shock* would come into its own again apparently in oppos tion to a later and psycho logically more pretentious ew which ascribes aetiological n ficance not to the effect of the mechanical f rce but to the fri ht and th menace to life But th se oppo in vews are ot irreco cilable and the psycho-analytic con ception of the traumatic neurosis is far from bein identical with the crudest form of the *shock* theory While th latter takes the essen tial nat re of the hock as res din in the di rect i jury to the mol cular structure or even to the hi t lo ical structure of the n rvous elements we seek to understand the ff ct of the shock b c ns dering th breaking through of the barrier with wh ch the psychic organ is provided again t stimul a d from th tasks with which this is thereby faced Fri ht r tains its meaning f r us too What conditio s it is the failure of the m chanism of apprehens n to make the proper preparation including the over-charging of the systems first recei ing the stim lus I c nsequence of this lowe degree of charging these systems re hardly i a posi tion t bind the o comin masses of excitation, and the co sequences of the breaki g through of the p tecti e barrier appear all the more ea ly We thus fi d that the apprehensive preparation, togethe with the o e -chargi g of the receptive systems represents the la t l e f d fen e agai t timuli For a great number of traumata the diff ence between the unpre pared syst ms a d those prepared by o er charging may turn the cale a to the o tcome with trauma beyond a cert n strength such a difference m y no longer be of an impor tance. When the dreams f pat nts suff ring from tra m t c euroses so regularly take them ba k to th situation of the disaste they do not thereby t is tru serve the purpose of wi h f lfilm t, the hallucinat ry conj ring up f whi h has unde th d minat on f the pleasu e-principle become the funct n of dreams But w m y a um that they th reby subs rve anoth purpose which must be ful filled bef re th pleasure principl can begi its wa Th se dreams re ttempts at restoring c t l of th stimu by developing apprehen sion th p et rmis f which ca sed the traumatic eurosis. They thus aff rd us an in

sight into a function of the psychic apparatus which without contradicting the pleasure principle is nevertheless independent of it and appears to be of earlier origin than the aim of attaining pleasure and avoiding pain

This is therefore the moment to concede for the first time an exception to the principle that the dream is a wish fulfilment Anxiety dreams are no such exception as I have repeatedly and in detail shown nor are the *punishment dreams* for they merely put in the place of the interdicted wish fulfilment the punishment appropriate to it and are thus the wish fulfilment of the sense of guilt reacting on the contemned impulse But the dreams mentioned above of patients suffering from traumatic neuroses do not permit of classification under the category of wish fulfilment nor do the dreams occurring during psycho analysis that bring back the recollection of the psychic traumata of childhood They obey rather the repetition compulsion which in analysis it is true is supported by the (not unconscious) wish to conjure up again what has been forgotten and repressed Thus the function of the dream viz to do away with the motives leading to interruption of sleep by presenting wish fulfilments of the disturbing excitations would not be its original one the dream could secure control of this function only after the whole psychic life had accepted the domination of the pleasure principle If there is a *beyond the pleasure principle* it is logical to admit a prehistoric past also for the wish fulfilling tendency of the dream though to do so is no contradiction of its later function Now when this tendency is once broken through there arises the further question are such dreams which in the interests of the psychical binding of traumatic impressions follow the repetition-compulsion not possible apart from analysis? The answer is certainly in the affirmative

With regard to the war neuroses so far as the term has any significance apart from a reference to the occasion of the appearance of the illness I have explained elsewhere that they might very well be traumatic neuroses which have arisen the more easily on account of an ego conflict The fact mentioned on page 641 viz that a severe injury inflicted at the same time by the trauma lessens the chance of a neurosis arising is no longer difficult to understand if two circumstances emphasised by psycho analytic research are borne in mind First that mechanical concussion must be recognized as one of the sources of sexual excitation and secondly that a painful and fever h ill ness exerts for the time it lasts a powerful influence on the distribution of the libido Thus the mechanical force of the trauma would set free the quota of sexual excitation which in consequence of the lacking preparation by apprehension has a traumatic effect but on the other hand the contemporaneous bodily injury would bind the surplus excitation by the putting in of a claim to a narcissi tic over charging of the injured part It is also known though the idea has not been sufficiently made u e of in the Libido theory that disturbances in the distribution of the libido o severe as those of melancholia may be re moved for a time by an intercurrent organic disease in fact even the condition of a fully developed *dementia praecox* is capable of a transitory improvement in these circumstances.

V

THE fact that the sensitive cortical layer has no protective barrier against excitations emanating from within will have one inevitable consequence viz that these transmissions of stimuli acquire increased economic significance and frequently give rise to economic disturbances comparable to the traumatic neuroses The most prolific sources of such inner excitations are the so called *instincts* of the organism the representatives of all forces arising within the body and transmitted to the psychic apparatus—the most important and most obscure element in psychological research

Perhaps we shall not find it too rash an assumption that the excitations proceeding from the instincts do not conform to the type of the *bound* but of the free moving nerve proces es that are striving for discharge The most trustworthy knowledge we have of these processes comes from the study of dreams There we found that the processes in the unconscious systems are fundamentally different from tho e in the (pre)conscious that in the unconscious cha ges may easily be completely transferred di placed or condensed while if this happened with preconscious material only defective results would be obtained This is the reason for the well known peculiarities of the manife t dream after the preconscious re idues of the

Psych A alys s d th W N u I t o du ti n International Psych Analytical L b ry N 2 1921

See th m k Th ff t f w g g d ra lw y t ll g *Th C t b t t th Th ry f Sex*

S *O A* us *sm I t d t n* p 399 above.

dry before have undergone elaboration ccord g to the laws of the unconscious. I termed this kind of process in th unconscious the psychic *primary pr c ss* in contradistinction to the secondary process valid in our normal waking life. Since the excitations of instincts all affect the unconscious systems t is scarcely an innovation t say that they follow the lines of the primary process and li tle more so to identif the psychic primary process with the freel m bile —

makes the primary process The failure t fect this binding would evoke a disturbance analogous t the traumatic neuroses it is only after the binding had been successful accomplished that the p easure-principle (and its modification th reality principle) would have an opportunity to assert ts sway without hindrance Till then, the other task f the psychic apparatus would tak precedence, viz., to obtain control or t bind the excitation, not in opposition to the pleasure-princip but independently of it and in part without regard t t.

The expressions of a repetition-compulsion which we have described both in the early activities f infantile psychi life and in th experiences of psycho-analytic treatment, show in a high degree an instinctive character and, where they com into contrast with the pleasure-principle a demoni character In the play of children, we seem to arrive at the co clusion that the child repeats even the unpleasant experiences because throu h his own acti ty he gains a far m re th ro h mastery of the strong impression than was possible by mere passive experience E ery fresh repet t on eems to strengthen this mastery fo which the child strives even with pleasurabl experiences the child cann t do enough in th way of repetition and will inex rably ins st on th dentity of the impression. This haracteri tic is dest ed later to disappear A witticism heard fo the second time will almost fail of eff ct th trical performance will neve make the same impression on the se ond tim that t did on the first occasion indeed, it is hard to persuad th d lt to read again ll soo book h has j ted. Novelty is al ays the ecessary co dit on f enjoyment. The hild h wev ever gets tired f demanding from grown up the repet t n of a game he has played with him before o has shown him till at last the grown up refuses, utterl worn out imilarly f he has been told a pretty story he wants alwa s to hear the same story instead of a new one insists i exorably on exact repetition and corrects each deviation wh ch the narrator lets slip by m s take which, perhaps he even thou h to gain new merit by insert ng Here there is no contradiction of the pleasure-principle it is evident that the repeti on the red scovery of the identity is itself a source of p easure In the case of a pa ent in analys s on the other ha d, it is plain that the compul on to repeat in the transference the occurrences of his infantile life disregards *in every way* the pleasure principle The pa ent behaves i this respect completely like a child and thus makes it clear to us that the repressed mem ry traces of his primitive experience are n t present i a *b* and form re indeed in a sense not capable of the secondary process To this fact of their not being bound the owe the r power to weave a wish phantasy that will be represented i a dream by adhering to the residues from waking experien es. We frequently encounter the same repetition-c mpuls on as a therapeutic obstacle, when at the end of the treatment we wish to bring bout compl te detachment from the ph s cian and it may be supposed that the vague dread with which those who are unf miliar with t view analysis as though they feared to wake what they think is better left to leep is at root a fear of the ppearance of this demonic compul on.

— ected in h

ly recognized—o at least not expressl m pha ed—characteristic of nstinct pe haps of all rganic life According to this *an nst ct would be a tendency innate n l ving orga c matter impell g t towards th e nst tement of e earlier cond t on* one whi h t h d to aband n und r th infl ence of ext rnal dis turbing f ces—a kind of organic l st city r t put t another way the manifestat on of in rti in rganic lif

This concepti of instinct strikes us as strange sinc we re ccustomed to see n in tinct the facto urging towards change and d vel pment and n w we find oursel es required t re ogni e in it the very oppos t z. the

See Psychology f th D eam-Processes Sectio VII, in my *I terpr ta io f Dream* (p 34 bove)

I have h d doubt tha mila conject res bout t re f instinct have bee already repe edly pu f rward.

expression of the conservative nature of living beings On the other hand we soon think of those examples in animal life which appear to confirm the idea of instinct having been historically conditioned When certain fish undertake arduous journeys at spawning time in order to deposit the spawn in certain definite waters far removed from their usual habitats according to the interpretation of many biologists they are only seeking the earlier homes of their kind which in course of time they have exchanged for others The same is said to be true of the migratory flights of birds of passage but the search for further examples becomes superfluous when we remember that in the phenomena of heredity and in the facts of embryology we have the most imposing proofs of the organic compulsion to repetition We see that the germ cell of a living animal is obliged to repeat in its development—although in a fleeting and curtailed fashion—the structures of all the forms from which the animal is descended instead of hastening along the shortest path to its own final shape A mechanical explanation of this except in some trifling particulars is impossible and the historical explanation cannot be disregarded In the same way we find extending far upwards in the animal kingdom a power of reproduction whereby a lost organ is replaced by the growth of a new one exactly like it

The obvious objection that it may well be that besides the conservative instincts compelling repetition there are others which press towards new formation and progress should certainly not be left unnoticed it will be considered at a later stage of our discussion But we may first be tempted to follow to its final consequences the hypothesis that all instincts have as their aim the reinstatement of an earlier condition If what results gives an appearance of *profundity* or bears a resemblance to mysticism still we know ourselves to be clear of the reproach of having striven after anything of the sort We are in search of sober results of investigation or of reflections based upon it and the only character we wish for in these results is that of certainty

If then all organic instincts are conservative historically acquired and are directed towards regression towards reinstatement of something earlier we are obliged to place all the results of organic development to the credit of external disturbing and distracting influences The rudimentary creature would from its very beginning not have wanted to change would if circumstances had remained the same have always merely repeated the same course of existence But in the last resort it must have been the evolution of our earth and its relation to the sun that has left its imprint on the development of organisms The conservative organic instincts have absorbed every one of these enforced alterations in the course of life and have stored them for repetition they thus present the delusive appearance of forces striving after change and progress while they are merely endeavouring to reach an old goal by ways both old and new This final goal of all organic striving can be stated too It would be counter to the conservative nature of instinct if the goal of life were a state never hitherto reached. It must rather be an ancient starting point, which the living being left long ago and to which it harks back again by all the circuitous paths of development If we may assume as an experience admitting of no exception that everything living dies from causes within itself and returns to the inorganic we can only say *The goal of all life is death* and casting back *The inanimate was there before the animate*

At one time or another by some operation of force which still completely baffles conjecture, the properties of life were awakened in lifeless matter Perhaps the process was a prototype resembling that other one which later in a certain stratum of living matter gave rise to consciousness The tension then aroused in the previously inanimate matter strove to attain an equilibrium the first instinct was present that to return to lifelessness The living substance at that time had death within easy reach there was probably only a short course of life to run the direction of which was determined by the chemical structure of the young organism So through a long period of time the living substance may have been constantly created anew and easily extinguished until decisive external influences altered in such a way as to compel the still surviving substance to ever greater deviations from the original path of life and to ever more complicated and circuitous routes to the attainment of the goal of death These circuitous ways to death faithfully retained by the conservative instincts would be neither more nor less than the phenomena of life as we now know it If the exclusively conservative nature of the instincts is accepted as true it is impossible to arrive at any other suppositions with regard to the origin and goal of life

If these con l s o s sound strangely in our ears equally s will those we are led t make concernin the great groups of nst ncts which we rega d as lying behind the vit l phenomena of rganisms The postulate of the *self preservative instincts* we ascribe to every li ing be ng stands in rema kable c ntrast to the suppos tion that the wh le life f instu ct serves the one end of bringing abo t death. The theoretic significance f the instincts of elf preservation power and self-assert n shrinks to nothing seen in this light they re part insti cts designed to secure the path t death peculiar to th organism and to ward off poss bilit es of return to th inorganic othe than the immanent ones but the e gm tic struggle of the organ *ism to maintain itself in p t* of all the wo ld a struggle that cannot be brought into connec tio with a ything else disappears It rema ns to be added that the rgan sm s resol ed to d only in ts own way e en these watchmen *of life were originally the myrmidons of death.* Hence, the parado c mes bout that the l n g rganism resi ts with all ts en rgy influences (dangers) which c ld h lp t to rea h its l fe goal by sh rt way (a short circuit so to speak) but this s just the beha our that characterize a pu e instinct as c ntrasted with an intelligent triving

But w must bethi k o rsel es this ca n t be the whol truth. The sexual insti ct for which the theory f th n u ses cla m a posi tion apart, lead us *to quit* anothe point of view Not all gan ms ha e y elded to the ext rnal compul dri ing them to an e er f rther d el pment M y have s ceeded in maintaini g th msel es o their l w level up t the present tim there are in ex ten to- d f t all t all ents ma y f rms f life that must es mble th prim t e st ges of the highe animals d pla ts A d s mila ly not all th el m tary orga sm th t m k p th complicated body of highe f rm f *life* take part in th wh l path f evolut t the nat ural d e death. Som am g th m th re prod ctive lls p bably retain th gin l structure f th living substa e and after g en time d ta h them elves *from* the parent rganism, charged as they re with all the in herited and e ly acqui ed instin t e d po ti Poss bly it just th se two f ature that mak the indepe dent exi t nc poss bl If brought und fa ourabl co d ti they begin t dev lop that s t repe t th same cy l to h h they owe th gi th d be g that aga n o po t on of th ubstance carries throu h its d elopment to a finish while an other part as a new germ nal core aga n ha ks back to the beginn n of the development Thus these reproductive cells operate aga n t the death of the l ing ubstance and are able to win for it what mu t eem to us to be potential immortal ty although perhaps it only means a lengthening of the path to death *Of* h *fact that the re* ction or mingl g om it

Th e is a group of instincts that c e for the destin es of these eleme tary organi ms wh ch m hem gan the s rin abo t the r co junct o w th other reproduc ti e cells These are collectively the e ual in tincts They are *conservati e in th same s n e* as the others are in that they reproduce earl er cond t on of the l ving s bstance but they are so in a higher degree in that they how th m sel es spec ally res stant to external nfluences and they are more conservati e in a w der sense *still s nce they preserve l fe it elf for a longer* time They are the actual life in t nct the fact that they run counte to the t end of the other tincts wh ch le d t w rds de th i d cates a contrad ction betwee them and the re t one which the theory of neuroses has recognized as full of s gnificanc There is as t were an oscil lat g rhythm n the l fe of organ ms th on e f rw rd to re h the gi spot a d thus to prolong the durat on of th j urn y Altho h sexual ty a d th di ti c tion of the sexes certai ly did n t exist at the d wn of life e ertheI s it rema pos ble that th insti cts which are later de cribed as s xu l w re acti e f m th ery begin g d t k up the part f opposition to the ... the *eg st cts* the a d not nly at som l t r time

Let us now retrace ur teps for the first t m t ask whether ll th e peculat o s a e t, aft r all w thout fo dat o Are there ta ed I am t w re of a y satisf t ry ample in the organi wo ld running counter to

expression of the conservative nature of living beings On the other hand we soon think of those examples in animal life which appear to confirm the idea of instinct having been historically conditioned When certain fish undertake arduous journeys at spawning time in order to deposit the spawn in certain definite waters far removed from their usual habitats according to the interpretation of many biologists they are only seeking the earlier homes of their kind which in course of time they have exchanged for others The same is said to be true of the migratory flights of birds of passage but the search for further examples becomes superfluous when we remember that in the phenomena of heredity and in the facts of embryology we have the most imposing proofs of the organic compulsion to repetition We see that the germ cell of a living animal is obliged to repeat in its development—although in a fleeting and curtailed fashion—the structures of all the forms from which the animal is descended instead of hastening along the shortest path to its own final shape A mechanical explanation of this except in some trifling particulars is impossible and the historical explanation cannot be disregarded In the same way we find extending far upwards in the animal kingdom a power of reproduction whereby a lost organ is replaced by the growth of a new one exactly like it

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also lose the significance we have attributed to it.

Let us turn back, therefore, to one of the assumptions we interpolated in the expectation that it will permit of exact refutation. We built up further conclusions on the basis of the assumption that all life must die from internal causes. We made this assumption so light heartedly because it does not seem to us to be one. We are accustomed so to think, and every poet encourages us in the idea. Perhaps we have resolved so to think because there lies a certain consolation in this belief. If man must himself die, after first losing his most beloved ones by death, he would prefer that his life be forfeit to an inexorable law of nature, the sublime Ananke, than to a mere accident which perhaps could have been in some way avoided. But perhaps this belief in the incidence of death as the necessary consequence of an inner law of being is also only one of those illusions that we have fashioned for ourselves so as to endure the burden of existence. It is certainly not a primordial belief. The idea of a *natural death* is alien to primitive races; they ascribe every death occurring among themselves to the influence of an enemy or an evil spirit. So let us not neglect to turn to biological science to test the belief.

If we do so we may be astonished to find how little agreement exists among biologists on the question of natural death, that indeed the very conception of death altogether eludes them. The fact of a certain average length of life, at least among the higher animals, is of course an argument for death from inner causes, but the circumstance that certain large animals and giant trees reach a very great age cannot be computed up to now once more removes this impression. According to the grandiose conception of W. Fliess all the vital phenomena—and certainly also death—are linked with the accomplishment of certain periods of time, among which there finds expression the dependence of two living substances, one male and one female, upon the solar year. But observations of how easily and extensively the influences of external forces can alter vital manifestations, especially in the plant world, as to their occurrence in time, can hasten or retard them, militate against the rigidity of the formulae laid down by Fliess, and leaves at least doubtful the universality of the laws he sought to establish.

The treatment of these themes, death and the duration of life among organisms, in the works of A. Weismann possesses the greatest interest for us. This investigator originated the distinction of living substance into a mortal and an immortal half; the mortal is the body in the narrower sense, the soma, which alone is subject to natural death, while the germ cells are potentially immortal in so far as they are capable under certain favourable conditions of developing into a new individual, or expressed otherwise, of surrounding themselves with a new soma.

What here arrests our attention is the unexpected analogy with our conception developed along so different a line of thought. Weismann, who is considering living substance morphologically, recognizes in it a constituent which is the prey of death, the soma, the body viewed apart from sex or heredity elements, and on the other hand an immortal part, the germ plasm, which serves the purpose of preservation of the species, of propagation. We have fixed our attention not on the living matter but on the forces active in it, and have been led to distinguish two kinds of instincts: those the purpose of which is to guide life towards death, and the others, the sexual instincts, which perpetually strive for and bring about the renewal of life. This sounds like a dynamic corollary to Weismann's morphological theory.

This appearance of an important correspondence vanishes as soon as we examine Weismann's pronouncement on the problem of death. For Weismann admits the differentiation between the mortal soma and the immortal germ-plasm only in relation to multicellular organisms; with the unicellular beings the individual and the reproductive cell are still one and the same. The unicellular he thus affirms to be potentially immortal; death appears only among the metazoa, the multicellular. This death of the higher organisms is, it is true, a natural one, a death from inner causes, but it does not depend on an inherent quality of the living substance; is not to be conceived as an absolute necessity based on the nature of life. Death is rather a purposive contrivance, a phenomenon of adaptation to the external conditions of life, because after the differentiation of the corporeal cells into soma and germ-plasm the indefinite prolongation of the life of the

Über die Dauer des Lebens, 1882; Über Leben und Tod, 2nd ed., 1892; Das Keimplasma, 1892, etc.
Über Leben und Tod, 2nd ed., p.
Über die Dauer des Lebens, p. 38.
Über Leben und Tod, 2nd ed., p. 67.
Über die Dauer des Lebens, p. 33.

the characteristic I have su gested The exist ence of a general impulse towards higher development in the plant and animal world can certainly not be established though some such line of development is as a fact unquestionable But on the one hand it is often merely a question of our own valuation when we pronounce one stage of development to be higher than another and on the other hand biology makes clear to us that a higher development in one particular is often purchased with or balanced by retrogression in another Then there are plenty of animal forms the youthful stages of which teach us that their development has taken a retrograde character rather than otherwise Higher development and retrogression alike might well be the results of external forces impelling towards adaptation and the part played by the instincts might be confined in both cases to retaining the enforced changes as sources of pleasure

Many of us will also find it hard to abandon our belief that in man himself there dwells an impulse towards perfection which has brought him to his present hei hts of intellectual prowess and ethical sublimation and from which it might be expected that his development into superman will be ensured But I do not believe in the existence of such an inner impulse and I see no way of preserving this pleasing illusion The development of man up to now does not seem to me to need any explanation differing from that of animal development and the restless striving towards further perfection which may be observed in a minority of human beings is easily explicable as the result of that repression of instinct upon which what is most valuable in human culture is built The repressed instinct never ceases to strive after its complete satisfaction which would consist in the repetition of a primary experience of satisfaction all substitution or reaction formations and sublimations avail nothing towards relaxing the continual tension and out of the excess of the satisfaction demanded over that found is born the driving momentum which allows of no abiding in any situation presented to it but in the poet s words urges ever forward ever unsubdued The path in the other direction back to complete satisfaction is as a rule barred by the resistances that maintain the repressions and thus there remains nothing for it but to proceed in the other still unobstructed direction that of development without however any prospect of being able to bring the process to a conclusion or to attain the goal. What occurs in the development of a neurotic phobia which is really nothing but an attempt at flight from the satisfaction of an instinct gives us the prototype for the origin of this ostensible impulse towards perfection which however we cannot possibly ascribe to all human beings The dynamic conditions are it is true quite generally present but the economic relations seem only in rare cases to favour the phenomenon

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VI

OUR discussion so far results in the establishing of a sharp antithesis between the *ego instincts* and the sexual instincts the former impelling towards death and the latter towards the preservation of life a result which we ourselves must surely find in many respects far from adequate Further only for the former can we properly claim the conservative—or better regressive—character corresponding to a repetition compulsion For according to our hypothesis the ego instincts spring from the vitalizing of inanimate matter and have as their aim the reinstatement of lifelessness As to the sexual instincts on the other hand it is obvious that they reproduce primitive states of the living being but the aim they strive for by every means is the union of two germ cells which are specifically differentiated If this union does not take place then the germ cell dies like all other elements of the multicellular organism Only on this condition can the sexual function prolong life and lend it the semblance of immortality Of what important happening then in the process of development of the living substance is sexual reproduction or its forerunner the copulation of two individual protozoa the repetition? That question we do not know how to answer and therefore we should feel relieved if the whole structure of our arguments were to prove erroneous The opposition of ego- (or death) instincts and sexual (life) instincts would then disappear and the repetition compulsion would thereupon

Meph t ph les in F t F t I F t St dy

had this effect in bringing about the death of the generation. For in a solution over-saturated with waste products of a distantly related species the very same animalculae throve excellently which when allowed to accumulate in their own nutrient fluid inevitably perished. Thus, left to itself the infusorium dies a natural death from the imperfect disposal of its own metabolic products; perhaps all higher animals die ultimately from the same inability.

At this point, the doubt may then occur to us whether any good purpose has been served in looking for the answer to the question as to natural death in the study of the protozoa. The primitive organization of these forms of life may conceal from us important conditions which are present in them too but can be recognized only among the higher animals where they have achieved for themselves a morphological expression. If we abandon the morphological point of view for the dynamic it may be a matter of entire indifference to us whether the natural death of the protozoa can be proved or not. With them the substance later recognized as immortal has not yet separated itself in any way from the part subject to death. The instinctive forces which endeavour to conduct life to death might be active in them too from the beginning and yet their effect might be so obscured by that of the forces tending to preserve life that any direct evidence of their existence becomes hard to establish. We have heard, it is true, that the observations of biologists allow us to assume such death-ward tending processes also among the protozoa. But even if the protozoa prove to be immortal in Weismann's sense, his assertion that death is a late acquisition holds good only of the out-

ory would entirely put out of court any recognition of the death instincts has not been fulfilled. It is open to us to occupy ourselves further with this possibility if we have other reasons for doing so. The striking resemblance between Weismann's separation of soma and germ-plasm and our distinction between the death and the life-instincts remains unshaken moreover and retains its value.

Let us dwell for a moment on this quite ly dualistic conception of the instinctive life. According to E. Hering's theory of the processes in living matter there course through it uninterruptedly two kinds of processes of opposite direction: one anabolic, assimilatory, the other katabolic, disintegrating. Shall we venture to recognize in these two directions of the vital processes the activity of our two instinctive tendencies, the life-instincts and the death-instincts? And we cannot disguise another fact from ourselves: that we have steered unawares into the haven of Schopenhauer's philosophy, for whom death is the "real result" of life and therefore in so far its aim, while the sexual instinct is the incarnation of the will to live.

Let us boldly try to go a step further. According to general opinion the union of numerous cells into one vital connection, the multicellularity of organisms, has become a *means to the prolongation of their span of life*. One cell helps to preserve the life of the others and the cell-community can go on living even if single cells have to perish. We have already heard that also *conjugation*, the temporary mingling of two unicellular entities, has a preservative and rejuvenating effect on both. The attempt might consequently be made to transfer the libido theory yielded by psycho-analysis to the relationship of the cells to one another and to imagine that it is the vital or sexual instincts active in every cell that take the other cells for their *object*, partially neutralize their death-instincts, i.e. the processes stimulated by these, and so preserve those cells in life, while other cells do the same for them, and still others sacrifice themselves in the exercise of this libidinous function. The germ-cells themselves would behave in a completely *narcissistic* fashion, as we are accustomed to describe it in the theory of the neuroses when an individual concentrates his libido on the ego and gives out none of it for the charging of objects. The germ-cells need their libido—the activity of their vital *instincts—for them*selves as a provision for their later enormous constructive activity. Perhaps the cells of the malignant growths that destroy the organism can also be considered to be narcissistic in the same sense. *Pathology is, as indeed prepared* to regard the kernels of them as congenital and to ascribe embryonal attributes to them. Thus the libido of our sexual instincts would coincide with the Eros of poets and philosophers which holds together all things living.

At this point, opportunity offers of reviewing the gradual development of our libido theory. The analysis of the transference neuroses

Über die anscheinende Absichtlichkeit im Schicksale des Einzelnen (edited by Grand Duke Wilhelm Ernst) Vol IV p. 68

individual would have become a quite inexpedient luxury. With the appearance of this differentiation among multicellular organisms death became possible and expedient. Since then the soma of the higher organisms dies after a certain time from internal causes; the protozoa however remain immortal. Propagation on the other hand was not first introduced with death, it is on the contrary a primordial property of living matter like growth, in which it originated and life has gone on uninterruptedly from its inception on the earth.

It is easy to see that to concede natural death to the higher organisms does not greatly help our case. If death is a late acquisition of life then death instincts traceable to the beginning of life on this planet no longer come into question. Multicellular organisms may continue to die from internal causes, whether defect of differentiation or imperfections of their metabolism; it possesses no interest for the inquiry on which we are engaged. Such a conception and derivation of death certainly more nearly approaches the ordinary human view of it than the unwonted assumption of *death instincts*.

The discussion which has centred round Weismann's assertions has in my opinion had no decisive result in any direction. Many writers have reverted to the standpoint of Goethe (1883) who saw in death the direct consequence of propagation. Hartmann does not regard as the characteristic of death the appearance of a *corpse*, a piece of living substance which has *died off*, but defines it as the definitive end of individual development. In this sense protozoa are also subject to death; with them death invariably coincides with propagation, but it is so to speak disguised by the latter, for the whole substance of the parent organism may be absorbed directly into the new individuals.

The interest of the in[illegible]

[illegible] an American named Woodruff instituted a culture of a ciliated infusorium, a *slipper animalcule*, which reproduces itself by division into two individuals; each time he isolated one of the products and put it into fresh water. He traced the propagation to the 3,029th generation when he discontinued the experiment. The last descendant of the first slipper animalcule was just as lively as its original ancestor without any sign of age or degeneration; if such numbers are convincing, the immortality of protozoa seemed thus experimentally demonstrable.

Other investigators have arrived at other results. Maupas, Calkins, etc., found in contradiction to Woodruff that even these infusoria after a certain number of divisions become weaker, decrease in size, lose a portion of their organization and finally die, if they do not encounter certain invigorating influences. According to this protozoa die after a phase of senile decay just like higher animals, in direct contravention of what is maintained by Weismann, who recognizes in death a late acquisition of living organisms.

Taking the net result of these researches together we note two facts which seem to afford us a firm foothold. First, if the animalculae at a time when they as yet show no signs of age have the opportunity of mingling with each other, of *conjugating*—afterwards again separating—then they remain exempt from age, they have been *rejuvenated*. This conjugation is doubtless the prototype of sexual propagation of higher organisms; as yet it has nothing to do with multiplication, it is confined to the mingling of the substances of both individuals (Weismann's *Amphimixis*). The invigorating influence of conjugation can also be replaced however by certain modes of stimulation, changes in the composition of the nutrient fluid, raising of temperature, or shaking. The famous experiment of J. Loeb will be recalled who by the application of certain chemical stimuli to the ova of sea urchins brought about processes of division which usually take place only after fertilization.

Secondly, it is after all probable that the infusoria are brought to a natural death through their own vital process, for the contradiction between Woodruff's findings and those of others arises from Woodruff having placed each generation in fresh nutrient fluid. When he refrained from doing so he observed, as did the other investigators, that the generations showed signs of age. He concluded that the animalculae were injured by the products of metabolism which they gave off into the surrounding fluid and was then able to prove convincingly that only the products of *its own* metabolism

Über Leben und Tod, [illegible] See M. Hartmann, [illegible] Alex. Lipschütz, [illegible] 1914, F. Doflein, [illegible] *Unsterblichkeit* [illegible] 1919

F[illegible] pp. 6[illegible] see Lipschütz, *op. cit.*

sharply than before, since we no longer call the contrasting tendencies *egoistic* and *sexual instincts*, but *life instincts* and *death instincts*. Jung's libido theory, on the other hand, is a monistic one; that he has applied the term *libido* to his only instinctive energy was bound to cause confusion but should not have any further effect on us. We suspect that there are in the ego other instincts than those of self-preservation, only we ought to be in a position to demonstrate them. Unfortunately so little progress has been made in the analysis of the ego that this proof becomes extraordinarily difficult of attainment. The libidinous instincts of the ego may indeed be conjoined in a special way with other ego-instincts of which we as yet know nothing. Before ever we had clearly recognized narcissism the conjecture was already present in the minds of psycho-analysts that the *ego-instincts* had drawn libidinous components to themselves. But these are merely vague possibilities which our opponents will hardly take into account. It remains an awkward fact that analysis up to now has only put us in the position of demonstrating libidinous impulses. The conclusion that therefore there are no others is one to which we do not assent.

In the obscurity that at present shrouds the theory of instinct, we shall certainly not do well to reject any idea that promises to throw light. We have made the antithesis between the life and death instincts our point of departure. Object love itself displays a second such polarity, that of love (tenderness) and hate (aggression). What if we could succeed in bringing these two polarities into relation with each other in tracing the one to the other. We have long recognized sadistic components of the sexual instinct; it can, as we know, attain independent and perversion, dominating the whole sexual trend of a person. In one of the organizations which I have termed *pregenital* it appears as a dominating part instinct. But how is one to derive the sadistic impulse which aims at the injury of the object from the life-sustaining Eros. Does not the assumption suggest itself that this sadism is properly a death-instinct which is driven apart from the ego by the influence of the narcissistic libido so that it becomes manifest only in reference to the object. It then enters the service of the sexual function; at the oral stage of organization of the libido amorous possession is still one and the same as annihilation of the object; later the sadistic impulse separates itself and at last at the stage of the genital primacy it takes over with the aim of propagation the function of so far overpowering the sex-object as the carrying out of the sexual act demands. One might even say that the sadism expelled from the ego has acted as guide to the libidinous components of the sexual instinct; these later press on towards the object. Where the original sadism experiences no abatement or fusion, the well known hate-love ambivalence of the love-life is set up.

If the above assumption is justifiable, then we have met the challenge of demonstrating an example of a death instinct—though a displaced one. This conception, however, is far from being evident and creates a frankly mystical impression. We incur the suspicion of having attempted at all costs to find a way out of an impasse. We may appeal against this verdict by saying that the assumption is no new one; that we have once before made it when there was no question of an impasse. Clinical observations forced upon us the view that the part instinct of masochism, the one complementary to sadism, is to be understood as a recoil of the sadism on to the ego itself. A turning of the instinct from the object to the ego is, however, essentially the same as a turning from the ego to the object, which is just now the new idea in question. Masochism, the turning of the instinct against the self, would then be in reality a return to an earlier phase of this, a regression. The exposition I then gave of masochism needs correction in one respect as being too exclusive; masochism may also be what I was there concerned to deny, primary.

Let us return however to the life-sustaining sexual instincts. We have already learned from the investigation of the protozoa that the mingling of two individuals without consequent

Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex.

forced on our notice in the first place the opposition between *sexual instincts* which are directed towards an object and other instincts which we only imperfectly discerned and pro visionally described as *ego instincts* Among the latter those which subserve the self preserva tion of the individual had the first claim for recognition What other distinctions were to be made it was impossible to say No knowl edge would have been so important for the establishment of a sound psychology as some approximate understanding of the common na ture and possible differences of the instincts But in no department of psychology did one grope more in the dark Everyone posited as many instincts or *fundamental instincts* as he pleased and contrived with them just as the ancient Greek philosophers did with their four elements earth air fire and water Psycho analysis which could not dispense with some kind of hypothesis as to the instincts adhered to begin with to the popular distinction typi cally represented by the phrase *hunger and love* It was at least no new arbitrary creation With this one adequately covered a consider able distance in the analysis of the psycho-neuroses The conception of *sexuality*—and therewith that of a sexual instinct—certainly had to be extended till it included much that did not come into the category of the function of propagation and this led to outcry enough in a severe and superior or merely hypocritical world

The next step followed when psycho analysis was able to feel its way a little nearer to the psychological ego which was at first known to us only as a repressing censoring agency capable of constituting defences and reaction formations Critical and other far seeing minds had indeed for a long time raised objections to the narrowing of the libido concept down to the energy of the sexual instinct as directed to the object But they omitted to say whence they obtained this fuller comprehension and failed to deduce anything from it of [illegible]

[illegible] and directed towards the ego (introversion) and through the study of the libido-development of the child in its earliest phases it became clear that the ego is the true and original reservoir of the libido which is extended to the object only from this The ego took its place as one of the sexual objects and was immediately recognized as the choicest among them Where the libido thus remained attached to the ego it was termed *narcissistic*[1] This narcissistic libido was naturally also the expression of the energy of sexual instincts in the analytical sense which now had to be identi fied with the *instincts of self preservation* the existence of which was admitted from the first. Whereupon the original antithesis between the ego instincts and the sexual instincts became inadequate A part of the e o-instincts was recognized as libidinous in the ego exual instincts were found to be active—probably in addition to others nevertheless one is justified in saying that the old formula viz that a psychoneurosis arises out of a conflict between the ego instincts and the sexual instincts con tained nothing that we should have to reject today Only the difference of the two kinds of instincts which was supposed originally to be in some kind of way qualitative has now to be defined otherwise namely on a topographical basis In particular the transference neurosis the real object of psycho analytic study is still seen to be the result of a conflict between the ego and libidinous investment of an object

We are the more compelled now to accen tuate the libidinous character of the self pre servative instincts since we are venturing on the further step of recognizing the sexual in stinct as the Eros the all sustaining and of deriving the narcissistic libido of the ego from the sum of the libido quantities that bring about the mutual adherence of the somatic cells B[illegible] we now [illegible] this que[illegible] are also [illegible] have no [illegible] instincts at all than libidinous ones There are at least no others apparent In that event we must admit the critics to be in the right who from the first have su pected that psycho analysis makes sexuality the expla nation of everything or the innovators like Jung who quickly making up their minds have used *libido* as a synonym for *instinctive force* in general Is that not so?

This result was at all events one not intended by us On the contrary we took as our starting point a sharp distinction between the ego instincts (=death instincts) and the sexual instincts (=life instincts) We were prepared indeed to reckon even the alleged self pre er vative instincts of the ego among death instincts a position which we have since corrected and withdrawn from Our standpoint was a dualistic one from the beginning and is so today more

[1] See O [illegible] p 399 above.

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[1] See *The Contributions to the Theory of Sex* and *Instincts and their Vicissitudes* [illegible] above.

[2] *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex.*

[illegible] *[Sabina] S[pielrein] and Destruction [illegible] Entstehung [des] Werdens* [illegible] has attempted to identify the libido concept itself with the theoretical concept of an impulsion towards death which is to be assumed on theoretical grounds. (See also Rank, *Der Künstler*.) All these attempts as the one in the text, indicate how much the need is felt for clarification in the theory of instinct, which we do not yet possess.

partition just as copulation between two individuals which soon after separate has a strengthening and rejuvenating effect (see above Lipschutz) There is no sign of degeneration in their descendants and they also seem to have gained the capacity for withstanding for a longer time the injurious results of their own metabolism I think that this one observation may be taken as a prototype of the effect of sexual intercourse also But in what way does the blendin of two slightly different cells bring about such a renewal of life? The experiment which substitutes for conjugation among protozoa the effect of chemical or even of mechanical stimuli admits of our giving a reply with certainty it comes about by the introduction of new stimulus masses This is in close agreement with the hypothesis that the life process of an individual leads from internal causes to the equalizing of chemical tensions i e to death while union with an individually different living substance increases these tensions—so to speak introduces new vital differentia which then have to be again lived out For this difference between the two there must naturally be one or more optima Our recognition that the ruling tendency of psychic life perhaps of nerve life altogether is the struggle for reduction keeping at a constant level or removal of the inner stimulus tension (the Nirvana principle as Barbara Low terms it) —a struggle which comes to expression in the pleasure principle—is indeed one of our strongest motives for believing in the existence of death instincts

But the course of our argument is still disturbed by an uneasy feelin that just in the case of the sexual instinct we are unable to demonstrate that character of a repetition compulsion which first put us on the track of the death instincts It is true that the realm of embryonic developmental processes offers an abundance of such repetition phenomena—the two germ cells of sexual propagation and their life history are themselves only repetitions of the beginning of organic life but the essential feature in the processes designed by the sexual instinct is nevertheless the mingling of two cells Only by this is the immortality of the living substance among the higher forms of life assured

To put it in other words we have to make enquiry into the origin of sexual propagation and the source of the sexual instincts in general a task before which the lay mind quails and which even specialists have not yet been able to solve Let us therefore make a condensed selection from all the conflicting accounts and opinions of whatever can be brou ht in o relation with our train of thought

One view deprives the problem of propagation of its mysterious attraction by representing it as part of the phenomenon of growth (multiplication by division germination budding) The arising of propagation by means of germ cells sexually differentiated mi ht be conceived in accordance with the sober Darwinian mode of though as a way of maintaining and utilizing for further development the advantage of the amphimixis which resulted in the first instance from the fortuitous conjugation of two protozoa *Sex* would not thus be of very ancient origin and the extraordinarily powerful instincts which aim at brin ing about sexual union would thereby repeat something which once chanced to happen and since became established as being advantageous

The same question now recurs as arose in respect of death—namely whether the protozoa can be credited with anything beyond what they exhibit and whether we may assume that forces and processes which become perceptible only in the case of the hi her animal did first arise in the more primitive For our purpose the view of sexuality mentioned above helps very little The objection may be raised against it that it presupposes the existence of life instincts as already operative in the simplest forms of life for otherwise conjugation which works against the expiration of life and makes the task of dying harder would not have been retained and elaborated but would have been avoided If then we are not to abandon the hypothesis of death instincts maintained we must associate them with life instincts from the be inning But we must admit that we are working here at an equation with two unknown quantities Anything el e that science can tell us of the origin of sexuality amounts to so little that this problem may be likened to an obscurity into which not even the ray of an hypothesis has penetrated In quite another quarter however we encounter such an hypothesis but it is of so fantastic a kind—assuredly a myth rather than a scientific explanation—

Loc cit

Alth gh W m (D K mpf m 89) d es th d t g F t l w y g fies j t w g l l fe— l l l w y ece ssary f th l g b t d tw d ff t l th res lt f se

that I should not e ture to bring t forward if it did not exactl fulfil th one cond t on for the fulfilment of which we are labouring That is t say it deri es an instinct f om the *cessity for the es stateme t of a ea l er* ...

I refer of course to the theory that Plato n his *Sympos m* puts into the mo th of Aristo...es and which deals not o ly w th the gin of the exual in tinct but also with its most important variations in relation to the b ect. "Human nat e was onc quite other than ow Originally th re w re three e es t ree and n t as today two bes des the m l and th fem le there ex ted a third sex ...ich had a equal hare in the two first. In these beings everything was do ble thus they had four hands and four feet t o f ce two geni al parts and so on Then Zeu all wed himself to be pers aded to cut thes beings in tw as e di des pears t t w th m. When all nature was d ded in this way to ea h human bein came the lo ging fo his own t half d the t hal s embraced nd entwi ed th ir bodies *and d sired to grow t g ther g n*

Are we to foll w the clue of the poet philos ...her and make th dar g as mpt on that livi substance was at th time f its animati

rent into small particle which s nce that t me stri e for reun on by means of the sexual in stincts? That the e in tincts—in which the ch m cal affin ty of inanimate matter is con t nued—pa i g through the realm of the protozoa gradually overcome all hindrances r by an env ro ment charged ...elled And sub- ...ation in a highly co centrated form the instinct for re union I think this is the point at which to break off

But not without a few words of critical re ...

I seeking to arouse con cti n in others More a curately I do not know how far I believe in them It seems to me that the affect e feature *co tict on* need not come nto con s d rat on at all here One may surely give o eself up to a line of thou ht d follow it up as fa as t leads s mply o t of cie t fic cu o ity or—if you prefer—as *dvoc us d b l* w thout however maki g a pact w th the devil about it I am perfectly ware that the thi d tep in the theory of i tinct which I am taking here cannot claim the same certainty as the tw forme ones vi.., th extending of the onc ption of exuality and the est bli h g of arcis sm These inno ations were direct translati s of bservation int theory ubject

of the repetit o -compuls on. But pe haps I ha e o erestimated th r s gn fica e At all ev ts there is way of w king out this idea e cept by ombining f ts with pure im gina t on many times in succ ss and th eby de parting f r from b rv t n W kn w that the final ult becomes the more untrustworthy th fte er one does thi in th course of build ing up theory b t the precise degree of un ert nty not ascertainable One m y th reby h e made a brilli t disco ry or o e may h e g e gn min usly astr y I h wo k I trust littl t so-c lled *t on* what I have seen of t seems t m t be the result f a certain mpartiality f th t llect—only that pe pl unfortun t ly are seld m impartial

I am debted t Prof Hei ch Gompe f Vienna f the following ind ca ns the ri f the Pla nic myth hich I repea p rtly i his own words I should lik call tt on th f ...

scarcel detra f m th gnificance f the ci denc in thoug t, f Pl uld ha dop ed any uch ry ed in some w from Ori tal ...

where they are concerned with the ultimate things the great problems of science and of life My belief is that there everyone is under the sway of preferences deeply rooted within into the hands of which he unwittin ly plays as he pursues his speculation Where there are such good grounds for distrust only a tepid feeling of indulgence is possible towards the results of one s own mental labours But I hasten to add that such self criticism does not render obligatory any special tolerance of diver ent opinions One may inexorably reject theories that are contradicted by the very first steps in the analysis of observation and yet at the same time be aware that those one holds oneself have only a tentative validity Were we to appraise our speculations upon the life and death instincts it would disturb us but little that so many processes go on which are surprisin and hard to picture such as one instinct being expelled by others or turning from the ego to an object and so on This comes only from our being obliged to operate with scientific terms i e with the metaphorical expressions peculiar to psychology (or more correctly psychology of the deeper layers) Otherwise we should not be able to describe the corresponding processes at all nor in fact even to have remarked them The shortcomings of our description would probably disappear if for the psychological terms we could substitute physiological or chemical ones These too only constitute a metaphorical language but one familiar to us for a much longer time and perhaps also simpler

On the other hand we wish to make it quite clear that the uncertainty of our speculation is enhanced in a high degree by the necessity of borrowing from biological science Biology is truly a realm of limitless possibilities we have the most surprisin revelations to expect from it and cannot conjecture what answers it will offer in some decades to the questions we have put to it Perhaps they may be such as to over throw the whole artificial structure of hypoth eses If that is so someone may ask why does one undertake such work as the one set out in this art ¹
to the v
the ana
traced a

I w uld be bj f w w ds t l ify om cl t o wh ch h d g ce t d l pm nt th se l d scu Wh t se l f t L w th gh th l tl t th se d t th f nct of p p g t W th r ts ed th term wh th fi d g f p ycho-

VII

If this attempt to reinstate an earlier con dition really is so universal a characteristic of the instincts we should not find it surpri n that so many processes in the psychic life are performed independently of the pleasure prin ciple This characteristic would communicate itself to every part instinct and would in that case concern a harking back to a definite point on the path of development But all that the pleasure principle has not yet acquired power over is not therefore necessarily in opposition to it and we have not yet solved the problem of determining the relation of the instinctive repetition processes to the domination of the pleasure principle

We have recognized that one of the earliest and most important functions of the psychic apparatus is to *bind* the instreaming instinctive excitations to substitute the *secondary process* for the *prima y process* dominatin them and to transform their freely mobile energy charge into a predominantly quiescent (tonic) charge During this transformation no attention can be paid to the development of the pain but the pleasure principle is not thereby annulled On the contrary the transformation takes place in the service of the pleasure principle the binding is an act of preparation which intro duces and secures its sovereignty

ly mpell d t g d ts lat t p p g t l ss l W th th d ry f t l b d d the t s f th l b d -c cept t the d d l ell the u l nst t b m f us t f m d t th E th t de t mpel th epa t p t f l g m tt t th d t h ld th m tog th wh t comm ly called th l t ppe s th t p r f th t

t t b t wh h th pt l th eg l t h d g p hap ha d to w O g lly w ppl d th t m t ll th se i t ct-d t o s— w b tte k w t —whi h b d ti g i hed f om th se l i tl t th t h th bj t s th m th

l v d tra t betwee eg t c d ru l t t wa w rt d l t be tw g t d bj t t t b th l b d t l it pl h w ve se w t t betwee l b d us (g d bject) t ts d th rs wh se t b d t m d l th g d pe h p b d t t d i th d t ti t t Sp l t t f rm th t t l t that of l f l t ts (E) d d th ti ts

Let us disti gui h funct on and tendency more harply than we ha e hitherto d ne The pl re p ciple s then, a tendency which subserves a certain funct o —namely that of rendering the p chic apparatus as a whole free f om any e c tat o or to keep the amount of excitatio con ta t or as low as poss ble W cannot yet de de with certainty fo either f these co ceptions but we note th t the fu c ti so d fi ed would partake of the most universal tend cy of all liv ng matter—to re-t rn to th pe ce f the inorgan c wo ld W all know by experie ce th t the greatest pleasure it po s ble for us t atta that of the sexual act, is bound up with the temporary que ching of a greatly he ghte ed tate of exc tation The bind g f n tin t e c tati n, however would be a preparatory function which would direct th e citatio towards its ltimate adj stment in the plea ure of di charge

In the same c nnect o th qu t on ari es heth the nsations of pl asure and pain can emanate w ll f om th bo d a fr m th *unbound* exc tatio p oce ses It appea s quite beyond d bt that the *u bound* the pri mary p oc es gi e e to much mo e inte e sensations in both directi ns than the bound o es those of the *sec d ry processes* Th primary p oces a e ls th lier po t f tim at the beginning of mental life there are o oth rs d w may c lude that if the plea pri ciple we t alre dy n act n in espect to th m t w ld ot establish it elf in rega d t the late p o es We th arri e at th re ult which t b ttom is t a simple on that th sea h f pleasu e m f ts t lf with f gre t inte s ty at the beginnin f psych lif than late b t less unre tricted ly it has t p t p with repeated b ea hes At mature g the d mina ce f the pleas re principl i very m ch m ured thou h this principl s littl esc pes l m tations s all th th in ti t In any a whatever t i in the process f e citat o that g nders the ensat n f plea d pain must be equally in existen wh n the sec dary p ess is at w rk as with the primary process

This would seem to be the place to in titute further studies Our con c ou ne s co veys to us f om within not only the sensations of plea ure a d pa n but also those of a pecul ar tens on which aga n may be e ther pl a urable or pa ful in it lf Now is it the *bou d* and *u bo d* en rgy p oce ses that we have to d s tingu h from each other by the help of these sensati ns or is the sen at n of tension to be related to the absolute quantity pe haps to th le el of the charge while the plea ure pain series refers to the chan es in the quant ty of charge in the un t of time? We m st also be struck with the fact that the life i ti cts have m ch more to do with our inner percept on here is experie ced as pleas e while the death i stin t on the othe hand seem to fulfil the r funct on uno tentatiou ly The plea ure prin cipl eems d rectly to subserve the death in stin ts it ke p gu d of course al o over the ext rnal timuli which are regarded as da gers by both kinds of n t cts but n part cular over the nner i c ea es in stimulatio which ha e for th r aim the compl e ti of the task of l ing At thi po t innum rable ther q estio a i e t wh ch no answ r can yet be gi en W must be pat t and w t for other means and opportun ties for in e t g t on We must h ld oursel es too in read ness to aban don the path we ha e foll w d for a time if it should seem t l d to no good result Only such true bel e rs as expect f om science a subst t te for the creed th y have relin qu h d will take t am ss if the in e tigator de lop h s iews f rther or e en transforms th m

For the rest we m y fi d consolation in the w ds f po t for the slow rate of progress in sc ent fic knowl dg

Wh ther w t fly u m t g l mp g
Th S ript th th t limp g is sin

Ruck t in th *M k men d H* i.

Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego

I Introduction

THE contrast between individual psychology and social or group psychology which at a first glance may seem to be full of significance loses a great deal of its sharpness when it is examined more closely It is true that individual psychology is concerned with the individual man and explores the paths by which he seeks to find satisfaction for his instincts but only rarely and under certain exceptional conditions is individual psychology in a position to disregard the relations of this individual to others In the individual s mental life someone else is invariably involved as a model as an object as a helper as an opponent and so from the very first individual psycholo y is at the same time social psychology as well—in this extended but entirely justifiable sense of the words

The relations of an individual to his parents and to his brothers and sisters to the object of his love and to his physician—in fact all the relations which have hitherto been the chief subject of psycho analytic research—may claim to be considered as social phenomena and in this respect they may be contrasted with certain other processes described by us as *na cis sistic* in which the satisfaction of the in tincts is partially or totally withdrawn from the influence of other people The contrast between social and narcissistic—Bleuler would perhaps call them *autistic*—mental acts therefore falls wholly within the domain of individual psychology and is not well calculated to differentiate it from a social or group psychology

The individual in the relations which have already been mentioned—to his parents and to his brothers and sisters to the person he is in love with to his friend and to his physician—comes under the influence of only a single person or of a very small number of persons each one of whom has become enormously important to him Now in speaking of social or group p ychology it has become usual to leave the e relations on one side and to isolate as the subject of inquiry the influencing of an individual by a large number of people simultaneously people with whom he is connected by something though otherwise they may in many respects be strangers to him Group psychology is therefore concerned with the individual man as a member of a race of a nation of a caste of a profession of an institution or as a component part of a crowd of people who have been organized into a group at some particular time for some definite purpose When once natural continuity has been severed in this way it is easy to regard the phenomena that appear under these special conditions as bein expres ions of a special instinct that is not further reducible the social instinct (herd instinct group mind) which does not come to light in any other situations But we may perhaps venture to object that it eems difficult to attribute to the factor of number a significance so great as to make it capable by it elf of arousin in our mental life a new instinct that is otherwise not brought into play Our expectation is therefore directed towards two other possibilities that the social instinct may not be a primitive one and insusceptible of dis ection and that it may be possible to discover the beginnings of its development in a narrower circle such as that of the family

Although group psycholo y is only in its infancy it embraces an immense number of separate issues and offers to investigators countless problems which have hitherto not even been properly distinguished from one another The mere classification of the different forms of group formation and the description of the mental phenomena produced by them require a great expenditure of observation and exposition and have already given ri e to a copious literature Anyone who compares the narrow dimen ions of this little book with the extent of group psychology will at once be able to guess that only a few points chosen from the whole material are to be dealt with here

G oup Is u ed th gh t th t l t eq l t t the th m mp h Ge m M Th th th l tt w d t d both M D gall g p d l Le B f l wh h w ld m t lly be t l t d ed E l h Fo th sak f u f m ty h w g p h bee p l ed i th w ll d has bee subst t ted fo owd i th t ts f m th E gl sh t a l t n of Le B —TR.

And they will in fact only be a few questions with which the depth psychology of psychoanalysis is specially concerned.

II. LE BON'S DESCRIPTION OF THE GROUP MIND

INSTEAD of starting from a definition, it seems more useful to begin with some indication of the range of the phenomena under review and to select from among them a few specially striking and characteristic facts to which our inquiry can be attached. We can achieve both of these aims by means of quotation from Le Bon's deservedly famous work, *Psychologie des Foules*.

Let us make the matter clear once more. If a psychology concerned with exploring the predispositions, the instincts, the motives and the aims of an individual man down to his actions and his relations with those who are nearest to him, had completely achieved its task, and had cleared up the whole of these matters with their inter-connections, it would then suddenly find itself confronted by a new task which would lie before it unachieved. It would be obliged to explain the surprising fact that under a certain condition this individual whom it had come to understand thought, felt and acted in quite a different way from what would have been expected. And this condition is his insertion into a collection of people which has acquired the characteristic of a 'psychological group.' What, then, is a 'group'? How does it acquire the capacity for exercising such a decisive influence over the mental life of the individual? And what is the nature of the mental change which it forces upon the individual?

It is the task of a theoretical group psychology to answer these three questions. The best way of approaching them is evidently to start with the third. Observation of the changes in the individual's reactions is what provides group psychology with its material; for every attempt at an explanation must be preceded by a description of the thing that is to be explained.

I will now let Le Bon speak for himself. He says: "The most striking peculiarity presented by a psychological group is the following. Whoever be the individuals that compose it, however like or unlike be their mode of life, their occupations, their character, or their intelligence, the fact that they have been transformed into a group puts them in possession of a sort of collective mind which makes them feel, think, and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them would feel, think, and act were he in a state of isolation. There are certain ideas and feelings which do not come into being, or do not transform themselves into acts except in the case of individuals forming a group. The psychological group is a provisional being formed of heterogeneous elements, which for a moment are combined, exactly as the cells which constitute a living body form by their reunion a new being which displays characteristics very different from those possessed by each of the cells singly" (p. 29).

We shall take the liberty of interrupting Le Bon's exposition with glosses of our own, and shall accordingly insert an observation at this point. If the individuals in the group are combined into a unity, there must surely be something to unite them, and this bond might be precisely the thing that is characteristic of a group. But Le Bon does not answer this question; he goes on to consider the alteration which the individual undergoes when in a group and describes it in terms which harmonize well with the fundamental postulates of our own depth psychology.

"It is easy to prove how much the individual forming part of a group differs from the isolated individual, but it is less easy to discover the causes of this difference.

"To obtain at any rate a glimpse of them it is necessary in the first place to call to mind the truth established by modern psychology, that unconscious phenomena play an altogether preponderating part not only in organic life, but also in the operations of the intelligence. The conscious life of the mind is of small importance in comparison with its unconscious life. The most subtle analyst, the most acute observer, is scarcely successful in discovering more than a very small number of the conscious motives that determine his conduct. Our conscious acts are the outcome of an unconscious substratum created in the mind in the main by hereditary influences. This substratum consists of the innumerable common characteristics handed down from generation to generation, which constitute the genius of a race. Behind the avowed causes of our acts there undoubtedly lie secret causes that we do not avow, but behind these secret causes there are many others more secret still, of which we ourselves are ignorant. The greater part of our

The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind (Fisher Unwin, 5th Impression, ...)
See footnote page 664.—TR.

References are to the English translation.—TR.

daily actions are the result of hidden motives which escape our observation (p 30)

Le Bon thinks that the particular acquirements of individuals become obliterated in a group and that in this way their distinctiveness vanishes The racial unconscious emerges what is heterogeneous is submerged in what is homogeneous We may say that the mental superstructure the development of which in individuals shows such dissimilarities is removed and that the unconscious foundations which are similar in everyone stand exposed to view

In this way individuals in a group would come to show an average character But Le Bon believes that they also display new characteristics which they have not previously possessed and he seeks the reason for this in three different factors

The first is that the individual forming part of a group acquires solely from numerical considerations a entiment of invincible power which allows him to yield to instincts which had he been alone he would perforce have kept under restraint He will be the less disposed to check himself from the consideration that a group being anonymous and in consequence irresponsible the sentiment of responsibility which always controls individuals disappears entirely (p 33)

From our point of view we need not attribute so much importance to the appearance of new characteristics For us it would be enough to say that in a group the individual is brought under conditions which allow him to throw off the repressions of his unconscious instincts The apparently new characteristics which he then displays are in fact the manifestations of this unconscious in which all that is evil in the human mind is contained as a predisposition We can find no difficulty in understanding the disappearance of conscience or of a sense of re ponsibility in these circumstances It has long been our contention that dread of so ciety *(so iale Angst)* is the essence of what is called *conscience*

The second cause which is contagion also intervenes to determine the manifestation in groups of their special characteristics and at the same time the trend they are to take Contagion is a phenomenon of which it is easy to establish the presence but that it is not easy to explain It must be classed amon those phenomena of a hypnotic order which we shall shortly study In a group every sentiment and act is contagious and contagious to such a degree that an individual readily sacrifices his personal interest to the collective interest. This is an aptitude very contrary to his nature and of which a man is scarcely capable except when he makes part of a group (p 33)

We shall later on base an important conjecture upon this last statement

A third cause and by far the most important determines in the individuals of a group special characteristics which are quite contrary at times to those presented by the isolated individual I allude to that su estibility of which moreover the contagion mentioned above is only an effect

To understand this phenomenon it is necessary to bear in mind certain recent physiological discoveries We know today that by various processes an individual may be brou ht into such a condition that having entirely lost his conscious personality he obeys all the suggestions of the operator who has deprived him of it and commits acts in utter contradiction with his character and habits The most careful investigations seem to prove that an individual immersed for some len th of time in a group in action soon finds himself—either in consequence of the magnetic influence given out by the group or from some other cause of which we are ignorant—in a special state which much resembles the state of fascination in which the hypnotized individual finds himself in the hands of the hypnotizer The conscious personality has entirely vanished will and discernment are lost All feelings and thou hts are bent in the direction determined by the hypnotizer

Such also is approximately the state of the individual forming part of a psychological group He is no longer conscious of his acts In his case as in the case of the hypnotized subject at the same time that certain faculties are destroyed others may be brought to a high degree of exaltation Under the influence of a su gestion he will undertake the accompli h ment of certain acts with irresistible impetuosity This impetuosity is the more irresistible in the case of groups than in that of the hypnotized subject from the fact that the suggestion

Th m d ff ce b tw Le B s v w a d s w g t h pt f th qu t s s L m t d as a m

ve d Le B n.

being the same for all the ind viduals of the group it gains in strength by rec p ocity (p 34)

We s e the that the di appearance of the co sci us personal ty the predomi ance of the unconsci us personality the turn ng by means of suggest on and contag on of feelings and ideas in an identical direct on the tendency imm di tely to transform the su gested ideas into acts these we see are the pri c pal char acte tics of the nd vidual forming part of a group H is n lo ger himself but has become aut maton who has ceas d to be gu ded by his ll (p 35)

I ha e qu ted this pas age so fully in order h I B n xpla ns the

ings (p 36) He then dwells especially upon the lowering in intellectual ab l ty which an ind vidual experiences when he becomes merged in a group

Let us now leave the ind vidual and turn to the group m nd as it has been outlined by Le Bon It shows not a s gle feature which a w ld fi d any difficulty in plac

of ch ld en (p 40)

A g oup is impulsi e changeable and irrita ble It is led almost e clusi ely by the uncon sc ous The imp lses which a group obeys may accord ng to circumstances be generous or cruel heroic or cowardly but they are always t not e n

po t b t w h o ly to emph th fact th t the two last a e f n d ndual bec m ng altered i a group (the contagi and the h ght d s g estib lity) are e dently not on a pa snce the c t g o seems actu lly to be m nif t t o f the s g e tib l ty Moreover the eff ts of the two factors do not e m to be sharply d ffer t at d th text of Le Bon s rema k We may perh ps best terp et his t t ment f we c e t the c tag on with the effe t of the ind d al members of the group upo o the whil we point to a oth r urce for th m fest t o s of suggesti n in the gr up h h p t a le el w th the phe m a f hyp t c i flue e B t to what s ur e? W an ot o d b ing struck with a sen of defi cy wh w oti e that one of the hi f elem t f th comparis namely th perso who s t eplac the hypn t t in th cas f th gro p n t me t d L B xpo t But h nev th le s d t gu h bet e thi fi ce of fasc t n wh h emai pl ged in b curity and the co t g u eff t hi h the ind duals e upo e a othe a d by whi h the origin l sugg tio is t e gthe d.

He is y t th mportant con derat f h lping us to d rst d the individual in a gr up Moreo e by th m e fact th t he form part of a organized group a man de s ends se e al rungs the ladder of ci liza t o I l ted h may be lt ated ind d ual in c d h is a b b ria —that is creat e acting b t ct H po sess s th spo tan ty the l th f city and also the enthusia m and heroism of primitive be

perse era ce It cannot tolerate any delay be tween its d si e and the fulfilment of what it des res It has a sense of omn potence the no tion of mposs b l ty d sappears for the indi d ual n a group

A g oup is e t aord a ily c edulous and

states of free imag natio) and who e agre me t with real ty is n ver check d by any r onable f ct on (*Insta*) The f el n s of a group lways very s mple and ery exag gerated So that a group knows ne the doubt nor u certainty

C mp Schill coupl t *J der kt m h ei l i t l idl h kl g nd er d g S d* rpo *gl h w d eu h D mm k pl d* [*E ery by h m ll i p bly h ewd nd d er g Wh th* rpore *then i ghtw y y ll find h*]—TR

U sed h rrectly by Le B l the descrip se wh re it doe t ly m the pr d

C mp *T m d T b* III *A m m M gi d h Om p f Th ght*

I th i rp t t f dre m t wh h d d w bes k wledg f sc m tal l f w f ll w ech cal rul f d d g d bt d rt ty th f th dre m d f

un erta y as al p oce ses. They m y t rally

It goes directly to extremes if a suspicion is expressed it is instantly changed into an incontrovertible certainty a trace of antipathy is turned into furious hatred (p 56)

Inclined as it itself is to all extremes a group can only be excited by an excessive stimulus Anyone who wishes to produce an effect upon it needs no logical adjustment in his arguments he must paint in the most forcible colours he must exaggerate and he must repeat the same thing again and again

Since a group is in no doubt as to what constitutes truth or error and is conscious moreover of its own great strength it is as intolerant as it is obedient to authority It respects force and can only be slightly influenced by kindness which it regards merely as a form of weakness What it demands of its heroes is strength or even violence It wants to be ruled and oppressed and to fear its masters Fundamentally it is entirely conservative and it has a deep aversion from all innovations and advances and an unbounded respect for tradition (p 62)

In order to make a correct judgment upon the morals of groups one must take into consideration the fact that when individuals come together in a group all their individual inhibitions fall away and all the cruel brutal and destructive instincts which lie dormant in individuals as relics of a primitive epoch are stirred up to find free gratification But under the influence of suggestion groups are also capable of high achievements in the shape of abnegation unselfishness and devotion to an ideal While with isolated individuals personal interest is almost the only motive force with groups it is very rarely prominent It is possible to speak of an individual having his moral standards raised by a group (p 65) Whereas the intellectual capacity of a group is always far below that of an individual its ethical conduct may rise as high above his as it may sink deep below it

Some other features in Le Bon's description show in a clear light how well justified is the identification of the group mind with the mind of primitive people In groups the most contradictory ideas can exist side by side and tolerate each other without any conflict arising from the logical contradiction between them But this is also the case in the unconscious mental life of individuals of children and of neurotics, as psycho analysis has long pointed out

A group further is subject to the truly magical power of words they can evoke the most formidable tempests in the group mind and are also capable of stilling them (p 117) Reason and arguments are incapable of combating certain words and formulas They are uttered with solemnity in the presence of groups, and as soon as they have been pronounced an expression of respect is visible on every countenance and all heads are bowed By many they are considered as natural forces as supernatural powers (p 117) It is only necessary in this connection to remember the taboo upon names among primitive people and the magical powers which they ascribe to names and words

And finally groups have never thirsted after truth They demand illusions and cannot do without them They constantly give what is

[illegible footnotes] … *The Interpretation of Dreams* … p 343 … p 386 … See *Totem and Taboo*

unreal precedence over what is real; they are almost as strongly influenced by what is untrue as by what is true. They have an evident tendency not to distinguish between the two (p. [illegible]).

We have pointed out that this predominance of the life of phantasy and of the illusion born of an unfulfilled wish is the ruling factor in the psychology of neuroses. We have found that what neurotics are guided by is not ordinary objective reality but psychological reality. A hysterical symptom is based upon phantasy instead of upon the repetition of real experience, and the sense of guilt in an obsessional neurosis is based upon the fact of an evil intention which was never carried out. Indeed, just as in dreams and in hypnosis, in the mental operations of a group the function of testing the reality of things falls into the background in comparison with the strength of wishes with their affective cathexis.

What Le Bon says on the subject of leaders of groups is less exhaustive, and does not enable us to make out an underlying principle so clearly. He thinks that as soon as living beings are gathered together in certain numbers, no matter whether they are a herd of animals or a collection of human beings, they place themselves instinctively under the authority of a chief (p. 134). A group is an obedient herd, which could never live without a master. It has such a thirst for obedience that it submits instinctively to anyone who appoints himself as its master.

Although in this way the needs of a group carry it half way to meet the leader, yet he too must fit in with it in his personal qualities. He must himself be held in fascination by a strong faith (in an idea) in order to awaken the group's faith; he must possess a strong and imposing will, which the group, which has no will of its own, can accept from him. Le Bon then discusses the different kinds of leaders, and the means by which they work upon the group. On the whole he believes that the leaders make themselves felt by means of the ideas in which they themselves are fanatical believers.

Moreover, he ascribes both to the ideas and to the leaders a mysterious and irresistible power, which he calls 'prestige'. Prestige is a sort of domination exercised over us by an individual, a work or an idea. It entirely paralyzes our critical faculty, and fills us with astonishment and respect. It would seem to arouse a feeling like that of fascination in hypnosis (p. 148).

He distinguishes between acquired or artificial and personal prestige. The former is attached to persons in virtue of their name, fortune and reputation, and to opinions, works of art, etc., in virtue of tradition. Since in every case it harks back to the past, it cannot be of much help to us in understanding this puzzling influence. Personal prestige is attached to a few people, who become leaders by means of it, and it has the effect of making everything obey them as though by the operation of some magnetic magic. All prestige, however, is also dependent upon success, and is lost in the event of failure (p. 159).

We cannot feel that Le Bon has brought the function of the leader and the importance of prestige completely into harmony with his brilliantly executed picture of the group mind.

III. OTHER ACCOUNTS OF COLLECTIVE MENTAL LIFE

WE have made use of Le Bon's description by way of introduction, because it fits in so well with our own psychology in the emphasis which it lays upon unconscious mental life. But we must now add that as a matter of fact none of that author's statements bring forward anything new. Everything that he says to the detriment and depreciation of the manifestations of the group mind had already been said by others before him with equal distinctness and equal hostility, and has been repeated in unison by thinkers, statesmen, and writers since the earliest periods of literature. The two theses which comprise the most important of Le Bon's opinions, those touching upon the collective inhibi[illegible]

are the two notions of the unconscious and of the comparison with the mental life of primitive people, and even these had naturally often been alluded to before him.

But, what is more, the description and estimate of the group mind as they have been given by Le Bon and the rest have not by any means been left undisputed. There is no doubt that all the phenomena of the group mind which have just been mentioned have been correctly ob-

B. Kraskovic, jun., *Die Psychologie der Kollektivitäten*

Sighele ... Stiermann and Schelzer, *Zeitschrift für ... Psychologie* and experimentelle Pädagogik, 1915, xvi.

served but it is also possible to distinguish other manifestations of the gr ... which on ... from ... mind ... below

Le Bon himself was prepared to admit that in certain circumstances the morals of a group can be higher than those of the individuals that compose it and that only collectivities are capable of a high degree of unselfishness and devotion While with isolated individuals personal interest is almost the only motive force with groups it is very rarely prominent (p 65) Other writers adduce the fact that it is only society which prescribes any ethical standards at all for the individual while he as a rule fails in one way or another to come up to its high demands Or they point out that in exceptional circumstances there may arise in communities the phenomenon of enthusiasm which has made the most splendid group achievements possible

As regards intellectual work it remains a fact indeed that great decisions in the realm of thought and momentous discoveries and solutions of problems are only possible to an individual working in solitude But even the group mind is capable of genius in intellectual creation as is shown above all by language itself as well as by folk song folk lore and the like It remains an open question moreover how much the individual thinker or writer owes to the stimulation of the group in which he lives or whether he does more than perfect a mental work in which the others have had a simultaneous share

In face of these completely contradictory accounts it looks as though the work of group psychology were bound to come to an ineffectual end But it is easy to find a more hopeful escape from the dilemma A number of very different formations have probably been merged under the term *group* and may require to be distinguished The assertions of Sighele Le Bon and the rest relate to groups of a short lived character which some passing interest has hastily a glomerated out of various sorts of individuals The characteristics of revolutionary groups and especially those of the great French Revolution have unmistakably influenced their descriptions The opposite opinions owe their origin to the cons deration of those stable groups or associations in which mankind pass their lives and which are embodied in the institutions of society Groups of the first kind stand in the same sort of relation to those of the second as a high but choppy sea to a ground swell

McDou all in his book on *The Group Mind* starts out from the same contradiction that has just been mentioned and finds a solution for it in the factor of organization In the simple t case he says the *group* possesses no organiza tion at all or one scarcely deservin the name He describes a group of this kind as a *crowd* But he admits that a crowd of human beings can hardly come together with ...

... cute psychology can be observed with special ease (p 2) Before the members of a random crowd of people can constitute something in the nature of a group in the psychological sense of the word a condition has to be fulfilled these individuals must have something in common with one another a common interest in an object a similar emotional bias in some situation or other and (consequently I h ...

... psychological group and the more striking are the manifestations of a group mind

The most remarkable and also the most important result of the formation of a group is the exaltation or intensification of emotion produced in every member of it (p 24) In McDougall s opinion men s emotions are stirred in a group to a pitch that they seldom or never attain under other conditions and it is a pleasurable experience for those who are concerned to surrender them elves so unreservedly to their passions and thus to become merged in the group and to lose the sen e of the limits of their individuality The manner in which individuals are thus carried away by a common impulse is explained by McDougall by means of what he calls the principle of direct induction of emotion by way of the primitive sympathetic response (p 25) that is by means of the emotional contagion with which we are already familiar The fact is that the perception of the signs of an emotional state is calculated automatically to arouse the same emotion in the person who perceives them The greater the number of people in whom the same emotion can be simultaneou ly observed the stronger does this automatic compulsion grow The individual loses his power of criticism and lets himself slip into the same emotion But in so

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doing he increases the excitement of the other persons who had produced this effect upon him, and thus the emotional charge of the individuals becomes intensified by mutual interaction. Something is unmistakably at work in the nature of a compulsion to do the same as the others, to remain in harmony with the many. The coarser and simpler emotions are the more apt to spread through a group in this way (p. 39)

This mechanism for the intensification of emotion is favoured by some other influences which emanate from groups. A group impresses the individual with a sense of unlimited power and of insurmountable peril. For the moment, it replaces the whole of human society which is the wielder of authority, whose punishments the individual fears and for whose sake he has submitted to so many inhibitions. It is clearly perilous for him to put himself in opposition to it, and it will be safer to follow the example of those around him and perhaps even 'hunt with the pack'. In obedience to the new authority he may put his former conscience out of action, and so surrender to the attraction of the increased pleasure that is certainly obtained from the removal of inhibitions. On the whole, therefore, it is not so remarkable that we should see an individual in a group doing or approving things which he would have avoided in the normal conditions of life; and in this way we may even hope to clear up a little of the mystery which is so often covered by the enigmatic word 'suggestion'.

McDougall does not dispute the thesis as to the collective inhibition of intelligence in groups (p. 41). He says that the minds of lower intelligence bring down those of a higher order to their own level. The latter are obstructed in their activity because in general an intensification of emotion creates unfavourable conditions for sound intellectual work, and, further because the individuals are intimidated by the group and their mental activity is not free, and because there is a lowering in each individual of his sense of responsibility for his own performances.

The judgment with which McDougall sums up the psychological behaviour of a simple 'unorganized' group is no more friendly than that of Le Bon. Such a group 'is excessively emotional, impulsive, violent, fickle, inconsistent, irresolute and extreme in action, displaying only the coarser emotions and the less refined sentiments; extremely suggestible, careless in deliberation, hasty in judgment, incapable of any but the simpler and imperfect forms of reasoning; easily swayed and led, lacking in self-consciousness, devoid of self-respect and of sense of responsibility, and apt to be carried away by the consciousness of its own force, so that it tends to produce all the manifestations that we have learnt to expect of any irresponsible and absolute power. Hence its behaviour is like that of an unruly child or an untutored passionate savage in a strange situation, rather than like that of its average member; and in the worst cases it is like that of a wild beast, rather than like that of human beings' (p. 45).

Since McDougall contrasts the behaviour of a highly organized group with what has just been described, we shall be particularly interested to learn in what this organization consists ... The ... ons ... ber level.

The first and fundamental condition is that there should be some degree of continuity of existence in the group. This may be either material or formal: the former, if the same individuals persist in the group for some time; and the latter, if there is developed within the group a system of fixed positions which are occupied by a succession of individuals.

The second condition is that in the individual member of the group some definite idea should be formed of the nature, composition, functions and capacities of the group, so that from this he may develop an emotional relation to the group as a whole.

The third is that the group should be brought into interaction (perhaps in the form of rivalry) with other groups similar to it but differing from it in many respects.

The fourth is that the group should possess traditions, customs and habits, and especially such as determine the relations of its members to one another.

The fifth is that the group should have a definite structure, expressed in the specialization and differentiation of the functions of its constituents.

According to McDougall, if these conditions are fulfilled, the psychological disadvantages of the group formation are removed. The collective lowering of intellectual ability is avoided by withdrawing the performance of intellectual tasks from the group and reserving them for individual members of it.

It seems to us that the condition which McDougall designates as the 'organization' of

a group can with more justification be described in another way The problem consists in how to procure for the group precisely those features which were characteristic of the individual and which are extinguished in him by the formation of the group For the individual outside the primitive group possessed his own continuity his self consciousness his traditions and customs his own particular functions and position and kept apart from his rivals Owing to his entry into an unorganized group he had lost this distinctiveness for a time If we thus recognize that the aim is to equip the group with the attributes of the individual we shall be reminded of a valuable remark of Trotter s to the effect that the tendency towards the formation of groups is biolo ically a continuation of the multicellular character of all the hi her organisms

IV SUGGESTION AND LIBIDO

WE started from the fundamental fact that an individual in a group is subjected through its influence to what is often a profound alteration in his mental activity His emotions become extraordinarily intensified while his intellectual ability becomes markedly reduced both processes being evidently in the direction of an approximation to the other individuals in the group and this result can only be reached by the removal of those inhibitions upon his instincts which are peculiar to each individual and by his resigning those expressions of his inclinations which are especially his own We have heard that these often unwelcome consequences are to some extent at least prevented by a higher organization of the group but this does not contradict the fundamental fact of group psychology—the two theses as to the intensification of the emotions and the inhibition of the intellect in primitive groups Our interest is now directed to discovering the psychological explanation of this mental change which is experienced by the individual in a group

It is clear that rational factors (such as the intimidation of the individual which has already been mentioned that is the action of his instinct of self preservation) do not cover the observable phenomena Beyond this what we are offered as an explanation by authorities upon sociology and group psychology is always the same even though it is given various names and that is—the m gic word *suggestion* Tarde calls it imitation but we cannot help agreeing with a writer who protests that imitation comes under the concept of su gestion and is in fact one of its results Le Bon traces back all the puzzling features of social phenomena to two factors the mutual su estion of individuals and the prestige of leaders But prestige again is only recognizable by its capacity for evokin suggestion McDougall for a moment gives us an impression that his principle of primitive induction of emotion might enable us to do without the assumption of suggestion But on further consideration we are forced to perceive that this principle says no more than the familiar assertions about imitation or contagion except for a decided stress upon the emotional factor There is no doubt that something exists in us which when we become aware of signs of an emotion in someone else tends to make us fall into the same emotion but how often do we not successfully oppose it resist the emotion and react in quite an opposite way? Why therefore do we invariably give way to this contagion when we are in a group? Once more we should have to say that what compels us to obey this tendency is imitation and what induces the emotion in us is the group s suggestive influence Moreover quite apart from this McDougall does not enable us to evade suggestion we hear from him as well as from other writers that groups are distinguished by their special suggestibility

We shall therefore be prepared for the statement that suggestion (or more correctly suggestibility) is actually an irreducible primitive phenomenon a fundamental fact in the mental life of man Such too was the opinion of Bernheim of whose astonishing arts I was a witness in the year 1889 But I can remember even then feeling a muffled hostility to this tyranny of suggestion When a patient who showed himself unamenable was met with the shout What are you doing? *Vous vous contresuggestionnez!* I said to myself that this was an evident injustice and an act of violence For the man certainly had a right to counter su gestions if they were trying to subdue him with suggestions Later on my resistance took the direction of protesting against the view that suggestion which explained everything was itself to be preserved from explanation Thinking of it I repeated the old conundrum

I st ct of the Herd Pe c a d W Fisher U w 1916

Bru lles *L E c d phé mène s ci l* *Is eg t R ph l ph q* 9 3 xxv K d R cht *Der d t k S Ch t ph* Ber lin 896 *A t Germ* r

Chris o‸h trug Christum
Christus trug d e ga e W elt
Sag' wo hat Christoph
D mals h den F ss gestellt?[1]
Christ horus Chri tum s d Chri t s sust lit orbem
Cons' erit pedib s dic ubi Christophorus?

N w that I nc more ppro ch the ridd e of suggestion after ha ing kept away from it fo so thirty years I fi d there is no ha e in the situation. To this statement I ca disco er o y sing excepti n, whi h I need n t men tion, sin e it is one which bears witnes to the in ence of psycho-analys s. I notice that par ticular eff rts are being mad to formulate the ... correctly that s to fix

looser and looser meanin and will soon c me to designate y sort f infl ence whatever just as in English, where to suggest and sugges- tion correspo d to our *nah legen and Anre gang* But th re ha been no explanati n of the nature of suggestio that i of the c nditions unde which influence with ut dequate logical foundati takes pla e. I sh u.d not a oid the task of supporting this tatement by an analysis of the literature of the last thirty years f I were not aware that an exhausti e inquiry is being undertaken close t hand which has in view the fu.filment of this ery task.

In tead f this I hall make an attempt at using the o ept f *libido* f the purpose f throwing light po group psychology con- cept which has d e u h good service in the study f psych euroses.

Libido is an xp es on taken f m the theory of the emotions We call by that nam the energy (regarded as q t tative magnitude th h ot t prese t a tually mensurable) of those in.tin ts whi h ha e t d with all that may be comprised unde th word *lov* The l us f what w mea by lov na urally con ts (and this is what ommo ly called love, and wh t the poe.s ing f) m sexual lov with sexual uni s a.m. B t w do not separa e f m this—w.at in an case ha hare in the nam *love*—on th on ha d, self l and on the othe lo f parents and child friend ship and love f huma..ity in gen ral and lso devotion to co crete objects and to abstract ideas Our justification l es in the fact that psycho-analytic research has ta ght us that all these tendencies are an expression of the same in.t nctive act t es in relat ons between the sexes these in.tincts fo ce their way to- wards sexual un on but in other circumstances they are diverted from this aim or are pre vented from reachi g it thou h always pre rving enou h of the r original nature to keep their ident ty recognizable (as in such features as the longin for proxim ty a d self-sacrifice)

We re of op.nion, then, that langu e has carried out an e tirely justifiable p ece of uni ficat on in creati g the word *love* with its nu merous uses and that we cannot do better than take it as the ba s of our cient fic d cuss ons and expositions as well By coming to this de ci.i n psycho-analysis has l t loose a storm of ind gnation as though it had been guilty of an act of utrageous nnovation Yet psycho-analy sis has d n nothi original in taki g love in this 'wider sen. In i.s origin funct o and relat to sexual love the *Eros*[3] of the phil osop.er Plat coincides exactly w th th love for e the lib do of psycho-analys s as has been shown in detail by Nachman.ohn and Pfister and when the apostl P ul in his f mous epistle t the Corinthi ns prizes lov above all else he cert..nly understands t in the same 'wide sense B t this only hows that m n do not always take their great think rs seriou l, even whe they profess mo t to admire them

P ycho-analys then, gi es these love in stincts th name of sexual inst ncts *a po ori* and by rea.o of the r origin. The maj rity of educated people have regarded this nomen clatu e as .n insult and ha e taken their re ven by retortin upon psycho-analysis with the reproach of "pan sexualism. Anyon who c ns ders sex asometh g mort fying and hu mili tin to human n tu e is at l'bert to make use f the m re genteel expres ns E os and eroti I might ha e d so myself from the first and thus ha pared myself much pposi tion. But I did n t want to f I like to a o d co ces ns to faint heartedness One can never t ll wh that road may lead e gives w y first in words d then little b l tle in substance too I can..ot see any merit in being

[1] Li erall Christophe bore Chris Christ bore the hole world y where did Chris opher then put his foo ? —TR.

[2] Thus M Dougall A N e on gestion, *Jour* ... *f Neuro* ... *Psy hol gy* ... *ol* g ... V l. I, No.

[3] Nachmansohn, *F eud Libid h vergleichen m der Er slehr Pla I terna onale Z hr ft fur P ychoanal* s Vol III Pfiste Plat Fore-Runner f Psycho-Analysis *I ern tion l Jour nal f Psycho-Anal is* 9 Vol. III.

[4] "Though I speak with the tongues f men nd f angels and have no love I am become sounding ... tinkling cymbal.

ashamed of ex the Greek word *Eros* which is to soften the affront is in the end nothing more than a translation of our German word *Liebe* and finally he who knows how to wait need make no concessions

We will try our fortune then with the sup po ition that love relationships (or to use a more neutral expression emotional ties) also constitute the essence of the group mind Let us remember that the authorities make no men tion of any such relations What would corre spond to them is evidently concealed behind the shelter the screen of suggestion Our hy pothesis finds support in the first instance from two passing thoughts First that a group is clearly held together by a power of some kind and to what power could this feat be better as cribed than to Eros who holds together every thing in the world? Secondly that if an indi vidual gives up his distinctiveness in a group and lets its other members influence him by suggestion it gives one the impression that he does it because he feels the need of being in harmony with them rather than in opposition to them—so that perhaps after all he does it *ihnen u Liebe*

V TWO ARTIFICIAL GROUPS THE CHURCH AND THE ARMY

WE may recall from what we know of the morphology of groups that it is possible to distinguish very different kinds of groups and opposing lines in their development There are very fleeting groups and extremely lasting ones homogeneous ones made up of the same sorts of individuals and unhomogeneous ones nat ural groups and artificial ones requiring an external force to keep them together primi tive groups and highly organized ones with a definite structure But for reasons which have yet to be explained we should like to lay par ticular stress upon a distinction to which the authorities have rather given too little atten ion I refer to that between leaderless groups and those with leaders And in complete oppo sition to the usual practice we shall not choose a relatively simple group formation as our point of departure but shall begin with highly organized lasting and artificial groups The most interesting example of such structures are churches—communities of believers—and ar mies

A church and an army are artificial groups that is a certain external force is employed to prevent them from disintegrating and to check alterations in their structure As a rule a per son is not consulted or is given no choice as to whether he wants to enter such a group any attempt at leaving it is usually met with perse cution or with severe punishment or has qui e definite conditions attached to it It is quite o side our present interest to enquire why the e associations need such pecial safeguards We are only attracted by one circumstance namely that certain facts which are far more con cealed in other cases can be ob erved very clearly in those highly organized groups which are protected from dissolution in the manner that has been mentioned

In a church (and we may with advanta e take the Catholic Church as a type) as well as in an army however different the two may be in other respects the same illusion hold good of there being a head—in the Catholic Church Christ in an army its commander in-chief—who loves all the individuals in the group with an equal love Everything depend upon this illusion if it were to be dropped then both Church and army would dissolve so far as the external force permitted them to This equal love was expres ly enunciated by Christ Inas much as ye have done it unto one of the lea t of these my brethren ye have done it unto me He stands to the individual members of the group of believers in the relation of a kind elder brother he is their father surro ate All the demands that are made upon the individual are derived from this love of Christ s A demo cratic character runs through the Church for the very reason that before Christ everyone is equal and that everyone has an equal share in his love It is not without a deep reason that the similarity between the Christian commun ty and a family is invoked and that believers call themselves *brothers in Christ* that is brothers through the love which Christ has for them There is no doubt that the tie which unites each individual with Christ is also the cau e of the tie which unites them with one another The like holds good of an army The comman der in chief is a father who loves all his sold ers equally and for that reason they are comrad s among themselves The army differs structural ly from the Church in being built up of a series of such groups Every captain is as it were the commander in chief and the father of his company and so is every non-commissioned officer of his section It is true that a similar

A ld m m g f th sak Lit rally f lo e of them. —TR.

hierarchy has been constructed in the Church, but it does not play the same part in it economically, for more knowledge and care about individuals may be attributed to Christ than to a human commander-in-chief.

It is to be noticed that in these two artificial groups each individual is bound by libidinal ties on the one hand to the leader (Christ, the commander-in-chief) and on the other hand to the other members of the group. How these two ties are related to each other, whether they are of the same kind and the same value, and how they are to be described psychologically—these questions must be reserved for subsequent enquiry. But we shall venture even now upon a mild reproach against the authorities for not having sufficiently appreciated the importance of the leader in the psychology of the group, whereas our own choice of a first object for investigation has brought us into a more favourable position. It would appear as though we were on the right road towards an explanation of the principal phenomenon of group psychology—the individual's lack of freedom in a group. If each individual is bound in two directions by such an intense emotional tie, we shall find no difficulty in attributing to that circumstance the alteration and limitation which have been observed in his personality.

A hint to the same effect, that the essence of a group lies in the libidinal ties existing in it, is also to be found in the phenomenon of panic, which is best studied in military groups. A panic arises if a group of that kind becomes disintegrated. Its characteristics are that none of the orders given by superiors are any longer listened to, and that each individual is only solicitous on his own account, and without any consideration for the rest. The mutual ties have ceased to exist, and a gigantic and senseless dread (*Angst*) is set free.

... (the example of military panic) as a typical instance of that intensification of emotion by contagion ("primary induction") upon which he lays so much emphasis. But, nevertheless, this rational method of explanation is here quite inadequate. The very question that needs explanation is why the dread has become so gigantic. The greatness of the danger cannot be responsible, for the same army which now falls a victim to panic may previously have faced equally great or greater danger with complete success; it is of the very essence of panic that it bears no relation to the danger that threatens, and often breaks out upon the most trivial occasions. If an individual in panic dread begins to be solicitous only on his own account, he bears witness in so doing to the fact that the emotional ties, which have hitherto made the danger seem small to him, have ceased to exist. Now that he is by himself in facing the danger he may surely think it greater. The fact is, therefore, that panic dread presupposes a relaxation in the libidinal structure of the group and reacts to it in a justifiable manner, and the contrary view—that the libidinal ties of the group are destroyed owing to dread in the face of the danger—can be refuted.

The contention that dread in a group is increased to enormous proportions by means of induction (contagion) is not in the least contradicted by these remarks. McDougall's view meets the case entirely when the danger is a really great one and when the group has no strong emotional ties—conditions which are fulfilled, for instance, when a fire breaks out in a theatre or a place of amusement. But the really instructive case and the one ... be ... u... intc... ere. ... a degree that is usual and has

An objection will justly be raised against this conception of the libidinal structure of an army on the ground that no place has been found ... areas ... which ... gether ... ed ... the ex... ... g ... us, like Caesar, Wallenstein, or Napoleon, show that such ideas are not indispensable ... the existence of an army. We shall presently touch upon the possibility of a leading idea being substituted for a leader and upon the relations between the two. The neglect of this libidinal factor in an army, even when it is not the only factor operative, seems to be not merely a theoretical omission but also a practical danger. Prussian militarism, which was just as unpsychological as German science, may have had to suffer the consequences of this in the Great War. We know that the war neuroses which ravaged the German army have been recognized as being a protest of the individual against the part he was expected to play in the army; and according to the communication of E. Simmel (*Kriegsneurosen und Psychisches Trauma*, Munich, 1918), the hard treatment of the men by their superiors may be considered foremost among the motive forces ... ... was broken in the hands of the German leaders.

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An d m m g I th s k Literally fo lo e f th m —TR.

VI. FURTHER PRO LEMS A D LINES OF WORK

WE have h herto con d red two art ...cial g ... and ha e found t ... they are domina ed by two em ...ional ties One of these th tie with t e leader seems (at all events for these cases) t be more of a ruin f tor t an the other w ...h hold between the members of the group

Now m ...h lse remains t be examined and described in the morphology of groups We should have t start from the ascertained fa t that a mere collection of peopl is n t a group so long as these ties ha not been establi ed m t but we would have to admit that in ...y collection f people t tendency to form psych logical group may ery easily become prominent W hould have to give our tten tion t the diff rent kinds of groups more or less stabl that arise spontaneousl and to study the conditions of their rigin and of their disso ution We hould above all be co cerned with the distinction between groups which ha e a leader and lea e les groups We hould con sider whethe groups with leaders may no be the more primitive and complete whether in the others an idea, an bs racti n, ma n t be substituted fo the leader (tate of things to w h religious groups with their invisible hea form a tra tion a e) and whether a comm tendency a wish in which a umber f people can ha e hare ma n t in the same w serve as substitut This bstraction again, might be m re or less compet l em bodied in the figure f what we mi... call c ... lead and interesting varieties would arise from the relatio between the idea and the leader The leader or the leading dea migh also so t speak, be negati hatred ga...s particula person o in tutio mi ...t operate in just the sam unifying wa and mi ht cal up the sam kind f em t onal ties as positive attachment The the question would also arise bether leader is really indispensable t the esse ce f group—and ther questio besides

But all these question which may m re- over have been dealt with in part in the litera ture f gro p ps chology will not succeed in diverting our int rest f m the fundamental psychological prob ems t ... confr t in the structure f group And ur tten on will firs be ttracted by co ideration which promises t bring us in the most direct way to proof that l ...inal ties are wha charac terize a group.

Let us keep before our eyes t ... nature f the emotional relations which hold between men in general. Accord...g to Schopenhau r s famous im e of the free...g porcupines no one can tolerate a too i...timat approach to his neigh bour

The evidence of psycho-analysis hows that almost every intima e emotional relation be- tween two peo...e wh h la ts fo ome time— marriage frie d...p t e relatio...s be ween par ents and children —lea es a sediment of feel ings f a ersion and hostili y which have firs to be elimina ed by repress on. This is less dis guised in th common wrangl es between busi ness part ers r in th grumbl es of a s bordi na at h...s s perior The same th... happens wh n men come together in larger units. E ery time two families become connected by a mar riage each of them thinks itself superior to or of better birth than the other Of two neigh bouring towns each is the ot...e s most jealous rival every li tle ca n looks down upon the others with co tempt Closely rela ed races keep one a...othe a arm s length the South German can...t endure the North German the En... lishman ca...s every kind of asper on upon the Scotchman, the Spaniard despises th Portu guese We are no longer a tonished that greater differen es should lead t an almost insuperable repugnance su h as the Gallic people feel for the Germ...n the Aryan f r the Semite and the wh races f the co oured.

When this hostili y s directed again peo- p e wh are otherwise loved, we describe it as *ambivalen e* of feeli... and we explain th fact in what is probably far too ratio...al a ma...er by means of the num rous occa s f c nflicts of i... res which arise precisely in such intimat relat ons. In the unc...used antipathies a d ers ons which people feel to- wards rangers with whom they ha e to do we may recognize the expres on f self love— of narcissism. This self-love wo ks fo the self a rtion f the individual, and beha es as

muse and Per Som.

P rhaps w h the so tary exception f the rel ...ion f mo her be son hich is based on narcis- sism is no disturbed by subsequen ri lry and is rein orced by rudimentary temp sexual object- choice.

often been previously faced It is not to be expected that the usage of the word *panic* should be clearly and unambiguously deter mined Sometimes it is used to describe any collective dread sometimes even dread in an individual when it exceeds all bound and often the name seems to be reserved for cases in which the outbreak of dread is not warranted by the occasion If we take the word *panic* in the sense of collective dread we can establish a far reaching analogy Dread in an individual is provoked either by the greatness of a danger or by the cessation of emotional ties (libidinal cathexes [*Libidobeset ungen*]) the latter is the case of neurotic dread In just the same way panic arises either owing to an increase of the common danger or owing to the disappear ance of the emotional ties which hold the group together and the latter case is analogous to that of neurotic dread

Anyone who like McDougall *(op cit)* de scribes a panic as one of the plainest functions of the group mind arrives at the paradoxical position that this group mind does away with itself in one of its most striking manifestations It is impossible to doubt that panic means the disintegration of a group it involves the cessa tion of all the feelings of consideration which the members of the group otherwise show one another

The typical occasion of the outbreak of a panic is very much as it is represented in Nestroy s parody of Hebbel s play about Judith and Holofernes A soldier cries out The gen eral has lost his head! and thereupon all the Assyrians take to flight The loss of the leader in some sense or other the birth of mi givin s about him brings on the outbreak of panic though the danger remains the same the mu tual ties between the members of the group dis appear as a rule at the same time as the tie with their leader The group vani hes in dust like a Bologna flask when its top is broken off

The dissolution of a religious group is not so easy to observe A short time ago there came into my hands an English novel of Catholic origin recommended by the Bishop of London with the title *W hen It W as Da k* It gave a clever and as it seems to me a convincing pic ture of such a possibility and its consequences The novel which is supposed to relate to the present day tells how a conspiracy of enemies of the figure of Christ and of the Christian faith succeed in arranging for a sepulchre to be discovered in Jerusalem In this sepulchre is an inscription in which Jo eph of Arimathaea con fesses that for reasons of piety he secretly re moved the body of Christ from its grave on the third day after its entombment and buried it in this spot The resurrection of Christ and his divine nature are by this means disposed of and the result of this archaeolo ical discovery is a convulsion in European civilization and an extraordinary increase in all crimes and acts of violence which only ceases when the forgers plot has been revealed

The phenomenon which accompanies the dis solution that is here supposed to overtake a religious group is not dread for which the occasion is wanting Instead of it ruthless and hostile impulses towards other people make their appearance which owing to the equal love of Christ they had previously been unable to do But even during the kingdom of Christ those people who do not belong to the com munity of believers who do not love him and whom he does not love stand outside this tie Therefore a religion even if it calls itself the religion of love must be hard and unloving to those who do not belong to it Fundamentally indeed every religion is in this same way a reli ion of love for all those whom it embraces while cruelty and intolerance towards those who do not belong to it are natural to every re ligion However difficult we may find it per sonally we ou ht not to reproach believers too severely on this account people who are unbe lieving or indifferent are so much better off psychologically in this respect If today that intolerance no lon er shows itself so violent and cruel as in former centuries we can scarcely conclude that there has been a softening in human manners The cause is rather to be found in the undeniable weakening of rel gious feelings and the libidinal ties which depend upon them If another group tie takes the place of the religious one—and the socialistic tie seems to be succeeding in doing so—then there will be the same intolerance towards outsiders as in the age of the Wars of Religion and if differences between scientific opinions could ever attain a similar significance for groups the ame result would again be repeated with this new motivation

G er l I t duct n I P y h A ly Lect e x p 607 bo

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in general) it is on the co trary t pically mas culine It fits in very well with the Oedipus com lex f r which it h lps to prepare the way

At th same time as this dent fication with his father r a li tl later the boy has begun to develop a tr e object-cathexis toward his m her c rdin to the anacl t c t pe He then ex h therefore tw psychologicall di tinct ties a ra h f rward exual bject-cathexis towards his m th r and a typ al id ntification towards his f ther The two ub st s de by side for a time with ut an mutual influ nce i erferenc In o seque c of th rres t b advance towards un ficat o of me tal li they come together at la t and the nor mal Oedipus comple riginates from their confluen e The little bo not ces that his father stands in his w y with his mothe His identifi ca on with hi f th r th n takes n a hostile colouring and becomes dentical with th wish t replace his f ther in regard t his m ther as well. Identificati n, in fact, is amb valent from t e ry first t can turn into an expression of tend rnes as ea ily as int a wish f r some- o removal. It behaves like derivative of t e first *oral* phase f the rganizati f the lib do in which the bject that w lo g f r and prize a milated by eatin a d is in that way a nihilated as ch Th cannibal as we kn w has remai ed at this tandpoint he ha a d vouring affecti n f r his en mies and nly devours people f wh m he i f d

The subseq ent hist ry f this id t fication with the fath may as l be lost sight f It ma happe that the Oedipus c mpl becomes in rted and that th f the is taken s the bject of feminin tut de an obj ct f om w i h the directly sexual in t nct look for s fa tio in that eve t th dentificat on with th f th ha bec m the precur of an bj ct t with th f ther Th same holds good with the c ssary subst tuti ns of the bab da ht as well.

It is t tate in f rmula th distinction be ee an id tifi at on th the f th d the h f th f the as an bject. I the first ase ne f the is what would lik t *b* and in th e o d he is what would like to *h* The di tinct n that depends upo h the the t e ttaches t th bject t th bject f the ego. Th form i th re fore already po ble before any sexual object cho ce has been made It is much more d fficult to gi e a clear metapsychological represe tation of the distinction We can o l ee that id nti fic t on e dea urs to mo ld a person s own ego fter the fa hion of the one that has been t ke as a *model*

Let us disentan le iden fication as it occurs in the tructure of a neurot c symptom from its rather compl cated con ecti ns Suppo n that a little girl (and w will keep to her for the present) dev lops th ame painful symp- tom a her m ther—for in ta ce the same torment co h Now this may come about in various ways The identificat on ma come from the Oedipus complex in that ca e it g nifies a host l de ire on the girl s part to take her mother s place and the symptom expresses h object lo e towards her f ther and b ings about a re lizati n unde the influence of a sense of gu lt f her des re to take her mothe s place You wanted to be your moth r and now you *are*—an how as far as the pa n goes This is the complete mecha m of the truc tu e of an h terical symptom. O o the other ha d the ym t m m y be the sam as that of the person wh is lo ed—(f r in ta ce D ra in the Fragme t of an An lys s of a Case f H steria m t ted h fath r s cou h) that ca e we ca onl describe the tat of things by saying that *ident ficat on has appeared instead of object-choi e and that object ch ce has gr s d to ident fication* We have he rd that identification is the ea liest and riginal form f emotional tie t fte happens that unde the c dit o s in wh h mptoms re c structed that where there s repres o and wher the mecha ms of th unc n ci u are d minant object-cho ce s turned ba k int id t ficati n—th ego that is as- sumes th characteri t cs of the object It is n ticeabl that in these d tificat ons th ego metimes p e the person who is ot loved and s m times the o who l ed It must also strik us that both cases the identifi c t n is part l d ext em l limit d one and onl borr w a in le tr t from th person who t bj ct

Th e thi d particula ly frequent and important ca f symptom formatio in whi h th dentific ti n lea es y bj ct relat on to the pers n who is be cop ed nt ely ut of a unt Suppo ing f insta ce that of th gi l in boa di g chool has had lett f m som o e with whom she is secr tly in

Colle t d P per III.

though the occurrence of any d his own a c alte know why such sensitiveness should have been directed to just these details of differentiation but it that in of a re source known and to which one is tempted to ascribe an elementary character

But the whole of this intolerance vanishes temporarily or permanently as the result of the formation of a group and in a group So long as a group formation persists or so far as it extends individuals behave as thou h they were uniform tolerate other people s peculiarities put them elves on an equal level with them and have no feeling of aversion towards them Such a limitation of narcissism can according to our theoretical views only be produced by one factor a libidinal tie with other people Love for oneself knows only one barrier—love for others love for objects The question will at once be raised whether community of interest in itself without any addition of libido must not necessarily lead to the toleration of other people and to considerateness for them This objection may be met by the reply that nevertheless no lasting limitation of narcissism is effected in this way since this tolerance does not persist longer than the immediate advantage gained from the other people s collaboration But the practical importance of the discussion is less than might be supposed for experience has shown that in cases of collaboration libidinal larly prolo to a p same has b psycho analytic research in the course of the development of the individual libido The libido props itself upon the satisfaction of the great vital needs and chooses as its first objects the people who have a share in that process And in the development of mankind as a whole just as in individuals love alone acts as the civilizing factor in the sense that it br ngs a change from egoism to altruism And this is true both of the sexual love for women with all the obligations wh ch it involves of sparing what women are fond of and al o of the desexualised sublimated homosexual love for other men which prings from work in common

If therefore in groups narcissistic elf love is subject to limitations which do not operate outside them that is co ent evidence that the essence of a group formation consists in a new kind of libidinal ties among the members of the group

But our interest now leads us on to the pressing question as to what may be the nature of the e ties which exist in groups In the psychoanalytic study of neuroses we have hitherto been occupied almost exclusively with ties that unite with their objects tho e love in tincts which still pursue directly sexual aims In groups there can evidently be no question of sexual aims of that kind We are concerned here with love instincts which have been diverted from their original aims thou h they do not operate with less energy on that account Now we have already ob erved within the range of the usual exual object cathexis *(Objektbeset ung)* phenomena which represent a diversion of the instinct from its sexual aim We have de cribed them as degrees of being in love and have recognized that they involve a certain encroachment upon the ego We shall now turn our attention more closely to these phenomena of being in love in the firm expectation of finding in them conditions which can be transferred to the ties that exist in groups But we should also like to know whether this kind of object-cathexis as we know it in sexual life represents the only manner of emotional tie with other people or whether we must take other mechanisms of the sort into account As a matter of fact we learn from psycho analysis that there do exist other mechanisms for emotional tie the so called *identificat ons* insufficiently known processes and hard to describe the inve tiga tion of which will for some time keep us away from the subject of group psychology

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VII IDENTIFICATION

IDENTIFICATION is known to psycho analysis as the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person It plays a part in the early history of the Oedipus complex A little boy will exhibit a special interest in his father he would like to grow like him and be like him and take his place everywhere We may say simply that he takes his father as his ideal This behaviour has nothing to do with a passive or feminine attitude towards his father (and towards males

-criticism and bitter elf repro hes Analy ses have hown t at this disparagement and these reproaches apply at bottom to the object and represent the ego s revenge upon it. Th shadow of the object has fallen upon the ego as I have d elsewhere The introj ction of t bject is her unmistakably clear

But these melancholias also how us ome t ng else which may be of importance for our later discus ons They how us the ego divided fallen into two pieces one of which rages against the second. This second piece is the one which has been altered by introjecti n and which contains the lost object. But the p ece which behaves so cruelly not unknown to us either It comprises the conscience a critical faculty (*Instanz*) within the ego which even in normal times takes up a critical attitude towards the ego though never so relentles l and so unjustifiably On previous occasions we have been driven to the hypothesis that som uch faculty develops in our ego wh h may cut itself off from the rest f the ego and come into conflict with it. W have called it the *ego ideal* and by way of functions w have a cribed to it self-observation th moral conscience the censorship f dream and the chief influence in repression. W ha e aid that it is the heir t the original narci ism in which the childish ego found its self-sufficiency t gradually gathers up from the i uences of the environment the demands wh h that envi onment makes upon the ego and which the ego cannot always rise to so that man, w en he cannot be satis ed with his e lf may nevertheless be able t find sati f ction in the ego ideal which has been differentiated out of the ego In d lusions of observation as we have further shown, the disintegration f this faculty has become patent, d has thus revealed its origin in the influen of superi powers d bove all f parents. But we have not forgotten t d that the amount of distance between this ego ideal and the real ego is very variabl from one indi dual to another and that with many people this d erentiation within the ego does t go f rther than with children.

But be ore w can employ this material for understanding the libidinal organization f groups, we must take into ccount some other examples f the mutual rela ons between the bject and the eg

VIII BEING IN LOVE AND HYPNOSIS

EVEN in its caprices the usage of language re mains true to some kind of reality Thus i gives the name of *love* to a great ma y kinds of emotional relation h p which we too group togeth r theoretically as love but then again it feels a doubt whether this love is real true actual love and o hints at a whole scale of pos bi ties within range of th phenomena of love W all ha e no difficulty in making the same discovery emp rically

In one c s of cases, bein in love is nothi more than object-cathexis on the part of the w h ew t directl sexual

moreover

is what

is called *common sensual lo* as we know the libidinal ation rarely remains so

calculate with ertain

w h pursued by the erotic l f f man. In his first phase which has usually com to an end by the time he is fi e years ld, child has f und th firs object f his love in one or o her of his paren and all of his sexual instincts with their demand for sa isfaction ha e been united upon this bject Th rep es on which then sets in compels him to renounce the great numbe of these infantile sexual aim

Mourning and Melancholia, *Collected P per* IV —Tr.

"On Narcissism an Introduction [p 399 above] Mourning and Melancholia.

"On N rcissism an I oduction,

W re very well ware that we have not exhausted the nature f identification with these examples taken from pathology and that we have consequently l f part f the riddle f group formations untouched. A far more fundamental and comprehensive psychological analysis would ha to intervene this point. A path leads from identification by way of imitation to empathy that is to be comprehended f the mechanism by means f which we re enabled take up any ode al toward other mental li M reove there is still much be expl ined in the manifesta ions f ex ting identifica ions. These resul mong other things in person limiting his aggressiveness towards those with om he has iden ed

love which arouses her jealousy and that she reacts to it with a fit of hysterics then some of her friends who know about it will contract the fit as we say by means of mental infection The mechanism is that of identification based upon the possibility or desire of putting oneself in the same situation The other girls would like to have a secret love affair too and under the influence of a sense of guilt they also accept the pain involved in it It would be wrong to suppo e that they take on the symptom out of sympathy On the contrary the sympathy only ari es out of the identification and this is proved by the fact that infection or imitation of this kind takes place in circum tances where even less pre existing sympathy is to be as sumed than usually exists between friends in a girls school One ego has perceived a signifi cant analogy with another upon one point—in our example upon a similar readiness for emotion an identification is thereupon con structed on this point and under the influence of the pathogenic situation is displaced on to the symptom which the one ego has produced The identification by means of the symptom has thus become the mark of a point of coin cidence between the two egos which has to be kept repressed

What we have learned from these three sources may be summarized as follows First identification is the original form of emotional tie with an object secondly in a regressive way it becomes a substitute for a libidinal ob ject tie as it were by means of the introjection of the object into the e o and thirdly it may arise with every new perception of a common quality shared with some other person who is not an object of the sexual instinct The more important this common quality is the more successful may this partial identification be come and it may thus represent the beginning of a new tie

We already be˜in to divine that the mutual tie between members of a group is in the nature of an identification of this kind based upon an important emotional common quality and we may suspect that this common quality lies in the nature of the tie with the leader Another suspicion may tell us that we are far from having exhausted the problem of identification and that we are faced by the process which psycholo˜y calls *empatl y* (*Einfuhlung*) and wh h pl h

cation and shall leave on one side its signifi cance for our intellectual life

Psycho analytic research which has already occasionally attacked the more difficult prob lems of the psychoses has also been able to exhibit identification to us in some other cases which are not immediately comprehensible I shall treat two of these cases in detail as ma terial for our further consideration

The genesis of male homo exuality in a larg class of cases is as follows A young man has been unusually long and intensely fixated upon his mother in the sense of the Oedipus complex But at last after the end of his puberty the time comes for exchangin his mother for some other sexual object Things take a sudden turn the young man does not abandon his mother but identifies himself with her he transforms himself into her and now looks about for objects which can replace his ego for him and on which he can bestow such love and care as he has experienced from his mother This is a frequent process which can be confirmed as often as one likes and which is naturally quite independent of any hypothesis that may be made as to the organic drivin force and the motives of the sudden transformation A strik ing thing about this identification is its ample scale it remoulds the ego in one of its im portant features—in its sexual character—upon the model of what has hitherto been the object. In this process the object itself is renounced—whether entirely or in the ense of being pre served only in the unconscious is a question outside the present discussion Identification with an object that is renounced or lost as a substitute for it introjection of this object into the ego is indeed no longer a novelty to us A process of the kind may sometimes be directly ob erved in small children A short time ago an observation of this sort was published in the *Internationale Zeitschrift fur Psychoanalyse* A child who was unhappy over the loss of a kitten declared straight out that now he him self was the kitten and accordingly crawled about on all fours would not eat at table etc

Another such instance of introjection of the object has been provided by the analysis of melanchol a an affection which counts amon the most remarkable of its exc ting causes the real or emotional loss of a loved object A l ad ing characteristic of these cases is a cruel elf depreciation of the ego combined with relentless

b M K cu d w I ter B l t g al m Z l t h l ft hen j D k Psycho aly (9) V L VI.

kind of account creates an 'llu on of c ntra distinctions that have no real exist nce Eco- nomically there is no que tion of impo 'erı h ment or enrichment t is even poss'ble to describe an extreme case of being in lo e as a sta e in which the ego has introjected th ob- ject m itself Another distinction is perhaps better calcula ed to meet the es ence of the matter In the case of dentification the object has been lost o given up it is then set up again inside the ego, a d the ego makes a par tial alteration in itself after the model of the lost object. In the other ca e the object i re tained, and there is a hyper-cathexis of t by the ego and at the ego s expen e But h re again difficulty presents itself Is it quite certain that identification presupposes that ob- ject-cathexis has been gi en up? Can there be identification w th the object retained And before we emba k upon a di cuss o f this de ca e question, the pe cept on may already be beginning to dawn on u that yet another al erna e embra es th real es enc of the matt r nam ly *wh ther th object is put n the pl e of the go or of the ego ideal*

From being in lo e to hypn s s is e dently only h rt tep. Th respe ts in which the two gree re b us Th re is the same hum bl subj cti n, the sam c mplian e the same bsen f criticism t wards the hyp ot t j st as towards the loved bject. There is the same bsorpt o f one own initiat e no can d bt that the hyp tist has stepped into the pla e f the eg d al It is o ly that everything is even cleare and m re int nse in hypnosi so that t would be m t th point t explain being in lo e by means of hyp sis than the oth way round Th hypnotist is the sol ob- ject and ttention is paid to any but him. The fact that the e experiences in dream like way whateve h may req t r ert reminds us that w m tted to mention among the functi ns f th g deal th business f testing th reality f things w der that th eg takes a pe eptı n f r real f ts reality is ched f by the mental f culty which rdina ily di charges the d ty of testin the re lity f things Th omplete bse c f tend encies whi h are uninhib ted in the r xual aims contrib tes furth towards th ext me purity f the phen mena The hyp t relation is th devoti f omeo e in love to an un limited degree but with sexual satisf ctio ex cl ded whereas in the case of being in love

See Metapsychological Supplemen to the Theory of Dreams Collected P er IV

this kind of satisfaction is only temporarily kept back and remains in the background as a poss ble aim at some later time

But on the other hand we may also say that the h pnotic relat on is (if the expression is permiss ibl) a gr up formation w th two members Hypno is is not a good object for comparison with a group formation because it is truer t say that t is identical with it. Out of the complicated fabric of the group it iso- lates one element for us—the behaviour of the indi dual to the leader Hypnos s is di tin guished from a group formation by this l mita tion of number just as t is distinguished from bein love by the absence of di ectly sexual te de cies In this respect it occupies a middle positi n between the two

It is interestin to see that it is precisely those exual tendencies that are nhib ted in thei aims whi h chie e such lasting ties be- ... d rstood

en rgy e ery time the sexual aim is attai ed It i the fate f sensual love to become extin gu hed when it is satisfied for t to be able to last it mu t f om th first be mixed with purely tende components—with such that is as a e inhib ted in the r aims—o it mu t itself

tures which are n t met by the rati al xpla nat on we ha e hitherto gi en of t as state of bein love with the d ectly sexual te d e cies exclud d There s still a great d al in it which we must recognize as un xplai ed and mystical. It co tains an additio al element of paralysis deri ed fr m the relati n between someo with uperio powe and someone who is w thout powe and helpless—whi h may af ford tran. t n to the hypn is of t rror which occurs in animals The manner in which t is prod ced and its relationship to leep are not clear and the puzzling way which some peo- pl are subj ct to it, whil oth rs re st it c m pl tely points t some factor till unkn wn which is realized in t and whi h perhaps lo makes po sibl th purity of th attit des of th lib d whi h t exhib ts It is noticeable th t even when there is c mplete suggesti e c mpliance in other respects the m ral on sci of the person hypn ti ed may how

must be de cribed as being inhibited in their aim [ielgehemmte] The emotions which he feels henceforward towards these objects of his love are characterized as *tender* It is well known that the earlier *sensual* tendencies re main more or less strongly preserved in the unconscious so that in a certain sense the whole of the original current continues to exist

At puberty as we know there set in new and very strong tendencies with directly sexual aims In unfavourable cases they remain separate in the form of a sensual current from the tender emotional trends which persist We are then faced by a picture the two aspects of which certain movements in literature take such de light in idealizing A man of this kind will show a sentimental enthusiasm for women whom he deeply respects but who do not excite him to sexual activities and he will only be potent with other women whom he does not love but thinks little of or even despises More often however the adolescent succeeds in bringing about a certain degree of synthesis between the unsensual heavenly love and the sensual earthly love and his relation to his sexual ob ject is characterized by the interaction of un inhibited instincts and of instincts inhibited in their aim The depth to which anyone is in love as contrasted with his purely sensual desire may be measured by the size of the share taken by the inhibited instincts of tenderness

In connection with this question of being in love we have always been struck with the phe nomenon of sexual over estimation—the fact that the loved object enjoys a certain amount of freedom from criticism and that all its char acteristics are valued more highly than those of people who are not loved or than its own were at a time when it itself was not loved If the sensual tendencies are somewhat more ef fectively repressed or set aside the illusion is produced that the object has come to be sen sually loved on account of its spiritual merits whereas on the contrary the e merits may really only have been lent to it by its sensual charm

The tendency which falsifies judgment in this respect is that of *ideali ation* But this makes it easier for us to find our way about We see that the object is being treated in the same way as our own ego so that when we are in love a considerable amount of narcissistic li bido overflows on to the object It is even ob vious in many forms of love choice that the object serves as a substitute for some unat tained ego ideal of our own We love it on account of the perfections which we have striven to reach for our own e o and which we should now like to procure in this roundabout way as a means of satisfyin our narcissism

If the sexual over estimation and the being in love increase even further then the interpre tation of the picture becomes still more un mistakable The tendencies whose trend is to wards directly sexual satisfaction may now be pushed back entirely as regularly happens for instance with the young man s sentimental passion the e o becomes more and more un assuming and modest and the object more and more sublime and precious until at last it gets possession of the entire self love of the ego whose self sacrifice thus follows as a natural consequence The object has so to speak con sumed the ego Traits of humility of the limi tation of narcissism and of self injury occur in every case of being in love in the extreme case they are only intensified and as a result of the withdrawal of the sensual claims they remain in solitary supremacy

This happens especially easily with love that is unhappy and cannot be satisfied for in spite of everythin each sexual satisfaction always involves a reduction in sexual over estimation Contemporaneously with this *devotion* of the ego to the object which is no longer to be dis tinguished from a ublimated devotion to an abstract idea the functions allotted to the ego ideal entirely cease to operate The criticism exercised by that faculty is silent everything that the object does and asks for is ri ht and blameless Conscience has no application to anything that is done for the sake of the ob ject in the blindness of love remorseles ness is carried to the pitch of crime The whole situ ation can be completely summarized in a fo mula *The object has taken the place of t ego ideal*

It is now easy to define the distinction be tween identification and such extreme develop ments of being in love as may be described a *fascination* or *infatuation* In the former ca e the ego has enriched itself with the properties of the object it has *introjected* the object into itself as Ferenczi expre ses it In the second case it is impoverished it has surrendered itself to the object it has substituted the object for its most important con tituent Closer consid eration soon makes it plain however that this

Se *Th ee C t b t t th Th ory f S p ct*

Th M t P e l t F rm f D gradati In Erot c L fe *C ll t d P per* IV

Thus the group appears to us as a revival of the primal horde Just as primitive man virtually survives in every individual, so the primal horde may arise once more out of any random crowd in so far as men are habitually under the sway of group formation we recognize in it the survival of the primal horde We must conclude that the psychology of the group is the oldest human psychology what we have isolated as individual psychology by neglecting all traces of the group has only since come

vent re upon an attempt at specifying the p of departure of this development

Further reflection will show us in what respect this statement requires correction Individual psychology must on the contrary be just as old as group psychology for from the first there were two kinds of psychologies that of the individual members of the group and that of the father chief or leader The members of the group were subject to ties just as we see them today but the father of the primal horde was free His intellectual acts were strong and independent even in isolation and his will needed no reinforcement from others. Consistency leads us to assume that his ego had few libidinal ties he loved no one but himself or other people only in so far as they served his needs. To objects his ego gave away no more than was barely necessary

He at the very beginning of the history of mankind was the *Superman* whom Nietzsche

no o Le h may be of a masterly nature absolutely narcissistic but self-confident and independent. We know that love puts a check upon narcissism and it would be possible to show how by operating in this way it became a factor of civilization.

The primal father of the horde was not yet immortal, he later became by deification. If he died, he had to be replaced his place was probably taken by a youngest son who had up to then been a member of the group like any other There must therefore be a possibility of transforming group psychology into individual psychology a condition must be discovered under which such a transformation is easily accomplished, just as it is possible for bees in case of necessity to turn a larva into a queen instead of into a worker One can imagine only one possibility the primal father had prevented his sons from satisfying their directly sexual tendencies he forced them into abstinence and consequently into the emotional ties with him and with one another which could arise out of those of their tendencies that were inhibited in their sexual aim He forced them so to speak into group psychology His sexual jealousy and intolerance became in the last resort the causes of group psychology

Whoever became his successor was also given the possibility of sexual satisfaction and was by that means offered a way out of the conditions of group psychology The fixation of the

his sexual tendencies that were inhibited in their aim and allowed his narcissism always to rise to its full height. We shall return in a postscript to this connection between love and character formation.

We may further emphasize as being specially instructive the relation that holds between the contrivance by means of which an artificial

father and feared him equally This same requesting upon which all social duties are built up is already presupposed by the next form of human society the totemistic clan The indestructible strength of the family as a natural

It may perhaps also be assumed that the sons when they were driven out and separated from their father advanced from identification to homosexual object love and in this way were freed to kill their father

be glad to have a share of his flowing locks Originally rivals they have succeeded in identifying themselves with one another by means of a similar love for the same object When as is usual a situation in the field of the instincts is capable of various outcomes we need not be surprised if the actual outcome is one which involves the possibility of a certain amount of satisfaction while another even though in itself more obvious is passed over because the circumstances of life prevent its attaining this aim

What appears later on in society in the shape of *Gemeingeist esprit de corps* group spirit etc does not belie its derivation from what was originally envy No one must want to put himself forward every one must be the same and have the same Social justice means that we deny ourselves many things so that others may have to do without them as well or what is the same thing may not be able to ask for them This demand for equality is the root of social conscience and the sense of duty It reveals itself unexpectedly in the syphilitic s dread of infecting other people which psycho analysis has taught us to understand The dread exhibited by these poor wretches corre ponds to their violent strug les against the unconscious wish to spread their infection on to other people for why should they alone be infected and cut off from so much? Why not other people as well? And the same germ is to be found in the pretty anecdote of the judg ment of Solomon If one woman s child is dead the other shall not have a live one either The bereaved woman is recognized by this wish

Thus social feeling is based upon the reversal of what was first a hostile feeling into a posi tively toned tie of the nature of an identifica tion So far as we have hitherto been able to follow the course of events this reversal ap pears to be effected under the influence of a common tender tie with a person outside the group We do not ourselves regard our analysis of identification as exhaustive but it is enough for our present purpose that we should revert to this one feature—its demand that equaliza tion shall be consistently carried through We have already heard in the discussion of the two artificial groups church and army that their preliminary condition is that all their members should be loved in the same way by one person the leader Do not let us forget however that the demand for equality in a group applies only to its members and not to the leader All the members must be equal to one another but they all want to be ruled by one person Many equals who can identify themselves with one another and a single person superior to them all—that is the situation that we find realized in groups which are capable of subsisting Let us venture then to correct Trotter s pronouncement that man is a herd animal and assert that he is rather a horde animal an individual creature in a horde led by a chief

X THE GROUP AND THE PRIMAL HORDE

IN 1912 I took up a conjecture of Darwin s t the effect that the primitive form of human so ciety was that of a horde ruled over despoti cally by a powerful male I attempted to show that the fortunes of this horde have left inde structible traces upon the history of human descent and especially that the development of totemism which comprises in it elf the be ginnings of religion morality and social or ganization is connected with the killing of the chief by violence and the transformation of the paternal horde into a community of broth ers To be sure this is only a hypothe is like so many others with which archaeolo ists en deavour to lighten the darkness of prehi toric times—a Just So Story as it was amu ingly called by a not unkind critic (Kroe er) but I think it is creditable to such a hypothesis if it proves able to bring coherence and under standing into more and more new regions

Human groups exhibit once again the famil iar picture of an individual of superior strength among a troop of similar companions a picture which is also contained in our idea of the primal horde The psycholo y of such a group as we know it from the descriptions to which we have so often referred—the dwindlin of the conscious individual personality the focus sing of thou hts and feelings into a common direction the predominance of the emotions and of the unconscious mental life the tend ency to the immediate carrying out of inten tions as they emerge—all this corre pond to a state of regression to a primitive mental acti ity of just such a sort as we should be inclined to ascribe to the primal horde

T I m nd T b
Wh t w h j t desc bed o ge ral ha t t f m k d m t pply pec ally t the p m l h d Th w ll f th d d l w too w k h d d t t po ct \ im lses wh t cam t pl y pt c llecti es there wa ly a mm w ll th re w l es. A d d d t d t t m tself t ol t l lt f lt lts lf re f rced by percepti f ts g l d ff Th w k ess f th ld l t be pl d by th stre gth f th m tl l ti whi h

masochistic attitude is possible, to whom one's will has to be surrendered—while to be alone with him, "to look him in the face," appears a hazardous enterprise. It is only in some such way as this that we can picture the relation of the individual member of the primal horde to the primal father. As we know from other reactions, individuals have preserved a variable degree of personal aptitude for reviving old situations of this kind. Some knowledge that in spite of everything, hypnosis is only a game, a deceptive renewal of these old impressions, may however remain behind and take care that there is a resistance against any too serious consequences of the suspension of the will in hypnosis.

The uncanny and coercive characteristics of group formations, which are shown in their suggestion phenomena, may therefore with justice be traced back to the fact of their origin from the primal horde. The leader of the group is still the dreaded primal father; the group still wishes to be governed by unrestricted force; it has an extreme passion for authority; in Le Bon's phrase, it has a thirst for obedience. The primal father is the group ideal, which governs the ego in the place of the ego ideal. Hypnosis has a good claim to being described as a group of two; there remains as a definition for suggestion a conviction which is not based upon perception and reasoning but upon an erotic tie.

XI. A Differentiating Grade in the Ego

If we survey the life of an individual man of today, bearing in mind the mutually complementary accounts of group psychology given by the authorities, we may lose the courage, in face of the complications that are revealed, to attempt a comprehensive exposition. Each individual is a component part of numerous groups, he is bound by ties of identification in many directions, and he has built up his ego ideal upon the most various models. Each individual, therefore, has a share in numerous group minds—those of his race, of his class, of his creed, of his nationality, etc.—and he can also raise himself above them to the extent of having a scrap of independence and originality. Such stable and lasting group formations, with their uniform and constant effects, are less striking to an observer than the rapidly formed and transient groups from which Le Bon has made his brilliant psychological character sketch of the group mind. And it is just in these noisy ephemeral groups, which are as it were superimposed upon the others, that we are met by the prodigy of the complete, even though only temporary, disappearance of exactly what we have recognized as individual acquirements.

We have interpreted this prodigy as meaning that the individual gives up his ego ideal and substitutes for it the group ideal as embodied in the leader. And we must add, by way of correction, that the prodigy is not equally great in every case. In many individuals the separation between the ego and the ego ideal is not very far advanced; the two still coincide readily; the ego has often preserved its earlier self-complacency. The selection of the leader is very much facilitated by this circumstance. He need only possess the typical qualities of the individuals concerned in a particularly clearly

would otherwise perhaps have had no claim. The other members of the group, whose ego ideal would not, apart from this, have become embodied in his person without some correction, are then carried away with the rest by *suggestion*, that is to say, by means of identification.

We are aware that what we have been able to contribute towards the explanation of the libidinal structure of groups leads back to the distinction between the ego and the ego ideal and to the double kind of tie which this makes possible—identification and substitution of the object for the ego ideal. The assumption of this kind of differentiating grade *(Stufe)* in the ego as a first step in an analysis of the ego must gradually establish its justification in the most various regions of psychology. In my paper "On Narcissism: an Introduction" I have put together all the pathological material that could at the moment be used in support of this separation. But it may be expected that when we penetrate deeper into the psychology of the psychoses its significance will be discovered to be far greater. Let us reflect that the ego now

[1] It seems to me worth emphasizing the fact that

of the group from the primal horde It ought also to help us to understand what is still in comprehensible and mysterious in group formations—all that lies hidden behind the enigmatic words *hypnosis* and *suggestion* And I think it can succeed in this too Let us recall that hypnosis has somethin positively uncanny about it but the characteristic of uncanniness suggests something old and familiar that has undergone repression Let us consider how hypnosis is induced The hypnotist asserts that he is in possession of a mysterious power which robs the subject of his own will or which is the same thing the subject believes it of him This mysterious power (which is even now often described popularly as animal magnetism) must be the same that is looked upon by primitive people as the source of taboo the same that emanates from kings and chieftains and makes it dangerous to approach them (*mana*) The hypnotist then is supposed to be in possession of this power and how does he manifest it? By telling the subject to look him in the eyes his most typical method of hypnotizing is by his look But it is precisely the sight of the chieftain that is dangerous and unbearable for primitive people just as later that of the Godhead is for mortals Even Moses had to act as an intermediary between his people and Jehovah since the people could not support the sight of God and when he returned from the presence of God his face shone—some of the *mana* had been transferred on to him just as happens with the intermediary among primitive people

It is true that hypnosis can also be evoked in other ways for instance by fixing the eyes upon a bright object or listening to a monotonous sound This is misleading and has given occasion to inadequate physiological theories As a matter of fact these procedures merely serve to divert conscious attention and to hold it riveted The situation is the same as if the hypnotist had said to the subject Now concern yourself exclusively with my person the rest of the world is quite uninteresting It would of course be technically inexpedient for a hypnotist to make such a speech it would tear the subject away from his unconscious attitude and stimulate him to conscious opposition The hypnotist avoids directing the subject s conscious thoughts towards his own intentions and makes the person upon whom he is experimenting sink into an activity in which the world is bound to seem uninteresting to him but at the same time the subject is in reality unconsciously concentrating his whole attention upon the hypnotist and is getting into an attitude of *rapport* of transference on to him Thus the indirect methods of hypnotizing like many of the technical procedures used in making jokes have the effect of checking certain distributions of mental energy which would interfere with the course of events in the unconscious and they lead eventually to the same result as the direct methods of influence by means of staring or stroking

Ferenczi has made the true discovery that when a hypnotist gives the command to sleep which is often done at the beginnin of hypnosis he is putting himself in the place of the subject s parents He thinks that two sorts of hypnosis are to be distinguished one coaxing and soothing which he considers is modelled upon the mother and another threatening which is derived from the father Now the command to sleep in hypnosis means nothing more nor less than an order to withdraw all interest from the world and to concentrate it upon the person of the hypnotist And it is so understood by the subject for in this withdrawal of interest from the outer world lies the psycholo ical characteristic of sleep and the kinship between sleep and the state of hypnosis is based upon it

By the measures that he takes then the hypnotist awakens in the subject a portion of his archaic inheritance which had also made him compliant towards his parents and which had experienced an individual re animation in his relation to his father what is thus awakened is the idea of a paramount and dangerous personality towards whom only a passive

[Footnotes illegible]

rar'y resol ed into the r ego aft r ha ing previ ously ruled it with especi l strictness

Let us keep to what is clear On the basis of our analy is of the ego it cannot be doubted t m cases of mania the ego and the ego deal have fused together so that the person in a mood of triumph and self satisfaction dis turbed by no self-criti ism can njoy the ho o of his inhib t o his feel gs f co si eration for others and h s self reproaches It is not so obv u but nevertheless ry pr b a e that the misery of th melanch li c the expressio of harp conflict between th two f l es of his ego a c nflict in which the ... relentles ly

...

ew inst tution wh th r we re to make her circum tan s respon ible f r them

A change mt man not a ndi pensable fea ure f the sympt matology of melancholic depres on. Ther re impl melanch lias some m in le and ome in re urrin attacks which never how thi devel pm t On the ... hand there m L h has in whi h the e citing cause cle ly pla s an eti logical part. They are t which cur ft the l of a loved bject, wheth b death o s result of ci cumstances which ha e neces ted the withdraw l f the l'b d f m th obj t A psychogenic melanch lia of thi ort can end in mania, and this cycle can be repe ted sev eral times ju t as ily a m ca e which appears t be spontaneous Thus the st te of things is somewhat b cure especiall as only few f rms and cases f m lan holia h been submitted to psycho-analyt cal in t ga tion So f r we l understand those cases n h h th bject is g e up because t has shown tself unworthy of love It is th t p ... in d the go by mean of id tifica tion and severely ond m ed by th d al The reproa hes and ttacks directed towa ds t bject om t l ht in the hape of m lan c l self reproaches

Cf Abraham A ... Er forschu g nd B h ndl g de ... l seins in Kl h Be ... P ycho a l

T speak more ccura ly they conce l themselves behind the reproaches directed wards the person own ego d lend them the fixi y te aci nd m pera ness h aracte ze the self-reproaches f melancholiac.

A melancholia of this kind may also end in a change to mania o that the poss bility of this happenin represents a featu e which is independent of the other characteristics in the symptomatology

Ne ertheless I see no difficulty in assigning to the factor of the periodical rebellion of the ego against the ego ideal a share i both kinds of mela cholia the psycho enic as well as the po taneous In the spontaneous ki d it may be supposed that the ego ideal is inclined to ... lts In ted its ters when there has been ide tificat on with a re jected object

XII. POSTSCRIPT

In the co rse of the enquiry which has just bee brou ht to a p o onal e d we came across a umber of s de paths which we avo ded purs ng n the first in tance but in which there was much that offered us promises of n ght We propose now to tak up a few of the poi ts that ha e been left on o e sid in this way

A. The di tinct on between identificat on of the ego with an bject and repla em nt of the ego deal by an bj ct find an nt esting il l trat on in the tw great artific al groups which we began by studying the army and the Christian church.

...

rea

H er ispert und wie e sp kt
D habt h hm gl ckl ch bg gu kt[1]

It is therwise in the Cath l Church. E ery Chri tian lo es Chri t as his ideal and feels himself un ted with all other Christian by the t f identification B t th Ch ch equires m f him H has also t dentify himself with Chri t a d love all othe Christians Christ loved th m At both po ts th refore th Church requires that th pos tion f th lib do which gi e by group format o h uld be suppleme ted Identificat n has t

[1] H w he clears his throa and how he sp ts that you have cl verly opied from him.—TR.

appears in the relation of an object to the ego ideal which has been developed out of it and that all the interplay between an outer object and the ego as a whole with which our study of the neuroses has made us acquainted may possibly be repeated upon this new scene of action inside the ego

In this place I shall only follow up one of the consequences which seem possible from this point of view thus resuming the discussion of a problem which I was obliged to leave unsolved elsewhere Each of the mental differentiations that we have become acquainted with represents a fresh aggravation of the difficulties of mental functioning increases its instability and may become the starting point for its breakdown that is for the onset of a disease Thus by being born we have made the step from an absolutely self sufficient narcissism to the perception of a changing outer world and to the beginnings of the discovery of objects And with this is associated the fact that we cannot endure the new state of things for long that we periodically revert from it in our sleep to our former condition of absence of stimulation and avoidance of objects It is true however that in this we are following a hint from the outer world which by means of the periodical change of day and night temporarily withdraws the greater part of the stimuli that affect us The second example which is pathologically more important is not subject to any such qualification In the course of our development we have effected a separation of our mental existence into a coherent ego and into an unconscious and repressed portion which is left outside it and we know that the stability of this new acquisition is exposed to constant shocks In dreams and in neuroses what is thus excluded knocks for admission at the gates guarded though they are by resistances and in our waking health we make use of special artifices for allowing what is repressed to circumvent the resistances and for receiving it temporarily into our ego to the increase of our pleasure Wit and humour and to some extent the comic in general may be regarded in this light Everyone acquainted with the psychology of the neuroses will think of similar examples of less importance but I hasten on to the application I have in view

It is quite conceivable that the separation of the ego ideal from the ego cannot be borne for long either and has to be temporarily undone In all renunciations and limitations imposed upon the ego a periodical infrin ement of the prohibition is the rule this indeed is shown by the institution of festivals which in orıgın are nothing more nor less than exces es provided by law and which owe their cheerful character to the release which they brin The Saturnalia of the Romans and our modern carnival agree in this essential feature with the festivals of primitive people which u ually end in debaucheries of every kind and the transgression of what are at other times the most sacred commandment But the ego ideal comprises the sum of all the limitations in which the ego has to acquiesce and for that reason the abrogation of the ideal would necessarily be a magnificent festival for the ego which mi ht then once a ain feel satisfied with itself

There is always a feeling of triumph when somethin in the ego coincides with the e o ideal And the sense of guilt (as well as the sense of inferiority) can also be understood as an expression of tension between the ego and the ego ideal

It is well known that there are people the general colour of whose mood oscillates periodically from an excessive depression through some kind of intermediate state to an exalted en e of well being These oscillations appear in very different degrees of amplitude from what is just noticeable to those extreme instances which in the shape of melancholia and mania make the most painful or disturbing inroads upon the life of the person concerned In typical cases of this cyclical depression outer exciting causes do not seem to play any decisive part as regards inner motives nothing more (or nothing different) is to be found in these patients than in all others It has consequently become the custom to consider these ca es as not being psychogenic We shall refer later on to those other exactly similar cases of cyclical depression which can nevertheless easily be traced back to mental traumata

Thus the foundation of these spontaneous oscillations of mood is unknown we are without insight into the mechanism of the displacement of a melancholia by a mania So we are free to suppose that these patients are people in whom our conjecture might find an actual application—their ego ideal might be tempo-

Mourn g d M la ch l

T t m d T b
T ott traces rep es b ck t th b d i st nct.
It i t l t f th i t th f rm l
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th g th tru t f d l is th co d u
f ep es (se p 4 8 bo)

actions to the parricide was after all the i stitutı n of totem tic e ogamy the prohibition of an s xual relation w th tho.e women of the f m l who had been tende ly loved since — n in ıgs ıy eds and

mlo ed women.

In the great artificial groups the church and the army there o room f r woman as a sexual object The l ve elation between me a d women remain utside the e organiza tions E en wh re groups are formed which are — h d st nc ıs do mo

xual or of h ter s xual nature f r it is not differe tiated ac ording to the se es and par ticula ly sh ws a ompl te d sregа d for the aım of th genital o ganization of the lib do

E en in a person who has in othe re pects bec me ab rbed in a group the directly sex ual te denc es preserve a little of his indi idual acti ıty If th y become too tro g they dis integrate every gr up formatı n The Catholic Church had the best of m tive f re omme d ıng t follow rs to em n nm rried d for impo.ing c libacy pon ts prie ts but falling in love ha ofte dri en e en prie ts to l av th church In the sam way lo e fo women breaks through the g up t es f race f na tional eparation and of the s al clas syst m and t thus p od c s import nt effect as a fact c ilization. It seems ertaı that homosexual love s f r mo e compatible with group t eve when t takes th hape of un inhib ted sexual tende c s—a remarkable f ct the explanat f which might carry us f

The psycho a alytic in est g t on of the psy choneuroses has t ught us that their symptoms are to be traced ba k to directly s xual te d encies which are rep essed but still remain ctı W can compl te thı formul by dd ing t t or t tend cies inhib ted in the aims whose inh b t o ha ot been ent ly su es ful r h made room f a r t rn to the repres ed exual aim It is in a co dance with this that a euro s h ld make t ctım asocial and h uld remove him from the usual group f rm tions It m y be sa d that a u rosis has th sam disint grating eff t upon a group as be g in love On the other hand it appears that where a powerful impetus has been gi en to group formation neuroses may di minish and at all events temporarily di.ap-pear Justifiable attempts have al o been made to turn this a tagoni m between neuroses and group format on to therapeutic account Even those who do not regret the disappearance of rel gious illus o s from the ci il zed world of today will admit that so long as they were in f rce they offe ed tho e who were bound by them the most powe ful protection against the danger of neurosis Nor is it hard to d scern in all the ties with myst co-rel g ous or philosophi — d commu t es the manifes- eu rast ıose ged the

gr at group format ons from whic e ı ex cl ded He creates h s own world of imag na tio for himself his own rel gion his own system of delu ons a d thus recap tulates the i st tut ons of h manity in a d storted way which is clear e idence of the dominating part played by the directly sexual tendencies

E In co lusion we will add a comparative estimate fr m the sta dpoint of the lib do theory f the tates w th which we ha e been conc rned f be ng in love of hypnosis of — f h ı

in which there is o ly room for the ego and the bject

Hypnosis resembles bei g in love in be ng limited to these two perso s but it is ba ed ent rely upon exual tend nc es that are in hib ted in the r ms and substitutes th object for the ego deal

The g o p m lt pl es this p oc ss it agrees w th hypnos s in the ature of the ı t ncts wh ch hold t togethe and in the replacement of th ego id al by the object but to this it add de tificat on with other ind vidu ls which was perhaps originally made pos ble by the r having th same rel t to th bj ct

Both st t hypnosis and gr up format on are an herited dep t f om the phylogenesis

See "The Mos Pre al F rm f Degrad tion in Erotic Life

See *T m nd T b* ds the d f P rt II "T tem d the Amb lence f Em ti ns.

on the other hand we may fix the limits of sublimation at some more distant point Those sexual instincts which are inhibited in their aims have a great functional advantage over those which are uninhibited Since they are not capable of really complete satisfaction they are especially adapted to create permanent ties while those instincts which are directly sexual incur a loss of energy each time they are satisfied and must wait to be renewed by a fresh accumulation of sexual libido so that meanwhile the object may have been changed The inhibited instincts are capable of any degree of admixture with the uninhibited they can be transformed back into them just as they arose out of them It is well known how easily erotic wishes develop out of emotional relations of a friendly character based upon appreciation and admiration (compare Molière's *Embrasse moi pour l'amour du grec*) between a master and a pupil between a performer and a delighted listener and especially in the case of women In fact the growth of emotional ties of this kind with their purposeless beginnings provides a much frequented pathway to sexual object choice Pfister in his *Frommigkeit des Grafen von Zinzendorf* has given an extremely clear and certainly not an isolated example of how easily even an intense religious tie can revert to ardent sexual excitement On the other hand it is also very usual for directly sexual tendencies short lived in themselves to be transformed into a lasting and purely tender tie and the consolidation of a passionate love marriage rests to a large extent upon this process

We shall naturally not be surprised to hear that the sexual tendencies that are inhibited in their aims arise out of the directly sexual ones when inner or outer obstacles make the sexual aims unattainable The repression during the period of latency is an inner obstacle of this kind—or rather one which has become inner We have assumed that the father of the primal horde owing to his sexual intolerance compelled all his sons to be abstinent and thus forced them into ties that were inhibited in their aims while he reserved for himself freedom of sexual enjoyment and in this way remained without ties All the ties upon which a group depends are of the character of instincts that are inhibited in their aims But here we have approached the discussion of a new subject which deals with the relation between directly sexual instincts and the formation of groups

D The last two remarks will have prepared us for finding that directly sexual tendencies are unfavourable to the formation of groups. In the history of the development of the family there have also it is true been group relations of sexual love (group marriages) but the more important sexual love became for the ego and the more it developed the characteristics of being in love the more urgently it required to be limited to two people—*una cum uno*—as is prescribed by the nature of the genital aim. Polygamous inclinations had to be content to find satisfaction in a succession of changing objects

Two people coming together for the purpose of sexual satisfaction in so far as they seek for solitude are making a demonstration against the herd instinct the group feeling The more they are in love the more completely they suffice for each other The rejection of the group's influence is manifested in the shape of a sense of shame The extremely violent feelings of jealousy are summoned up in order to protect the sexual object choice from being encroached upon by a group tie It is only when the tender that is the personal factor of a love relation gives place entirely to the sensual one that it is possible for two people to have sexual intercourse in the presence of others or for there to be simultaneous sexual acts in a group as occurs at an orgy But at that point a regression has taken place to an early stage in sexual relations at which being in love as yet played no part and all sexual objects were judged to be of equal value somewhat in the sense of Bernard Shaw's malicious aphorism to the effect that being in love means greatly exaggerating the difference between one woman and another

There are abundant indications that being in love only made its appearance later on in the sexual relations between men and women so that the opposition between sexual love and group ties is also a late development Now it may seem as though this assumption were incompatible with our myth of the primal family For it was after all by their love for their mothers and sisters that the troop of brothers was as we have supposed driven to parricide and it is difficult to imagine this love as being anything but unbroken and primitive—that is as an intimate union of the tender and the sensual But further consideration resolves this objection into a confirmation One of the re-

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with hyp osis in the n t re of the insti cts
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of the go id l by the obj ct b t to this it
add d nt ficatio w th other indiv duals which
w s perhaps rig n lly made p s ble by the r
havi g the same r lat on to the obj ct

Both st t s hyp o s and gr p f rmat o
e herited deposit f m th phyl ge esis

E See The Most P al t F rm f D grad ti in Lif

See *T m nd T b* tow d h d I P t II T tem d th Ambi lence f Em i

on the other hand we may fix the limits of sublimation at some more distant point Those sexual instincts which are inhibited in their aims have a great functional advantage over those which are uninhibited Since they are not capable of really complete satisfaction they are e pecially adapted to create permanent ties while those instincts which are directly sexual incur a loss of energy each time they are satisfied and must wait to be renewed by a fresh accumulation of sexual libido so that meanwhile the object may have been changed The inhibited instincts are capable of any de gree of admixture with the uninhibited they can be transformed back into them just as they arose out of them It is well known how easily erotic wishes develop out of emotional relations of a friendly character based upon ap preciation and admiration (compare Moliere s *Embrasse moi pour l amour du grec*) be tween a master and a pupil between a per former and a delighted listener and especially in the case of women In fact the growth of emotional ties of this kind with their purpose less beginnings provides a much frequented pathway to sexual object choice Pfister in his *Frommigkeit des Grafen von Zin endorf* has given an extremely clear and certainly not an isolated example of how easily even an intense religious tie can revert to ardent sexual excite ment On the other hand it is also very usual for directly sexual tendencies short lived in themselves to be transformed into a lasting and purely tender tie and the consolidation of a passionate love marriage rests to a large extent upon this process

We shall naturally not be surprised to hear that the sexual tendencies that are inhibited in their aims arise out of the directly sexual ones when inner or outer obstacles make the sexual aims unattainable The repression during the period of latency is an inner obstacle of this kind—or rather one which has become inner We have assumed that the father of the primal horde owing to his sexual intolerance com pelled all his sons to be abstinent and thus forced them into ties that were inhibited in their aims while he reserved for himself freedom of sexual enjoyment and in this way remained without ties All the ties upon which a group depends are of the character of instincts that are inhibited in their aims But here we have approached the discussion of a new subject which deals with the relation between directly sexual instincts and the formation of groups

D The last two remarks will have prepared us for finding that directly sexual tendencies are unfavourable to the formation of gro ps In the history of the development of the family there have also it is true been group relatio s of exual love (group marria es) but the mo important sexual love became for the ego and the more it developed the characteristics of being in love the more urgently it required to be limited to two people—*una cum uno*—as is prescribed by the nature of the genital im Polygamous inclinations had to be content to find satisfaction in a succes ion of changing objects

Two people coming together for the purpo of sexual satisfaction in o far as they seek fo solitude are making a demonstration again the herd instinct the group feeling The mor they are in love the more completely they su fice for each other The rejection of the group influence is manifested in the shape of a sens of shame The extremely violent feelings o jealousy are summoned up in order to protec the sexual object choice from being encroache upon by a group tie It is only when the tend r that is the personal factor of a love relatio gives place entirely to the sensual one that it is possible for two people to have sexual inter course in the presence of others or for there to be simultaneous sexual acts in a group as oc curs at an orgy But at that point a regres on has taken place to an early stage in exual re lations at which being in love as yet played no part and all exual objects were judged to be of equal value somewhat in the sense of Bernard Shaw s malicious aphorism to the ef fect that being in love means greatly exaggerat ing the difference between one woman and another

There are abundant indications that being in love only made its appearance later on in th sexual relations between men and women so that the opposition between sexual love a d group ties is also a late development Now it may seem as though this as umption were in compatible with our myth of the primal family For it was after all by their love for their mothers and sisters that the troop of brothers was as we have supposed driven to parric and it is difficult to imagine this love as being anything but unbroken and primitive—that i as an intimate union of the tender and the sensual But further consideration re ol es this objection into a confirmation One of the re

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actions to the parricide was after all the in stitution of totemistic exogam the prohib tion of a sexual relation with tho e women of the family who had been tende ly loved since childhood. In this way a wedge was d ven in be ween a man s tend r and sen ual feel ngs, one still firmly fixed in his erotic life today As a result of this exogamy the sensual needs of men had to be satisfied with trange and unloved women.

In th great artificial groups the church and the army there is no room fo woman as a sexual object The love relat on between men and women remains outside these organiza tions Even where groups re formed wh ch are composed of both men and women the distinc tion between the sexes plays o part There is scarcely any sense in asking whether the libido which keeps groups tog ther is of a homo-sexual o of heterosexual natu for it i not diff rentiated accordin to the se es and par ticularly shows a complete dis egard f r the aims of the genital organization of the lib do

E in person who has in othe respects becom abso bed in a group the directly sex ual tendencies pres rve little of his indiv dual activity If they become too strong they dis-integrate every group f rmat on Th Catholic Church had the best of motives fo rec mmend ing ts followers t remai unmarried a d f imposing elibacy upon it priest but f lling in love ha often dri en even priests t l ave the church In the sam way lo e f women breaks th ough th gr up ties f race f na tional separatio and f the social clas y tem, and t th prod important effects as a f cto in c vilization. It eems certain that homosexual lo e is fa mo e compatible with group ties even when it takes the shape f un inhib ted exual tenden es—a ema kabl f ct th explanatio f which might carry us far

Th psy h analytic in estigat on of th psy chon uroses has taught us that their ymptoms are t be traced back to di ectly exual tend-encies which re rep es ed but till emain acti e We can compl t this f rmula by dd in to t to tendencies inhib ted in their aims whose inhib tion has t been entirely su es ful or has made room f r a ret rn to th rep es ed sexual aim. It is in a dance with this that a urosis should mak ts v tim asocial and should remove him f m th ual group f rmations It may be said that a neu rosis has th sam disintegrati g effect upon a group as be g in lo e On the other hand it appears that where a powerful impetus has been g ven to group formation neuroses may di m nish and at all events temporarily disap-pear Ju tifiable attempts have also been made to turn this ntagon m between neuroses and group formation to therapeutic account Even those who do not regret the disappearance of rel gious illu ons from the civil zed world of toda w'll adm t that so lo g as they were in force they offered those who were bound by them the most powerful protection against the danger of neuro s Nor is it hard to discern in all the ties with myst co-rel gious or philoso hi co-religious sects and commun ties the man fes-tat on of d storted cures of all kinds of neu roses. All of th s is bound up with the contrast between directly sexual te dencies and those which are inh'b ted in the r a ms

If he is left to himself a n urot c is obl ged to replace by his own symptom formations the great group formations from which he is ex cluded He creates his own world of imagina tion for him elf his own rel gion his own

played by th directly sexual tendencies.

E I co clus on we will add a comparative estimate from the standpoint of the lib do theory of the tates with which we ha e been co cerned of being in love of hypnosis of group form tion and f the neurosis

Bei g love is based upon the imultane-ous presence of d rectly sexual tendencies and of sexual t ndenc es that are inhib ted in th r aim so that the object draws a part of the narcissistic ego-lib do to t elf It is a condition in whi h there is only room *for the ego* and the object.

Hypnosis resembles be ng in love in bein limit d to these two *persons* but *it is* based entirely upon xual t d c es that are in hib ted in their a ms and substitutes the obj ct for the ego deal

Th group multiplies this process t agrees with hypnos in the nature f th instincts which h ld t togeth and in th *replacement* of th ego ideal by the obj ct but to this it adds identificat on w th othe divid als which was perhaps originally made po ible by their ha in th same relat n t the bj ct

B th states hyp osis and gr up formatio an inh rited depos t from the phylogenesis

See "The Most Prevalen F rm f Degrada on in Erotic Lif

See T em nd T b toward he d f Part II, "T tem and the Ambi alence f Em ti ns.

of the human libido—hypnosis in the form of a predisposition and the group besides this as a direct survival. The replacement of the directly sexual tendencies by those that are inhibited in their aims promotes in both states a separation between the ego and the ego ideal, a separation with which a beginning has already been made in the state of being in love.

The neurosis stands outside this series. It also is based upon a peculiarity in the development of the human libido—the twice repeated start made by the directly sexual function with an intervening period of latency.[1] To this extent it resembles hypnosis and group formation in having the character of a regression which is absent from being in love. It makes its appearance wherever the advance from directly sexual instincts to those that are inhibited in their aims has not been completely successful, and it represents a *conflict* between those instincts which have been received into the ego after having passed through this development and those portions of the same instincts which, like other instinctive desires that have been completely repressed, strive from the repressed unconscious to attain direct satisfaction. The neurosis is extraordinarily rich in content, for it embraces all possible relations between the ego and the object—both those in which the object is retained and others in which it is abandoned or erected inside the ego itself—and also the conflicting relations between the ego and its ego ideal.

[1] Compare *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*.

The Ego and the Id

INTRODUCTION

IN my essay *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* published in 1920 I began the discussion of a train of thought my personal attitude towards which, as I mentioned there might be described as a sort of benevolent curiosity. In the following pages this train of thought is developed further. I have taken up those ideas and brought them into connection with various facts observed in psycho-analysis and have endeavoured to draw fresh conclusions from the combination. In the present work, however no further contributions are borrowed from biology and it consequently stands in a closer relation to psycho-analysis than does *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. The thoughts contained in it are synthetic rather than speculative in character and their aim appears to be an ambitious one. I am aware however that they do not go beyond the baldest outlines and I am perfectly content to recognize their limitations in this respect.

At the same time the train of thought touches upon things not hitherto dealt with in the work psycho-analysis has done, and it can t a d con ern g itself with number of theories propounded by non analysts or by former analysts on their retreat from analysis. I am, as a rule always ready to acknowledge my debts to th wo kers but on this occasion I feel myself und no such obligation. If there are certain things to which hitherto psycho-analysis has not given adequate consideration that is t because it has overlooked their effects or wished t deny th s gnifican but because it pursues a particular path which had not yet carried it so f And moreover now that these things have at last been overtaken they appear t psycho-analysis in a diff ent shape from that in which they ppear to the other people.

I. CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE UNCONSCIOUS

IN this preliminary chapt r th re is nothing new t be said and it will ot be pos ible to a d epeating what has ften been sa d befo e

The division f mental life int what is conscious and what is unc nscious is th funda mental premise n which psycho-analysis is based and this division alon makes it possibl f r it to understand pathological mental processes which are as common as they are important and to co-ordinate them scientifically. Stated once more in a different way psycho analysis cannot accept the v ew that conscious ness is the essence of mental life but is obl ged to regard consciousness as o e property of mental life which may co-exist along with its other properties or may be absent

If I were to allow myself to suppose that every one interested in psychology would read this book, I should still be prepared to find that some of them would stop short even at this point and go no furthe for here we ha e the first shibboleth of psycho-analysis. To most people who have had a philosophical education the idea of anything mental which is not also conscious is so inconceivable that it seems to them absurd and refutable simply by logic. I believe this is only because they have never studied the mental phenomena of hypnosis and dreams which—quite apart from pathological manifestations—necessitate this conclus on. Th their psychology of consciousness is incapabl of sol ing the problems of dreams and hyp osis.

The term *conscious* is to start with a purely descriptive o resting on a pe ception of the most direct and certain character. Experience shows next, that a mental element (for in tance an idea) is not as a rule permanently conscious. On the co trary a ta e of con sciousness is characteristically very transitory an idea that is conscious now is o longer so a moment late although t can become so again under certain conditions that are easily brought about. What th dea was in the interval we d not know. We can say that t was *latent* and by this we mean that it was *capable of becom g cons ous* at any time. Or if w say that t was *uncons ious* we are giving an equally correct description. Thus *unconscious* in this sense of the word coincides with *latent and capable of becom g conscious*. The philosophers would no doubt object "No th term unconsci us does not apply here l ng as the dea was in a state of latency it wa not a mental element at all. To ontradict them at th point w uld lead to othing more profit able than a wa f words.

of the human libido—hypnosis in the form of a predisposition and the group besides this as a direct survival The replacement of the directly sexual tendencies by those that are inhibited in their aims promotes in both states a separation between the ego and the ego ideal a separation with which a beginning has already been made in the state of being in love

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Compare *Th ee C nt but ns to the Tl eory of Sex*

In the further course of psycho-analytic work, however even these distinctions have proved to be inadequate and, for practical purposes insufficient. This has become clear in more ways than one but the decisive instance is as follows We have formulated the idea that in every individual there is a coherent organization of mental processes which we call his *ego* This ego includes consciousness and it controls the approaches to motility i.e. to the discharge of excitations into the external world it is this institution in the mind which regulates all its own constituent processes and which goes to sleep at night, though even then it continues to exercise a censorship upon dreams From this ego proceed the repressions too, by means of which an attempt is made to cut certain trends in the mind not merely from consciousness but also from their other forms of manifestation and activity In analysis these trends which have been shut out stand in opposition to the ego and the analysis is faced with the task of removing the resistances which the ego displays against concerning itself with the repressed. Now we find that, during analysis, when we put certain tasks before the patient, he gets into difficulties his associations fail when they ought to be getting near the repressed. We then tell him that he is dominated by a resistance but he is quite unaware of the fact and, even if he guesses from his feelings of discomfort that a resistance is now at work in him, he does not know what it is or how to describe it. Since however there can be no question but that this resistance emanates from his ego and belongs to it, we find ourselves in an unforeseen situation. We have come upon something in the ego itself which is also unconscious which behaves exactly like the repressed that is which produces powerful effects without itself being conscious and which requires special work before it can be made conscious From the point of view of analytic practice the consequence of this piece of observation is that we land in endless confusion and difficulty if we cling to our former way of expressing ourselves and try for instance to derive neuroses from a conflict between the conscious and the unconscious We shall have to substitute for this antithesis another taken from our understanding of the structural conditions of the mind, namely the antithesis between the organized ego and what is repressed and dissociated from it.

For our conception of the unconscious, however the consequences of our new observation are even more important Dynamic considerations caused us to make our first correction our knowledge of the structure of the mind leads to the second. We recognize that the *Ucs* does not coincide with what is repressed it is still true that all that is repressed is *Ucs* but not that the whole *Ucs* is repressed A part of the ego too—and Heaven knows how important a part—may be *Ucs* undoubtedly is *Ucs* And this *Ucs* belonging to the ego is not latent like the *Pcs* ... were ... could not be activated ... fronted by the necessity of postulating a third *Ucs* which is not repressed, we must admit that the property of being unconscious begins to lose significance for us. It becomes a quality which can have many implications so that we are unable to make it as we should have hoped the basis of far reaching and inevitable conclusions Nevertheless we must beware of ignoring this property for in the last resort the quality of being conscious or not is the single ray of light that penetrates the obscurity of depth-psychology

the psycho-analytic view F ... ignores ... facts first, that ... proceeding by difficult and requires very great ... concentrate enough attention on some thing unnoticed of this kind and secondly that ... has been observed the thing ... which was previously unnoticed ... no recognized by consciousness but often seems utterly alien and opposed ... and is promptly disavowed by ... Escaping from the unconscious is ... and take refuge in what is scarcely noticed or unnoticed is therefore after all, only an expression of the preconceived belief which regards the identity of mental and conscious as settled once and for all.

II THE EGO AND THE ID

PATHOLOGICAL research has centred our interest too exclusively on the repressed. We wish to know more about the ego now that we know that it, too can be unconscious in the proper sense of the word Hitherto the only guide we have had while pursuing our investigations has been the distinguishing mark of

See *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* p. 639 above.

But we have arrived at the term or concept of *unconscious* along another path by taking account of certain experiences in which mental dynamics play a part We have found that is we have been obliged to assume that very powerful mental processes o d

tnat ordinary ideas do (including effects that can in their turn be come conscious as ideas) without th m becoming pe bef point at psycho analytic theory steps in—with the assertion that such ideas cannot become conscious because a certain force is opposed to them that otherwise they could become con scious and that then one would see how little they differ from other elements which are admittedly mental The fact that in the tech nique of psycho analysis a means has been found by which the opposing force can be re moved and the ideas in question made conscious renders this theory irrefutable The state in which the ideas existed before being made con scious is called by us *repression* and we assert that the force which instituted the repression and maintains it is perceived as *resistance* dur ing the work of analysis

We obtain our concept of the unconscious therefore from the theory of repression The repressed serves us as a prototype of the un conscious We see however that we have two kinds of unconscious—that which is latent but capable of becoming conscious and that which is repressed and not capable of becoming con scious in the ordinary way This piece of insight into mental dynamics cannot fail to affect terminology and description That which is latent and only unconscious in the descriptive and not in the dynamic sense we call *p econ scious* the term *unconscious* we reserve for the dynamically unconscious repressed so that we now have three terms con

y a great deal closer to the *Cs* than is the *Ucs* and since we have called the *Ucs* mental we shall with even less hesita tion call the latent *Pcs* mental But why do we not choose instead of this to remain in agree ment with the philosophers and in a consistent way to distinguish the *Pcs* as well as the *Ucs* from what is conscious in the mind? The phi losophers would propose that both the *Pcs* and the *Ucs* should be described as two varieties or levels of *psychoid* and harmony would be established But endless difficulties in exposition would follow and the one important fact that the two kinds of *psychoid* as thus defined coincide in almost every other respect with what is admittedly mental would be forced into the background in the interests of a prej udice dating from a period in which they or the most important part of them were still unknown

We can now set to work comfortably with our three terms *Cs* *Pcs* and *Ucs* so long as we do not forget that while in the descriptive sense there are two kinds of unconscious in the dynamic sense *there is only one* For pur poses of exposition this distinction can in many cases be ignored but in others it is of course indispensable At the same time we have be come more or less accustomed to the e two meanings of the term *unconscious* and have managed pretty well with them As far as I can see it is impossible to avoid this ambiguity the distinction between conscious and uncon scious is in the last resort a question of a perception which must be either affirmed or denied and the act of perception itself tells us nothing of the reason why a thing is or is not perceived No one has a right to complain because the actual phenomenon expresses the underlying dynamic factors ambiguously

Th may be c mp ed w th my Not th L c sc ou P ych A lysis (19 2) *C ll t d Pa pers IV* A ew tu n t ke by t m u s d n n est g to f psycho l c sci fi y in th f t wh ch o t ts that sc ess (g d d s a ph m) t po bl t dis t gu h g e t v ty f g d t te s ty r l ty J t s th d wh ch t ry dly kee ly a d d fi t ly sc w als t rta th wh h but f tly h dly ticeably o c ou th se th t a e m t f tly c sc re it a gu d th o t wh h p y h ly wishes t pply the s t bl m These h w (th g m t p oceeds) e l s j t m h s th oth rs d ca be m d f lly d t ly co sc f s th t att t p d t th m I f th d o th m ke th f ll d t s f cl w y co cl d has m e d tl l al tha ch l g tat m ts as Th e m y grada t i ll m t —f m th b ghte t d m t d l g l ght t th d mm t gl mm r—th t w m y co cl de th t th is h th g da k s at ll Th ry g d g ees f t l ty co seq tly th e is h th g d th Such tatem ts may ce t b mea g b t f p s t cal p rpo es th y a w thl Th will be ee f o p oceed t draw ce ta c clusi ns

be given visual expression. Thinking in pictures is, therefore, only a very incomplete form of becoming conscious. In some way, too, it stands nearer to unconscious processes than does thinking in words, and it is unquestionably older than the latter both ontogenetically and phylogenetically.

To return to our argument: if, therefore, this is the way in which something that is in itself unconscious becomes preconscious, the question how we make something that is repressed (pre)conscious would be answered as follows. It is done by supplying through the work of analysis *Pcs* connecting links of the kind we have been discussing. Consciousness remains where it is, therefore; but, on the other hand, the *Ucs* does not rise up into the *Cs*.

Whereas the relation between external perceptions and the ego is quite perspicuous, that between internal perceptions and the ego requires special investigation. It gives rise once more to a doubt whether we are really justified in referring the whole of consciousness to the single superficial system *Pcpt-Cs*.

Internal perceptions yield sensations of processes arising in the most diverse and certainly also in the deepest strata of the mental apparatus. Very little is known about these sensations and feelings; the best examples we have of them are still those belonging to the pleasure-pain series. They are more fundamental, more elementary, than perceptions arising externally and they can come about even when consciousness is clouded. I have elsewhere expressed my views about their greater economic significance and its metapsychological foundation. These sensations are multilocular, like external perceptions; they may come from different places simultaneously and may thus have different or even opposite qualities.

Sensations of a pleasurable nature are not characterized by any inherently impelling quality, whereas "painful" ones possess this quality in a high degree. The latter impel towards change, towards discharge, and that is why we interpret "pain" as implying a heightening and pleasure a lowering of energic cathexis. Suppose we describe what becomes conscious in the shape of pleasure and "pain" as an undetermined quantitative and qualitative element in the mind; the question then is whether that element can become conscious where it actually is, or whether it must first be transmitted into the system *Pcpt*.

Clinical experience decides for the latter. It shows us that this undetermined element behaves like a repressed impulse. It can exert driving force without the ego noticing the compulsion. Not until there is resistance to the compulsion and blocking of the discharge-reaction, does the undetermined element instantly become conscious as "pain." In the same way that tensions arising from physical need can remain unconscious, so also can physical pain—a thing intermediate between external and internal perception, which acts like an internal perception even when its source is in the external world. It remains true again, therefore, that sensations and feelings only become conscious through reaching the system *Pcpt*; if the way forward is barred, they do not come into being as sensations, although the element corresponding to them is the same as if they did. We then come to speak, in a condensed and not entirely correct manner, of *unconscious feelings*, keeping up an analogy with unconscious ideas which is not altogether justifiable. Actually the difference is that, whereas with *Ucs* ideas connecting links must be formed before they can be brought into the *Cs*, with *feelings*, which are themselves transmitted directly, there is no necessity for this. In other words: the distinction between *Cs* and *Pcs* has no meaning where feelings are concerned; the *Pcs* here falls out of account, and feelings are either conscious or unconscious. Even when they are connected with verbal images, their becoming conscious is not due to that circumstance, but they become so directly.

The part played by verbal images now becomes perfectly clear. By their interposition, internal thought-processes are made into perceptions. It is like a demonstration of the theorem that all knowledge has its origin in external perception. It may sometimes happen that a hyper-cathexis of the process of thinking takes place, in which case thoughts are *perceived* in the literal sense of the word—as if they came from without—and are consequently held to be true.

After this clarifying of the relations between external and internal perception and the superficial system *Pcpt-Cs*, we can go on to work out our conception of the ego. It clearly starts out from its nucleus the system *Pcpt*, and begins by embracing the *Pcs*, which is adjacent to the memory-residues. But the ego, as we have learnt, is also unconscious.

Now I think we shall gain a great deal by following the suggestion of a writer who from personal motives vainly asserts that he has nothing to do with the rigours of pure science.

being conscious or unconscious and in the end we have come to see that this quality itself is ambiguous

Now all our knowledge is invariably bound up with consciousness Even knowledge of the *Ucs* can only be obtained by making it conscious But stop how is that possible? What does it mean when we say making it conscious ? How can that come about?

We already know the point from which we have to start in this connection We have said that consciousness is the *superficies* of the mental apparatus that is we have allocated it as a function to the system which is situated nearest to the external world Incidentally on this occasion the topographical terminology does not merely serve to describe the nature of the function but actually corresponds to the anatomical facts Our investigations too must take this surface organ of perception as a starting point

All perceptions which are received from without (sense perceptions) and from within—what we call sensations and feelings—are *Cs* from the start But how is it with those internal processes which we may—vaguely and inexactly—sum up under the name of *thought processes*? They represent displacements of mental energy which are effected somewhere in the interior of the apparatus as this energy proceeds on its way towards action Do they advance towards the superficies which then allows of the development of consciousness? Or does consciousness make its way towards them? This is clearly one of the difficulties that spring up when one begins to take the spatial or *topographical* conception of mental life seriously Both these possibilities are equally unimaginable there must be a third contingency to meet the case

I have already in another place suggested that the real difference between a *Ucs* and a *Pcs* idea (thought) consists in this that the former is worked out upon some sort of material which remains unrecognized whereas the latter (the *Pcs*) has in addition been brought into connection with verbal images This is the first attempt to find a distinguishing mark for the two systems the *Pcs* and the *Ucs* other than their relation to consciousness It would seem then that the question How does a thing become conscious? could be put more advantageously thus How does a thing become preconscious? And the answer would be By coming into connection with the verbal images that correspond to it

These verbal images are memory residues they were at one time perceptions and like all memory residues they can become conscious again Before we concern ourselves further with their nature it dawns upon us like a new discovery that only something which has once been a *Cs* perception can become conscious, and that anything arising from within (apart from feelings) that seeks to become conscious must try to transform itself into external perceptions this can be done by way of memory traces

We conceive of memory residues as contained in systems which are directly adjacent to the system *Pcpt Cs* so that the cathexes pertaining to the memory residues can readily extend outward on to the elements of the latter system We are immediately reminded of hallucinations here and of the fact that the most vivid memory is always distinguishable both from a hallucination and from an external perception but it will also occur to us that when a memory is revived the cathexis in the memory system will remain in force whereas a hallucination which is not distinguishable from a perception can arise when the cathexis does not merely extend over from the memory trace to the *Pcpt* element but passes over to it entirely

Verbal residues are derived primarily from auditory perceptions so that the system *Pcs* has as it were a special sensory source The visual components of verbal images are secondary acquired through reading and may to begin with be left on one side so may the sensory motor images of words which except with deaf mutes play an auxiliary part The essence of a word is after all the memory trace of a word that has been heard

We must not be led away in the interests of simplification perhaps into forgetting the importance of optical memory residues—those of *things* (as opposed to *words*)—or to deny that it is possible for thought processes to become conscious through a reversion to visual residues and that in many people this seems to be a favourite method The study of dreams and of preconscious phantasies on the lines of J Varendonck s observations gives us an idea of the special character of this visual thinking We learn that what becomes conscious is as a rule only the concrete subject matter of the thought and that the relations between the various elements of this subject matter which is what specially characterizes thought cannot

B y d tle Pl rr P p 4 8 bo *The U co sc pl* p 639 bo

with perception. Pain seems also to play a part in the process, and the way in which we gain new knowledge of our organs during painful illnesses is perhaps a prototype of the way by which in general we arrive at the idea of our own body.

The ego is first and foremost a body-ego; it is not merely a surface entity, but is itself the projection of a surface.[1] If we wish to find an anatomical analogy for it we can best identify it with the 'cortical homunculus' of the anatomists, which stands on its head in the cortex, sticks its heels into the air, faces backwards and, as we know, has its speech-area on the left-hand side.

The relation of the ego to consciousness has been gone into repeatedly; yet there are still some important facts in this connection which remain to be described. Accustomed as we are to taking our social or ethical standard of values along with us wherever we go, we feel no surprise at hearing that the scene of the activities of the lower passions is in the unconscious; we expect, moreover, that the higher any mental function ranks in our scale of values the more easily it will find access to consciousness assured to it. Here, however, psycho-analytic experience disappoints us. On the one hand, we have evidence that even subtle and intricate intellectual operations which ordinarily require strenuous concentration can equally be carried out preconsciously and without coming into consciousness. Instances of this are quite incontestable; they may occur, for instance, during sleep, as is shown when someone finds, immediately after waking, that he knows the solution of a difficult mathematical or other problem with which he had been wrestling in vain the day before.[2]

There is another phenomenon, however, which is far stranger. In our analyses we discover that there are people in whom the faculties of self-criticism and conscience—mental activities, that is, that rank as exceptionally high ones—are unconscious and unconsciously produce effects of the greatest importance; the example of resistances remaining unconscious during analysis is therefore by no means unique. But this new discovery, which compels us, in spite of our critical faculties, to speak of an *unconscious sense of guilt*, bewilders us far more than the other and sets us fresh problems, especially when we gradually come to see that in a great number of neuroses, this unconscious sense of guilt plays a decisive economic part and puts the most powerful obstacles in the way of recovery. If we come back once more to our scale of values we shall have to say that not only what is lowest but also what is highest in the ego can be unconscious. It is as if we were thus supplied with a proof of what we have just asserted of the conscious ego: that it is first and foremost a body-ego.

[1] I.e. the ego is ultimately derived from bodily sensations, chiefly from those springing from the surface of the body. It may thus be regarded as a mental projection of the surface of the body, besides, as we have seen above, representing the superficies of the mental apparatus.—Authorized note by the Translator.

[2] I was quite recently told an instance of this which was, in fact, brought up as an objection against my description of the dream-work.

III. THE EGO AND THE SUPER-EGO (EGO-IDEAL)

If the ego were merely the part of the id modified by the influence of the perceptual system, the representative in the mind of the real external world, we should have a simple state of things to deal with. But there is a further complication.

The considerations that led us to assume the existence of a differentiating grade within the ego, which may be called the *ego-ideal* or *super-ego*, have been set forth elsewhere.[1] They still hold good.[2] The new proposition which must now be gone into is that this part of the ego is less closely connected with consciousness than the rest.

At this point we must widen our range a little. We succeeded in explaining the painful disorder of melancholia by supposing that, in those suffering from it, an object which was lost has been reinstated within the ego; that is, that an object-cathexis has been replaced by an identification.[3] When this explanation was first proposed, however, we did not appreciate the full significance of the process and did not know how common and how typical it is. Since then we have come to understand that this kind of substitution has a great share in determining the form taken on by the ego and that it contributes materially towards building up what is called its *character*.

[1] *On Narcissism: an Introduction* [p. 3[illegible]9 above] and *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* [p. 65[illegible] above].

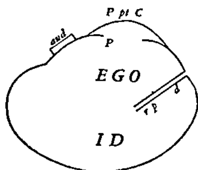
[2] Except that I seem to have been mistaken in ascribing the function of testing the reality of things to this super-ego—a point which needs correction. The view that the testing of reality is rather one of the functions of the ego itself would fit in perfectly with what we know of the relations of the ego to the world of perception. Some earlier suggestions about a 'nucleus of the ego', never very definitely formulated, also require to be put right, since the system *Pcpt-Cs* alone can be regarded as the nucleus of the ego.

[3] 'Mourning and Melancholia' (1917), *Collected Papers*, IV.

I am speaking of Georg Groddeck who is never tired of pointing out that the conduct through life of what we call our ego is essentially passive and that as he expresses it we are lived by unknown and uncontrollable forces We have all had impressions of the same kind even though they may not have overwhelmed us to the exclusion of all others and we need feel no hesitation in finding a place for Groddeck s discovery in the fabric of science I propose to take it into account by calling the entity which starts out from the system *Pcpt* and begins by being *Pcs* the *ego* and by following Groddeck in givin to the other part of the mind into which this entity extends and which behaves as though it were *Ucs* the name of *Id (Es)*

We shall soon see whether this conception affords us any gain in understandin or any advantage for purposes of description We shall now look upon the mind of an individual as an unknown and unconscious id upon whose surface rests the ego developed from its nucleus the *Pcpt* system If we make an effort to conceive of this pictorially we may add that the ego does not envelop the whole of the id but only does so to the extent to which the system *Pcpt* forms its surface more or less as the germinal layer rests upon the ovum The ego is not sharply separated from the id its lower portion merges into it

But the repressed merges into the id as well and is simply a part of it The repressed is only cut off harply from the ego by the resistances



F g 1

of repression it can communicate with the ego through the id We at once realize that almost all the delimitations we have been led into out lining by our study of pathology relate only to the superficial levels of the mental apparatus —the only ones known to us The state of things which we have been describing can be represented dia rammatically (Fig 1) thou h it must be remarked that the form chosen has no pretensions to any special applicability but is merely intended to serve for purposes of ex position We mi ht add perhaps that the ego wears an auditory lobe—on one side only as we learn from cerebral anatomy It wears it crooked as one might say

It is easy to see that the ego is that part of the id which has been modified by the direct influence of the external world acting through the *Pcpt Cs* in a sense it is an extension c the surface differentiation Moreover the eg has the task of bringin the influence of th external world to bear upon the id and its tendencies and endeavours to substitute the reality principle for the pleasure principle which reigns supreme in the id In the ego perception plays the part which in the id devolves upon instinct The ego represents what we call reason and sanity in contrast to the id which contains the passions All this falls into line with popular distinctions which we are all familiar with at the same time however it is only to be regarded as holding good in an average or ideal case

The functional importance of the ego is manifested in the fact that normally control over the approaches to motility devolves upon it Thus in its relation to the id it is like a man on horseback who has to hold in check the superior strength of the horse with this dif ference that the rider seeks to do so with his own strength while the ego uses borrowed forces The illustration may be carried further Often a rider if he is not to be parted from his horse is obliged to guide it where it wants to go so in the same way the ego constantly carries into action the wishes of the id as if they were its own

It seems that another factor besides the influence of the system *Pcpt* has been at work in bringing about the formation of the ego and its differentiation from the id The body itself and above all its surface is a place from which both external and internal perceptions may spring It is seen in the same way as any other ob h

discussed the manner in which the body attains its special position among other objects in the

G G oddeck *D B k v m Es* \ 19 3
G oddeck h ms lf o d bt f llow d th xample of N etzs he wh h b tu lly s d th g mm t c l t m f wh te er t impers l d s t spe k subject to nat ral l w

b..nd the latter th re lies hidden the first and most important dentification of all the denti fication wi h th father which takes place in t.. prehistory of every person This is appar ... m h first insta ce the con..eque ce

... l

ject-cho es belonging to ... pe od and relating to the f ther and mother seem normally to find th r outcome in an identification of the kind discussed which would thus reinf rce th primary o e

The wh le subject, however is so compli a ed that is will be neces..ary t go into it m re mmutely The intricacy of the problem is d e to two factors the triangular character of t..e Oedipus s tuation, and the constitutional bisexuality f each dividual.

In ts simplified f rm the ca..e of the male child may be described as follows At a ery early age the little boy develops an object cathexis of his *mother* which originally related to th m ther's brea t and is the ea liest in stance of an object-choice on the an clitic mod l his *f ther* th boy deals with by denti fying him..elf w th him. Fo a time these tw relation..hips ex t sid by s de until the sexual wi..hes in regard to th mother be ome more intense d th father is perc ived as an bsta cle t them this gi es rise to the Oedipus complex The identification with the father t..en takes a hostile colouring and changes into a wi..h t get rid of the f the in order to take hi plac with the mother Henc for ward the relat on t th f th is amb valent it eems as f the amb valence inherent in the identificat on fr m th beginning had becom

Along with the dissol tion of th Oedipus complex, the bj ct-cathexis f th m ther must be gi e up It place may be filled by one of t things th r an dent fication with the mother or an intensified identification with the father We are accustomed to regard the latter outcome as the more normal it permits the affectionate relation to the mother to be in a measure retained In this way the passing of the Oedipus complex would consolidate the masculinity in the boy s character In a pre cisely analogous way the outcome of th.. Oed pus att tude in the little girl may be an intensification of the dentification with her mother (or such an identification may thus be set up for the first time)—a result which will stamp the child s character in the feminine mould

These identificat ons are not what our previ ous stat ments would have led us to expect ... hey do n t invol e the absorption of the

... h had to relinqu ...

... on whethe the masculinity in her ... —whatever that may consist of—is strong enou..h.

It would appear therefore that in both sexes the relati e stre. gth f the masculine and fem mine exual di po tions is what determines whether the outcome of the Oed pus situation shall be n dentificati n w th the father or with the mothe Thi is ne of the ways in wh ch b sexual ty takes a hand in the subse quent viciss tudes of the Oedipus complex. The othe way is even more important. For one gets the impression that the simple Oedipus complex s by no means its commonest form but rather rep ese ts a simplificat on or sche m tization which, to be sure is ften enou h adequate f practical purposes. Closer st dy usually discloses th m re complete Oedipus mplex, which twofold posit e and nega ti e, and is d t the bisexuality iginally present in hild n that is to say a boy has n t m rely an amb alent attitude towa ds his f th and an affect onate obj ct relat on to- wards his moth r but at the same time he al o beha es lik a gi l and displays an affectionate femini e attitude to his fath and a c rre po ding ho tility nd jealousy towards his m the It is this mplicating element intro- d ced by bisexuality that makes t o difficult to obtain a clear view f the f cts in connection

P haps i would be saf to say with the paren f bel re child has rrived definite k led f the diff rence be ween the se es the tr pen does no d ..uish in value be wee its f the nd ts mothe I recen l cam oss the in tance f ou g m rried w ma whose ry h wed that, f no icing the lack f penis i herself he had supposed be bsen no ll women bu onl in hose hom she regarded as inf rio and had ... supposed tha he mothe possessed one In de mpl f m p esentmen I shall discuss only iden fication with the f the

Cf *G oup P ychol gy nd th Ana y f the Eg* chap VII [p 678 bo]

very beginning in the primitive oral [illegible] of the individual's existence object [illegible] and identification are hardly to be [illegible]uished from each other We can only suppose that later on object cathexes proceed from the id in which erotic trends are felt as needs The ego which at its inception is still far from robust becomes aware of the object cathexes and either acquiesces in them or tries to defend itself against them by the process of repression

When it happens that a person has to give up a sexual object there quite often ensues a modification in his ego which can only be described as a reinstatement of the object within the ego as it occurs in melancholia the exact nature of this substitution is as yet unknown to us It may be that by undertaking this introjection which is a kind of regression to the mechanism of the oral phase the ego makes it easier for an object to be given up or renders that process possible It may even be that this identification is the sole condition under which the id can give up its objects At any rate the process especially in the early phases of development is a very frequent one and it points to the conclusion that the character of the ego is a precipitate of abandoned object cathexes and that it contains a record of past object choices It must of course be admitted from the outset that there are varying degrees of capacity for resistance as shown by the extent to which the character of any particular person accepts or resists the influences of the erotic object choices through which he has lived In women who have had many love affairs there seems to be no difficulty in finding vesti es of their object cathexes in the traits of their character We must also take into consideration the case of simultaneous object cathexis and identification i e in which the alteration in character occurs before the object has been given up In such a case the alteration in character would be able to survive the object relation and in a certain sense to conserve it

From another point of view it may be said that this transformation of an erotic object choice into a modification of the ego is also a method by which the ego can obtain control over the id and deepen its relations with it—at the cost it is true of acquiescin to a large extent in the id's experiences When the ego assumes the features of the object it forces itself so to speak upon the id as a love-object and tries to make good the loss of that object by saying Look I am so like the object you can as well love me

The transformation of object libido into narcissistic libido which thus takes place obviously implies an abandonment of sexual aims a process of desexualization it is consequently a kind of sublimation Indeed the question arises and deserves careful consideration whether this is not always the path taken in sublimation whether all sublimation does not take place through the agency of the ego which begins by changing sexual object libido into narcissistic libido and then perhaps goes on to give it another aim We shall later on have to consider whether other instinctual vicissitudes may not also result from this transformation whether for instance it may not bring about a defusion of the instincts that are fused together

Althou h it is a digression from our theme we cannot avoid giving our attention for a moment lon er to the ego's object identifications If they obtain the upper hand and become too numerous unduly intense and incompatible with one another a patholo ical outcome will not be far off It may come to a disruption of the ego in consequence of the individual identifications becomin cut off from one another by re istances perhaps the secret of the ca es of so called *multiple pe sonality* is that the various identifications seize possession of consciousness in turn Even when things do not go so far as this there remains the question of conflicts between the different identifications into which the ego is split up conflicts which cannot after all be described as purely pathological

But whatever the character's capacity for resisting the influences of abandoned object cathexes may turn out to be in after years the effects of the first identifications in earliest childhood will be profound and lasting This leads us back to the origin of the ego ideal for

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N[illegible]w th[illegible] betw[illegible] th[illegible] e[illegible]o [illegible] th[illegible] id [illegible] [illegible] of l[illegible]b[illegible]d [illegible] *O[illegible] A[illegible]* (p 399 [illegible]) Th[illegible] l[illegible]b[illegible]d[illegible] which fl[illegible]ws [illegible] th[illegible] go [illegible] th[illegible] [illegible]ficat[illegible] desc[illegible]bed [illegible] its sec[illegible]dary narcissism

from the very beginnin attributed the func tion of instituting repression to the moral and aesthetic tendencies in the ego and secondly there has been general refusal to recognize that psycho-analytic research could not produce a complete and finished body of doctrine like a philosophical system, ready made but had to find its way step by step along the path towards understanding the intricacies of the mind by making an analytic dissection of both normal and abnormal phenomena. So long as the study of the repressed part of the mind was our task, there was no need for us to feel any agitated apprehensions about the existence of the higher side of mental life. But now that we have embarked upon the analysis of the ego, we can give an answer to all those whose moral sense has been shocked and who have complained that there must surely be a higher nature in man. Very true we can say and here we have that higher nature in this ego-ideal or super-ego the representative of our relation to our parents. When we were little children we knew these higher natures we admired them and feared them and later we took them into ourselves.

The ego-ideal, therefore is the heir of the Oedipus complex and thus it is also the expression of the most powerful impulses and most important vicissitudes experienced by the libido in the id. By setting up this ego-ideal, the ego masters its Oedipus complex and at the same time places itself in subjection to the id. Whereas the ego is essentially the representative of the external world, of reality the super-ego stands in contrast to it as the representative of the internal world of the id. Conflicts between the ego and the ideal will as we are now prepared to find, ultimately reflect the contrast between what is real and what is mental between the external world and the internal world.

Through the forming of the ideal all the traces left behind in the id by biological developments and by the vicissitudes gone through by the human race are taken over by the ego and lived through again by it in each individual. Owing to the way in which it is formed, the ego-ideal has a great many points of contact with the phylogenetic endowment of each individual—his archaic heritage. And thus it is that what belongs to the lowest depths in the minds of each of us is changed through this formation of the ideal into what we value as the highest in the human soul. It would be vain, however to attempt to localize the ego-ideal, even in the sense in which we have localized the ego, or to work it into any of those analogies with the help of which we have tried to picture the relation between the ego and the id.

It is easy to show that the ego-ideal answers in every way to what is expected of the higher nature of man. In so far as it is a substitute for the longing for a father it contains the germ from which all religions have evolved. The self judgment which declares that the ego falls short of its ideal produces the sense of worthlessness with which the religious believer attests his longing. As a child grows up, the office of father is carried on by masters and by others in authority the power of their injunctions and prohibitions remains vested in the ego-ideal and continues in the form of conscience, to exercise the censorship of morals. The tension between the demands of conscience and the actual attainments of the ego is experienced as a sense of guilt. Social feelings rest on the foundation of identifications with others on the basis of an ego-ideal in common with them.

Religion, morality and a social sense—the chief elements of what is highest in man—were originally one and the same thing. According to the hypothesis which I have put forward in *Totem and Taboo* they were acquired phylogenetically out of the father-complex religion and moral restraint by the actual process of mastering the Oedipus complex itself and social feeling from the necessity for overcoming the rivalry that then remained between the members of the younger generation. It seems that the male sex has taken the lead in developing all of these moral acquisitions and that they have then been transmitted to women by cross-inheritance. Even today the social feelings arise in the individual as a superstructure founded upon impulses of jealousy and rivalry against his brothers and sisters. Since the enmity cannot be gratified there develops an identification with the former rival. The study of mild cases of homosexuality confirms the suspicion that in this instance too the identification is a substitute for an affectionate object-choice which has succeeded the hostile aggressive attitude.

With the mention of phylogenesis however

I am not the moment putting science and art on one side

Cf *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* p 66 et seq and "Certain Neurotic Mechanisms in Jealousy, Paranoia, and Homosexuality" (19) *Collected Papers* II.

with the earliest object choices and identifications and still more difficult to describe them intelligibly It may even be that the ambivalence displayed in the relations to the parents should be attributed entirely to bisexuality and that it is not as I stated just now developed out of an identification in consequence of rivalry

In my opinion it is advisable in p n l quite e n to assu comple ute then shows that in a number of cases one or the other of its constituents disappears except for barely distinguishable traces so that a series can be formed with the normal positive Oedipus complex at one end and the inverted negative one at the other while its intermediate members will exhibit the complete type with one or other of its two constituents preponderating As the Oedipus complex dissolves the four trends of which it consists will group themselves in such a way as to produce a father identification and a mother identification The father identification will preserve the object relation to the mother which belonged to the positive complex and will at the same time take the place of the object relation to the father which belonged to the inverted complex and the same will be true *mutatis mutandis* of the mother identification The relative intensity of the two identifications in any individual will reflect the preponderance in him of one or other of the two sexual dispositions

The broad general outcome of the sexual phase governed by the Oedipus complex may therefore be taken to be the forming of a precipitate in the ego consisting of these two identifications in some way combined together This modification of the ego retains its special position it stands in contrast to the other constituents of the ego in the form of an ego ideal or super-ego

The super ego is however not merely a deposit left by the earliest object choices of the id it also represents an energetic reaction formation against those choices Its relation to the ego is not exhausted by the precept You *ought to be* such and such (like your father) it also comprises the prohibition "You *must not be* such and such (like your father) that is you may not do all that he does many thin s are his prerogative Thus double aspect of the ego ideal derives from the fact that the ego ideal had the task of effecting the repression of the Oedipus complex indeed it is to that revolutionary event that it owes its existence Clearly the repression of the Oedipus complex was no easy task The parents and especially the father were perceived as the obstacle to realization of the Oedipus wishes so the child s ego brought in a reinforcement to help in carrying out the repression by erecting this same obstacle within itself The strength to do this was so to speak borrowed from the father and this loan was an extraordinarily momentous act The super-ego retains the character of the father while the more intense the Oedipus complex w d more the schoc on is tion of the super ego over the ego—in the form of conscience or perhaps of an unconscious sense of guilt I shall later on bring forward a suggestion about the source of the power it employs to dominate in this way the source that is of its compulsive character which manifests itself in the form of a cate orical imperative

If we consider once more the origin of the super ego as we have described it we shall perceive it to be the outcome of two highly important factors one of them biological and the other historical namely the lengthy duration in man of the helplessness and dependence belonging to childhood and the fact of his Oedipus complex the repression of which we have shown to be connected with the interruption of libidinal development by the latency period and so with the twofold onset of activity characteristic of man s sexual life According to the view of one psycho analyst the last mentioned phenomenon which seems to be peculiar to man is a heritage of the cultural development necessitated by the glacial epoch We see then that the differentiation of the super-ego from the ego is no matter of chance it stand as the representative of the most important events in the development both of the individual and of the race indeed by giving permanent expression to the influence of the parents it perpetuates the existence of the factors to which it owes its origin

Psycho analysis has been reproached time after time with ignoring the higher moral spiritual side of human nature The reproach is doubly unjust both historically and methodologically For in the first place we have

The necessary cha g s be g made —ED

Th s t c eprese ts a l ght m d fcati f the o gi al te t cco d ce w th d rect instructi f om th tho —TR.

morganic state on the other hand we supposed that Eros aims at complicating life by bringing about a more and more far reaching coalescence of the particles into which living matter has been dispersed thus of course aiming at the maintenance of life. Acting in this way both the instincts would be conservative in the strictest sense of the word since both would be endeavouring to re-establish a state of things that was disturbed by the emergence of life The appearance of life would thus be regarded as the cause of the continuance of life and also as the cause of the striving towards death and life itself would be a conflict and compromise between these two trends The problem of the origin of life would remain a cosmological one and the problem of the purpose and goal of life would be answered dualistically

On this view a special physiological process (of anabolism or katabolism) would be associated with each of the two classes of instincts both instincts would be active in every particle of living substance although in unequal proportions so that some one substance might be the principal representative of Eros.

This hypothesis throws no light whatever upon the manner in which the two classes of instincts are fused blended and mingled with each other but that this takes place regularly and very extensively is an assumption indispensable to our conception. It appears that, as a result of the combination of unicellular organisms into multicellular forms of life the death-instinct of the single cell can successfully be neutralized and the destructive impulses be diverted towards the external world through the instrumentality of a special organ This special organ would seem to be the musculature and the death instinct would thus seem to express itself—though probably only in part—as an instinct of destruction directed against the external world and other living organisms

Once we have admitted the conception of a fusion of the two classes of instincts with each other the possibility of a—more or less complete—*defusion* of them forces itself upon us. The sadistic component of the sexual instinct would be a classical example of instinctual fusion serving a useful purpose and the perversion in which sadism has made itself independent would be typical of defusion though not of a completely complete defusion. From this point we obtain a new view of a great array of facts which have not before been considered in this light. We perceive that for purposes of discharge the instinct of destruction is habitually enlisted in the service of Eros we suspect that the epileptic fit is a product and sign of instinctual *defusion* and we come to understand that defusion and the marked emergence of the death instinct are among the most noteworthy effects of many severe neuroses e.g. the obsessional neuroses Making a swift generalization we might conjecture that the essence of a regression of libido e.g. from the genital to the sadistic anal level would lie in a defusion of instincts just as conversely the advance from an earlier to the definitive genital phase would be conditioned by an accession of *erotic components* The question also arises whether ordinary ambivalence which is so often unusually strong in the constitutional disposition to neurosis should not be regarded as the product of a defusion ambivalence however is such a fundamental phenomenon that it more probably represents a state of incomplete fusion.

It is natural that we should now turn with interest to inquire whether there may not be instructive connections to be traced between the formations we have assumed to exist in the mind—the ego the super-ego and the id—and the two classes of instincts and further whether the pleasure principle which dominates mental processes can be shown to have any *constant relation* both to the two classes of instincts and to these differentiations which we have drawn within the mind But before we discuss this we must clear away a doubt which arises concerning the terms of the problem itself There can be no doubt about the pleasure principle and the differentiations within the ego have good clinical justification but the distinction between the two classes of instincts does not seem sufficiently assured and it is possible that facts of clinical analysis may be found to conflict with it.

tive of Eros but we must be grateful that we can find a representative of the elusive death instinct in the instinct of destruction, for which hate points the way) Now clinical observation shows not only that love is with unexpected regularity accompanied by hate (ambivalence) and not only that in human relationships hate is frequently a forerunner of love but also that in many circumstances hate changes into love and love into hate. If this change is anything more than a mere succession

fresh problems arise from which one is tempted to shrink back dismayed But there is no help for it the attempt must be made in spite of a fear that it will lay bare the inadequacy of the whole structure that we have so arduously built up The question is which was it the ego of primitive man or his id that acquired religion and morality in those early days out of the father complex? If it was his ego why do we not speak simply of these things being inherited by the ego? If it was the id how does that agree with the character of the id? Or are we wrong in carrying the differentiation between ego super ego and id back into such early times? Or should we not honestly confess that our whole conception of the processes within the ego is of no help in understanding phylogenesis and cannot be applied to it?

Let us answer first what is easiest to answer The differentiation between ego and id must be attributed not only to primitive man but even to much simpler forms of life for it is the inevitable expression of the influence of the external world The super ego according to our hypothesis actually originated from the experiences that led to totemism The question whether it was the ego or the id that experienced and acquired these things soon cea es to have any meaning Reflection at once shows us that no external vicissitudes can be experienced or undergone by the id except by way of the ego which is the representative of the outer world to the id Nevertheless it is not possible to speak of direct inheritance by the ego It is here that the gulf between the actual individual and the conception of the species becomes evident Moreover one must not take the difference between ego and id in too hard and fast a sense nor forget that the ego is a part of the id which has been specially modified The experiences undergone by the ego seem at first to be lost to posterity but when they have been repeated often enough and with sufficient intensity in the successive individuals of many generations they transform themselves so to say into experiences of the id the impress of which is preserved by inheritance Thus in the id which is capable of being inherited are stored up vestiges of the existences led by countless former egos and when the ego forms its super ego out of the id it may perhaps only be reviving images of egos that have passed away and be securing them a resurrection

The way in which the super-ego came into being explains how it is that the earlier conflicts of the ego with the object-cathexes of the id can be carried on and continued in conflicts with their successor the super ego If the ego has not succeeded in mastering the Oedipus complex satisfactorily the energic cathexis of the latter springing from the id will find an outlet in the reaction formations of the ego-ideal The very free communication possible between the ideal and these *Ucs* instinctual trends explains how it is that the ideal itself can be to a great extent unconscious and inaccessible to the ego The struggle which once raged in the deepest strata of the mind and was not brought to an end by rapid sublimation and identification is now carried on in a hi her region like the Battle of the Huns which in Kaulbach s painting is being fought out in the sky

IV THE TWO CLASSES OF INSTINCTS

WE have already said that if the differentiation we have made of the mind into an id an ego and a super ego represents any advance in our knowledge it ought to enable us to understand more thoroughly the dynamic relations within the mind and to describe them more clearly We have also already reached the conclusion that the ego is especially affected by perception and that speaking broadly perceptions may be said to have the same significance for the ego as instincts have for the id At the same time the ego is subject to the influence of the instincts too like the id of which it is in fact only a specially modified part

I have lately developed a view of the instincts which I shall here hold to and take as the basis of further discussions According to this view we have to distinguish two classes of instincts one of which Eros or the sexual instincts is by far the more conspicuous and accessible to study It comprises not merely the uninhibited sexual instinct proper and the impulses of a sublimated or aim inhibited nature derived from it but also the self pre erva tive instinct which must be assigned to the ego and which at the beginning of our analytic work we had good reason for setting in opposition to the sexual object instincts The second class of instincts was not so easy to define in the end we came to recognize sadism as its representative As a result of theoretical considerations supported by biology we assumed the existence of a death instinct the task of which is to lead organic matter back into the

Bey d th Pl P pl p 639 abo e.

know this trait it is characteri tic of the ca thetic processes in the id. It is found in erotic ca_ses where a peculiar indiffere ce in regard to the object displays itself and it is especiall ev dent in the tran_ferences arising in analysis which develop ine itabl no matter who the analyst may be Rank has recently pu__ed some good examples of the way in hich neurotic acts of revenge can be directed against the wrong people Such beha our on the part f the unconsci us reminds one of the comic st ry f the three illage tailors, one of whom had t be hanged becau e the only vil lage blacksmith had comm tted a cap tal of fence The penalty mu t be exa t d e en if t

objects that were thus relegated to a positi n of no m re than seco dary importance just as in th case we are now discu_sing it is the paths of discharge It would seem to be char acteristic f the eg to be more particular both about the ch ce of an object and about the path f discharge.

If this displaceabl en rgy is desexualized lib d t might al_o be described as ublimated energy for t would till retain th main pur pose of Eros—that of uniting and binding—in so far as it h lped toward establishing that unity r tendency to unity which is particu larly characteristi of the go If th tell ctual proces_es in the wider ens ar to be cla_sed among these displacement then the energy for the w k f th ht tself must be upplied from sublimated e t our es

Here w arri gain t th possibility which has already been discu sed that s blim tion may take pla regula ly through the mediati n of the eg The ther cas will be recollected, in which the ego deals with the first object cathexes f th d (and ertainly with lat o es too) by taking e th lib do from them int i self and binding t to the ego-modification produced by means f dentificatio Th trans formation f rotic lib d int ego-lib d of course in l es an band nme t of sexual aims a desexualization In any case this throw light upon an important fun tion f the ego in ts relation t Er By thus obtaining posses_ f the lib d from the bject-cathexes setting itself up sol lo e-obj ct and des xualizin_ o sublim ting th lib d f th id th eg is w king in oppo tion t th purposes of E os and placing itself at th serv ce of the oppos

ing instinctual trends It has to acquiesce in some of the other object-cathexes of the id it has to go hand in hand with them so to speak. We shall come back later to another poss ble consequence of this activ ty of the ego

Th would eem to imply an important am plificat on of the theory of narcissism At the very beginning all the l b do is accumulated in the id while the ego is st ll in process of forma tion or far from robust. Part of this l b do is sent out by the id into erotic object-cathexes whereupon the *ego now growing stronger* at tempts to obtain posses ion of this object lib d and to force itself upon the id as a love object *The narc ssism of the ego is thus een* to be secondary acqu red by the w thdrawal of the lib do fr m objects.

Over and over again we find on tracin in stinctual impulses back that th y disclose them sel es as deri atives of Eros If it were not for the con_ derations put forwa d in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* and ultimately for the sadis-

th r nature mute and that the clamour of lif pro eeds fo the most part from Eros

And fr m the struggle against Eros[1] It can hardly be doubted that th pleasure-pri ciple serves the id as a compass in its struggle against

constant equilibrium, it onsi ts of a contin ous des ent t wards death but the falling f the le el is d layed and fresh tensions are intro duced, by the claims of Eros of the sexual in stincts as expressed in instinctual needs. The id guided by the pleasure principle, that is by th perception of "pain guards tself against thes tensions in arious ways It does so in the first pla by complying as sw ftly as pos sibl with th demands of the non-desexualized lib do i e. by tr ing f th gratificati n f the directly sexual tre ds But it does so fur ther and in f more comprehensive fashion in relation to one particul r form of gratifica tio which s bsum all compo ent laims— that s by discharge of the exual sub tances which re turated o ductors o t speak, f the erotic ten_ions The j ct n f sexual sub

[1] I f cco ding to view i Is throu h the gency f Eros tha the destructi ins ncts that are directed wa ds the external world ha been di rted from the self.

in time then clearly the ground is cut away from under a distinction so fundamental as that between erotic instincts and death instincts one which presupposes the existence of physiological processes running counter to each other

Now the case in which someone first loves and then hates the same person (or the reverse) because that person has given him cause for doing so has obviously nothing to do with our problem Nor has the other case in which feelings of love that have not yet become manifest express themselves to begin with by enmity and aggressive tendencies for it may be that here the destructive components in the object cathexis have outstripped the erotic and are only later on joined by the latter But we know of several instances in the psychology of the neuroses in which there are better grounds for assuming that a transformation does take place In persecutory paranoia the sufferer takes a particular way of defending himself against an unduly strong homosexual attachment to a given person with the result that the person he once loved most is changed into a persecutor and then becomes the object of aggressive and often dangerous impulses on the part of the patient Here we have grounds for interposing an intermediate phase in which the love is transformed into hate Analytic investigation has only lately revealed that the sources of homosexuality and of desexualized social feelings include very intense feelings of rivalry giving rise to aggressive desires which after they have been surmounted are succeeded by love for the object that was formerly hated or by an identification with it The question arises whether in these instances we are to assume a direct transformation of hate into love It is clear that here the chan es are purely internal and an alteration in the behaviour of the object plays no part in them

There is another possible mechanism however which we have come to know of by analytic investigation of the processes concerned in the change in paranoia An ambivalent attitude is present from the outset and the transformation is effected by means of a reactive shifting of cathexis by which energy is withdrawn from the erotic impulses and used to supplement the hostile energy

Not quite the same thing but something like it happens when a hostile attitude of rivalry is overcome and leads to homosexuality The hostile attitude has no prospect of gratification consequently—i e as an economic measure—it is replaced by a loving attitude for which there is more hope of satisfaction that is possibility of discharge So we see that we are not obliged in either of these cases to assume a direct transformation of hate into love which would be incompatible with a qualitative distinction between the two classes of instincts

It appears however that by including in our calculations this other mechanism by means of which love can be changed into hate we have tacitly made another assumption which deserves to be formulated explicitly We have reckoned as though there existed in the mind—whether in the ego or in the id—a displaceable energy which is in itself neutral but is able to join forces either with an erotic or with a destructive impulse differing qualitatively as they do and augment its total cathexis Without assuming the existence of a displaceable energy of this kind we can make no headway The only question is where it comes from what it belongs to and what it signifies

The problem of the quality of instinctual impulses and of its persistence throughout their vicissitudes is still very obscure and has hardly been attacked up to the present In the ems l compon

a what we are discussing e.g we see that some degree of communication exists between the component instincts that an instinct deriving from one particular erotogenic source can make over its intensity to reinforce another component instinct originatin in another source that gratification of one instinct can take the place of gratification of another and many more facts of the same nature—all of which must encourage us to venture upon certain assumptions

In the present discussion moreover I am putting forward nothing but a supposition I have no proof to offer It seems a plausible view that this neutral displaceable energy which is probably active alike in the ego and in the id proceeds from the narcissistic reservoir of libido i e that it is desexualized Eros (The erotic instincts appear to be altogether more plastic more readily diverted and displaced than the destructive instincts) From this we can easily go on to assume that this displaceable libido is employed in the service of the pleasure principle to obviate accumulations and to facilitate discharge It is clear incidentally that there is a certain indifference about the path along which the discharge takes place so long as it takes place somehow We

far cees as narcissistic inaccessibility the assumption of a negative attitude towards the physician, or a clinging to the advantages of the illness.

In the end we come to see that we are dealing with what may be called a "moral" factor a sense of guilt which is finding atonement in the illness and is refusin to give up the penalty of suffering We are justified in regarding this rather disheartening explanation as conclusive. But, as far as the patient is concerned this sense of guilt is dumb it does not tell him h is guilty he does not feel guilty he mply feels ill. This ense f guilt expresses itself only as a resistance to recovery which it is extrem ly difficult to o e come It is also par ticularly difficult to con ince the patient that this mo e lies behind his continuing to be ill h h ds fast to the more obvious explanation that treatment by analysis is not the right remedy for his case.

The description we have given applies t the most extrem instances of this state of affairs but in a lesser measure this factor has to be reckoned with in very many cases perhaps in all severe cases of neurosis In fact t may be precisely this element in th s tuat on the attitud f the ego- deal that determines the severity of eur tic illness. W hall n t hesitat therefore to discu rath more f lly the way in which th sense of guilt expresses itself under different conditions

An explanat on of the normal conscious sense of guilt (conscience) prese ts no difficulties t is due to tens on between the ego and the ego-ideal and is the expression of a condem nation of the ego pronounced by its criticizing funct on The feel ngs of inferiority so well known in neurotics are presumably closely re lated to it In two very familiar malad es the sense of guilt is o er strongly conscious in them the ego-ideal displays particular severity and often rages against the ego with the utmost cruelty The attitude of the ego-ideal in these two diseases the obsessional neurosis and melancholia presents al ngs de of this sim ilarity differences that are no less sign ficant

In certain forms of the obses onal neurosis th sense of guilt expresses itself loudly but cannot justify itself to the ego Consequently

shows that the uper-ego is being influenced by processes that have remained hidden from the ego It is pos ble to discover the repressed impulses which really occasion the sense of guilt. The super-ego is thus pro ed to have known more than the ego about the unconscious id.

difference is plain. In the obsessional neuros s, the repreh ns ble impulses which are being criticized by the super-ego ha e never formed part of the ego while in melancholia, the object of the super-ego s wrath has become part of the ego through dentification

It is certainly not clear why the sense of guilt reaches such an xtraordinary inten ty in these tw eurotic disorders and i d ed the main problem presented in this state of affairs lies in another direction We shall post pone discussion of it until we ha e d alt with the othe cases—in which the sense of guilt remains unconscious

It is esse tially in hysteria and in states of an hysterical type that this condition is found. The me hanism by which the sense of guilt is kept un onscious is easy to discover Th h sterical type of eg defends tself from the painful perception which th criticisms f its super-ego thre ten to produc in t by the same means that t uses to defend tself from an

The battl with the obstacl f an unconscious sense f gu no made sy f the nalys thi g can be done gair directly and nothi g ind rectly bu the slow procedure f unma king ts unconscious repressed roots and f thus grad lly cha ging in conscious sense f gui One ha pecial opportu nity f influencing hen this L sense f guil is "borrowed one i.e ben the product f identification th som the perso was nce the object f an erotic cathexis. When the sense f gu has been dopted in this way is ften the sole remaining trace f the bandoned love rel tio and not all easy to recognize as such (The likeness between this process and wha happens in mel ncholia unmistak bl) If one ca unmask thi f rme object-cathexis behind the L cs sense of guilt, the therapeutic success is ften brillia t, but therw se

sonality f the nalys all ws f the patie pu ting h m in the place f his ego-ideal, nd this in lves tem ta f the analys to pl y the part f prophet, saviour nd redeemer to the patie nce the rules f analysis are di metricall opposed to the p ysician makin use f h personality any such manner i mus be honestly co fessed tha here we have another limitation the ectiveness f nalysis after ll analys does no se ou bol h the possibility f morb d reactions but to give the patient' ego *freedom* to choose one way the the

stances in the sexual act corresponds in a certain degree with the separation of soma and germ plasm This accounts for the likeness between dying and the condition that follows complete sexual satisfaction and for the fact that death coincides with the act of copulation in some of the lower animals These creatures die in the act of reproduction because after Eros has been eliminated through the process of gratification the death instinct has a free hand for accomplishing its purposes Finally as we have seen the ego by sublimating some of the libido for itself and its purposes assists the id in its work of mastering the tensions

V THE SUBORDINATE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE EGO

THE complexity of our subject matter must be an excuse for the fact that none of the chapter headings of this book correspond entirely to their contents and that in turning to new aspects of the problem we constantly hark back to matters that have already been dealt with

As has been said repeatedly the ego is formed to a great extent out of identifications taking the place of cathexes on the part of the id which have been abandoned the earliest of these identifications always fulfil a special office in the ego and stand apart from the rest of the ego in the form of a super ego while later on as it grows stronger the ego may become more able to withstand the effects of identifications The super ego ow [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] that on the one hand it was the first identification and one which took place while the ego was still feeble and that on the other hand it was the heir to the Oedipus complex and thus incorporated into the ego objects of far greater significance than any others The super ego s relation to the subsequent modifications effected in the ego is roughly that of the primary sexual period in childhood to full grown sexual activity after puberty Although it is amenable to every later influence it preserves throughout life the character given to it by its derivation from the father complex namely the capacity to stand apart from the ego and to rule it It is a memorial of the former weakness and dependence of the ego and the mature ego remains subject to its domination As the child was once compelled to obey its parents so the e o submits to the categorical imperative pronounced by its super-ego

The descent of the super e o from the first object cathexes of the id from the Oedipus complex however signifies even more for it This descent as we have already described connects it with the phylogenetic acquisitions of the id and makes it a reincarnation of former ego structures which have left their precipitates behind in the id Thus the super-ego is always in close touch with the id and can act as its representative in relation to the ego It reaches deep down into the id and is for that reason farther from consciousness than the ego

We can best appreciate these relations by turning our attention to certain clinical facts which have long since lost their novelty but which still await theoretical discussion

There are certain people who behave in a quite peculiar fashion during the work of analysis When one speaks hopefully to them or expresses satisfaction with the progress of the treatment they show signs of discontent and their condition invariably becomes worse One begins by regarding this as defiance and as an attempt to prove their superiority to the physician but later one comes to take a deeper and truer view One becomes convinced not only that such people cannot endure any praise or appreciation but that they react inversely to the progress of the treatment Every partial solution that ought to result and in other people does result in an improvement or a temporary suspension of symptoms produces in them for the time being an exacerbation of their illness they get worse during the treatment instead of getting better They exhibit the so called *negative therapeutic reaction*

There is no doubt that there is something in these people that sets itself against their recovery and dreads its approach as though it were a danger We are accustomed to say that the need for illness has got the upper hand in them over the desire for health If we analyse this resistance in the usual way—then even after we have subtracted from it the defiant attitude towards the physician and the fixation on the various kinds of advantage which the patient derives from the illness the greater part of it is still left over and this reveals itself as the most powerful of all obstacles to recovery more powerful even than such fam

It m y be d th t th psy h lytical m te p y h l g al g t ds it h d l ss tha the t m cal go—the *c ltcal h m cul s*

is interminable self torment and eventually there follows a systematic torturing of the object, in so far as it is within reach.

The activity of the dange ous death instincts — wi h

world in the form of aggress on while for the most part they undoubtedly co t ue their inner wo k unhindered How is t then that in melanch lia the super-ego can becom a ki d of gathering-place for the death nstincts?

From the point f v ew of m rality the co trol and restrictio of instinct t may be aid f th d that t is tot lly non moral of the ego that it stri es to be m ral and of the super ego that it ca be hype m ral nd then be comes as ruthless only th id can be It is remarkabl that the more a man checks his aggressive tendencies towards others the more tyrannical that i agres ve he becomes n his ego-ideal. Th ordinary v ew see th situa tio th th way round th sta dard set p by the ego- deal seems t be the moti e for the suppression of g resa e ess The f ct re mains h weve we ha e stated it th more a —

ment, turning round upo the se b t e n ordinary ormal morality has harshly re straining ru lly p ohib ti g quality It from this, indeed that the o c ptio ari es of an m rable h gher being who metes out puni h ment.

I cannot go f rth r n my co sid ration of these questions w tho t trod cing a f esh assumption. The super-ego rises as we know from an dentificati with the fathe rega ded as a mod l. E ery such identificatio is in the nature of a desexualizati n r even f sub-limati n. It ow seems s tho gh when a transformation of thi kind takes place th e occurs at th sam time an instin tual defusion After blimat the rotic c mpo e t o l ng has the po er t bind the wh le of the destructi e el ment that were prev u ly com bined with t d these rel ed in the form of in li ti ns t aggression and destruc ti n. This defus on w uld be the sou e f the gen ral characte of harshness d cruelty ex hib ted by the deal—its dictatorial 'Thou shalt.

Let us again consid r th bsess o al n u-rosis for a moment The tate of affairs is

mixed w th the i b o

Our ideas about the ego are begin ng to cl r and its various relation hips are ga ning distinct es We now see the ego in its strength and in its weaknesses It is entrusted wi h im porta t funct o s By v rtue of its relation to the perceptual system it arranges the processes of the m d a t mporal order and tests the r correspo d nce with real ty By interpo g the proce s of th nking it secures a postponement of motor di harges a d co trols the a enues t mot lity This last office is to be ure a quest on more of form than of fact in the matte of act n the ego s pos tion is l ke that of a constitut onal monarch without whose sanctio no law can be pas ed but who hesitates long befor impo ng veto on any measure put f rward by Parl ment All the experiences of life that originat from w thout enrich the ego the d however s another outer w ld to t which it tri es t b ng into subject on to tself It w thdraws lib do from the d a d tran forms the object-c th es of the id to ego-co structions With th aid of the super ego th gh in a m nner that is till obscure to us it draws upon the expe iences of pa t ages stored in the id

There are two paths by which the c te ts of the id can *penetrate into the ego* The o e is direct the other leads by way of the ego-deal which f these tw paths they take may for many mental act it es be of d e importance. The ego develops from perc n *instincts to co trollin th m* from obe g instincts t curbing them I this achievement a larg ha taken by the ego-ideal whi h indeed is partly a reaction f rm ti n aga t the inst t l proce es in th d Psy ho-analys s is an nstrume t t enable the ego to push ts c quest of the d further still

F m the th r point of v ew h wever we see thi same ego as a poor creature owing erv e to three masters d consequently menaced by three everal dangers from the

unendurable object cathexis—by an act of repression It is the ego therefore that is responsible for the sense of guilt remaining unconscious We know that as a rule the ego carries out repressions in the service and at the behest of its super ego but this is a case in which it has turned the same weapon against its harsh taskmaster In the obsessional neurosis as we know the phenomena of reaction formation predominate but here the ego contents itself with keeping at a distance the material to which the sense of guilt refers

One may go further and venture the hypothesis that a great part of the sense of guilt must normally remain unconscious because the origin of conscience is closely connected with the Oedipus complex which belongs to the unconscious If any one were inclined to put forward the paradoxical proposition that the normal man is not only far more immoral than he believes but also far more moral than he has any idea of psycho analysis which is responsible for the first half of the assertion would have no objection to raise against the second half

It was a surprise to find that exacerbation of this *Ucs* sense of guilt could turn people into criminals But it is undoubtedly a fact In many criminals especially youthful ones it is possible to detect a very powerful sense of guilt which existed before the crime and is not therefore the result of it but its motive It is as if it had been a relief to be able to fasten this unconscious sense of guilt on to something real and immediate

In all these situations the super ego displays its independence of the conscious ego and the closeness of its relations with the unconscious id And now having regard to the importance we ascribed to preconscious verbal residues in the ego the question arises whether the super ego if it is in part unconscious can consist in such verbal images or if not in what it does consist Our answer though it does not carry us very far will be that it cannot possibly be disputed that the super ego no less than the ego is derived from auditory impressions it is part of the ego and remains to a great extent accessible to consciousness by way of these verbal images (concepts abstractions) but the cathectic energy of these elements of the super ego does not originate from the auditory perceptions instruction reading etc but from sources in the id

The question which we postponed answering runs thus How is it that the super-ego manifests itself essentially as a ense of guilt (or rather as criticism—for the sense of guilt is the perception in the ego which correspond to the criticism) and at the same time develops such extraordinary harshness and severity towards the ego? If we turn to melancholia first we find that the excessively strong super-ego which has obtained a hold upon consciou ness rages against the ego with merciless fury as if it had taken possession of the whole of the sadism available in the person concerned Following our view of sadism we should say that the destructive component had entrenched itself in the super ego and turned against the ego What is now holding sway in the super-ego is as it were a pure culture of the death instinct and in fact it often enough succeeds in driving the ego into death if the latter does not protect itself from the tyrant in time by a revulsion into mania

The reproaches of conscience in certain forms of obsessional neurosis are just as painful and tormenting but here the situation is le s perspicuous It is remarkable that the obsessional neurotic in contrast to the melancholiac never takes the step of self destruction he is as if immune against the danger of suicide and is far better protected from it than the hysteric We can see that what guarantees the safety of the ego is the fact that the object has been retained In the obsessional neurosis is has become possible through a regression to the pre genital organization for the love impulses to transform themselves into impulses of aggression against the object Here again the instinct of destruction has been set free and it aims at destroying the object or at least it appears to have this aim These tendencies have not been adopted by the ego it struggles against them with reaction formations and pre cautionary measures and they remain in the id The super-ego however behaves as if the ego were responsible for them and shows by its zeal in chastising these destructive intentions that they are no mere semblance evoked by regression but an actual substitution of hate for love Helpless in either direction the ego defends itself vainly alike against the instigations of the murderous id and against the reproaches of the punishing conscience It succeeds in holding in check at least the most brutal actions of both sides the first outcome

[1] Th s p opo tion is o ly pp tly a p rad It s mply states that h m t ha f gre t ca p c ty both f r good d f e l th it th ks it has e th t is ware of th o gh the c nsc us percep t o s of the g

is n ermnable lf torment and eventually t ere f llows a systematic torturing of the

less by bein, f sed with erotic components in part they are di erted t wards the ext rnal world in the f rm of aggress on while for the most part they und bt dly continue their inner wo k unhindered H w is it then that in melancholia the uper-ego can become a kind of gathe ng-place for the d ath instincts?

From the point f view of morality the co trol and restrictio of in tinct it may be said of t e d that it is totally no moral of the ego th t strives to be moral, and of the super ego that it can be hyper moral and then be comes as ruthl ss as only the id can be It is remarkable that th more a man checks his aggressive tendenci s tow rds thers the more tyra ical, that is agres e he be omes in his ego-ideal. The ordinary ew sees the it a t on the other way round the standard et up by th ego- deal seems t be the moti e for the suppression of ggres e s The fact re mains, h wever a we ha e stated t the m e a man controls his g re eness the more in tense become the aggres ive tendenc es of his ego-ideal against his ego It is like a d pla ment, turning round upo the self B t en rdinary normal morality has a harshly re straining cruelly p ohib ting quality It f m this, indeed that the c ncepti arises of an inexorable h ghe being who metes ut puni h ment

I cannot go further in my consideration f these questions witho t int oducing a fresh assumption. The upe -ego arises as we know from an dentificati n with the f ther regarded as a mod l. E ery such id tification s in the nature of desexualizati n or even of a sub- limati n. It ow seems as tho h when a tran f rmation of this kind takes place th re occurs t th sam time an instin tual d fu on. After sublimation the ti mpo e t no lo ger has the powe to bind the wh le of the destructi e el me ts that we previou ly com bined with t a d these re rel ed in the form f inclinations to aggressi n and destruc tion. This defus on w uld be the sou e of the general character f harshness d cruelty e hi ted by the ideal—its dictat rial Thou shalt.

Let us again consid the b ess al eu- rosis for a moment. The tat of affairs is

now increases its tryanny over the innocent ego It would eem however that in this ca e no less than in that of melancholia, the e o having gained posses ion of the lib do by means of identificat on is punished for do n so by the supe -ego throu h the instrumentality of the aggressiveness wh ch had before been mixed with the lib do

Our ideas about the ego are beginn ng to clear and its various relat onsh ps are ga ning di ti ctness We now see the ego in its strength and in its weaknes es It is entrusted with im portant funct ons By virtue of its relat on to th perceptual syste it arranges the proces es of the m nd in a t mporal order and tests their correspondence w th reality By interposing the process f thinki it secures a postponement of motor discharges and controls the avenues to motility This last office is to be ure a q est o m re of form than of fact in the m tter of action the ego s pos tion is like that of a con t tut onal monarch, without whose sanct no l w can be pa sed but wh hes tates long bef e mpo ing a veto on any mea u e put forward by Parl ament All the experien es of life that originate from without enrich the ego the d howe er is another o ter wo ld to t which it tri es to b ing into subjection to tself It w thdraws l b d from the d and tra forms the object-cathexes of the id nto eg -co stru t ons W th the a d of the uper eg though in a manner that is till obscu e to us it draws upon the expe ces of past ages stored in the d

There are two paths by which the c ntents

importan The ego de el ps from perce in instincts to controlling them from obeying instin ts to cu bing them. In thi achieveme t a large har s taken by the ego- deal whi h indeed is partly a reaction format o ag nst the instinctual proces es in the id Psycho- analysis is an in trume t to enabl the ego to push ts conq est of the id further still

F m the other point of ew however we see this same ego as a poo creature owing serv ce to three masters and consequently menaced by three several dangers from the

external world from the libido of the id and from the severity of the super ego Three kinds of anxiety correspond to these three dangers since anxiety is the expression of a recoil from danger Like the dweller in a borderland that it is the ego tries to mediate between the world and the id to make the id comply with the world s demands and by means of muscular activity to accommodate the world to the id s desires In point of fact it behaves like the physician during treatment by analysis it offers itself to the id as a libidinal object in view of its power of adaptation to the real world and aims at attaching the id s libido to itself It is not only the ally of the id it is also a submissive slave who courts the love of his master Whenever possible it tries to remain on good terms with the id it draws the veil of its *Pcs* rationalizations over the id s *Ucs* demands it pretends that the id is showing obedience to the mandates of reality even when in fact it is remaining obdurate and immovable it throws a disguise over the id s conflicts with reality and if possible over its conflicts with the super ego too Its position midway between the id and reality tempts it only too often to become sycophantic opportunist and false like a politician who sees the truth but wants to keep his place in popular favour

Towards the two classes of instincts the ego s attitude is not impartial Its work of identification and sublimation gives the death instincts in the id assistance in mastering the libido but in so doing it incurs the risk of itself becoming the object of the death instincts and of perishing In order to be able to help in this way it has to become flooded with libido itself it thus becomes the representative of Eros and thence forward desires to live and to be loved

But since the ego s work of sublimation results in a defusion of the instincts and a liberation of the aggressive instincts in the super ego its struggle against the libido exposes it to the danger of maltreatment and death In suffering under the attacks of the super ego or perhaps even succumbing to them the ego is meeting with a fate like that of the protozoa which are destroyed by the products of disintegration that they themselves have created From the economic point of view the morality that functions in the super ego seems to be a similar product of disintegration

Among the subordinate relationships in which the ego stands that to the super-ego is perhaps the most interesting

The ego is the true abode of anxiety Threatened by dangers from three directions it develops the flight reflex by withdrawing its own cathexis from the menacing perception or from the equally dreaded process in the id and discharging it as anxiety This primitive reaction is later replaced by the introduction of protective cathexes (the mechanism of the phobias) What it is that the ego fears either from an external or from a libidinal danger cannot be specified we know that it is in the nature of an overthrow or of extinction but it is not determined by analysis The ego is simply obeying the warning of the pleasure principle. On the other hand we can tell what lies hidden behind the ego s dread of the super-ego its fear of conscience The higher being which later became the ego ideal once threatened the ego with castration and this dread of castration is probably the kernel round which the subsequent fear of conscience has gathered it is this dread that persists as the fear of conscience.

The high sounding phrase Every fear is ultimately the fear of death has hardly any meaning at any rate it cannot be justified. It seems to me on the contrary perfectly correct to distinguish the fear of death from dread of an external object (objective anxiety) and from neurotic libidinal anxiety It presents a difficult problem to psycho analysis for death is an abstract concept with a negative content for which no unconscious correlative can be found. It would seem that the mechanism of the fear of death can only be that the ego relinquishes its narcissistic libidinal cathexis in a very large measure that is that it gives up itself just as it gives up some *external* object in other cases in which it feels anxiety I believe that the fear of death concerns an interplay between the ego and the super ego

We know that the fear of death makes its appearance under two conditions (which moreover are entirely analogous to the other situations in which anxiety develops) namely as a reaction to an external danger and as an internal process as for instance in melancholia. Once again a neurotic manifestation may help us to understand a normal one

The fear of death in melancholia only admits of one explanation that the ego gives itself up because it feels itself hated and persecuted by the super-ego instead of loved To the ego therefore living means the same as being loved —being loved by the super-ego which here again appears as the representative of the id. The super-ego fulfils the same function of pro-

loving and saving that was fulfilled in earlier days by the father and later by Providence or destiny But, when the ego finds itself in over whelming danger of a real order which it believes itself unable to overcome by its own ... s m ro lu

underlay the first great anxiety state of birth and the infantile anxiety of longing for an absent person—the anxiety of separation from the protecting mother

These considerations enable us to conceive of the fear of death, like the fear of conscience as development of the fear of castration The great significance which the sense of guilt has in the neuroses makes it conceivable that ordinary neurotic anxiety is reinforced in severe cases by a development of anxiety between the ego and the super-ego (fear of castration of conscience of death)

The id to which we finally come back has no means of showing the ego either love or hate It cannot say what it wants it has achieved *no unity of will* Eros and the death instinct struggle within it we have seen with what weapons the one group of instincts defends itself against the other It would be possible to picture the id as under the domination of the mute but powerful death instincts which desire to be at peace and (as the pleasure principle demands) to put Eros the intru[der] to rest but that would be to run the r[isk] of valuing too cheaply the part played by Eros.

Inhibitions, Symptoms, and Anxiety

CHAPTER I

In describing pathological phenomena we are enabled by the ordinary usages of speech to distinguish symptoms from inhibitions without however attaching much importance to the distinction Indeed we might hardly think it worthwhile to differentiate more exactly between the two were it not for the fact that we meet with illnesses in which we observe the presence of inhibitions but not of symptoms and are curious to know the reason for this

The two concepts are not upon the same plane Inhibition has a special relation to function It does not necessarily have a pathological implication One can quite well call a normal restriction of a function an inhibition of it A symptom on the other hand actually denotes the presence of some pathological process Thus an inhibition (among other things) may be a symptom In ordinary speech we should use the word *inhibition* when there is a simple lowering of function and *symptom* when a function has undergone some unusual change or when a new phenomenon has arisen out of it Very often it seems to be quite an arbitrary matter whether we emphasize the positive side of a pathological process and call its consequences a *symptom* or its negative side and call them an *inhibition* But all this is really of little interest and the problem as we have stated it does not carry us very far

Since the concept of inhibition is so intimately associated with that of function we may perhaps proceed to examine the various functions of the e o with a view to discovering what forms any disturbance of those functions will assume in each of the different neurotic affections Let us pick out for a comparative study of this kind the sexual function and those of eating of locomotion and of occupational work

(*a*) The sexual function is liable to a great number of disturbances most of which exhibit the characteristics of simple inhibitions These are classed together as *psychical impotence* The normal performance of the sexual function can only come about as the result of a very complicated process and disturbances may appear at any point in it In men the chief points at which inhibition occurs are shown by a turning away of the libido at the very beginning of the process (psychological unpleasure) an abridgment of the sexual act *(ejaculatio praecox)* an occurrence which might equally well be regarded as a symptom an arrest of the act before it has reached its natural conclusion (absence of ejaculation) or a non appearance of the psychological results (lack of pleasure in orgasm) Other disturbances arise from the sexual function becoming dependent on spec conditions of a perverse or fetishistic nature

That there is a relationship between inhib tion and anxiety is pretty evident Man inhibitions obviously represent a relinquish ment of a function whose exercise would pro duce anxiety Many women are openly afraid of the sexual function We class this anxiety under hysteria just as we do the defensive symptom of disgust which arising originally as a deferred reaction to the experiencing of a passive sexual act appears later whenever the *idea* of such an act is presented Furthermore many obsessional acts turn out to be measures of precaution and security against sexual ex periences and are thus of a phobic character

This is not very illuminating We can only note that disturbances of the sexual function are brought about by a great variety of means (1) The libido may simply be turned away (this seems most readily to produce what we regard as an inhibition pure and simple) (2) the function may be less well carried out (3) it may be hampered by having conditions attached to it or modified by being diverted to other aims (4) it may be prevented by measures of security (5) if it cannot be pre vented from starting it may be immediately interrupted by the appearance of anxiety and (6) if it is nevertheless carried out there may be a subsequent reaction of protest against it and an attempt to undo what has been done

(*b*) The function of nutrition is most fre quently disturbed by a disinclination to eat brought about by a withdrawal of libido An

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increase in the desire to eat is also a not uncommon thing. The compulsion to eat is attributed to a fear of starving but this is a subject which has been but little studied. The hysterical defence against eating is known to us in the symptom of vomiting. Refusal to eat owing to anxiety is a concomitant of psychotic states (delusions of being poisoned)

(c) In many neurotic conditions locomotion is inhibited by a disinclination to walk or a weakness in walking. In hysteria, there will be a paralysis of the motor apparatus or this one special function of the apparatus will be abolished (abasia). Especially characteristic are the increased difficulties that appear in locomotion owing to the introduction of certain stipulations whose non-observance results in anxiety (phobia)

(d) In inhibition in work—a thing which we so often have to deal with as an isolated symptom in our therapeutic work—the subject feels a decrease in his pleasure in it or becomes less able to do it well or he has certain reactions to it, like fatigue giddiness or sickness if he is obliged to go on with it. If he is a hysteric he will have to give up his work, owing to the appearance of organic and functional impairments of activity which make it impossible for him to carry it on. If he is an obsessional neurotic, he will be perpetually being distracted from his work or losing time over it owing to delays and repetitions.

Our survey might be extended to other functions of the ego as well but there would be nothing more to be learned by doing so for we should not penetrate below the surface of the phenomena presented to us. Let us then proceed to describe inhibition in such a way as to leave very little doubt about what is meant by it and say that inhibition is the expression of a restriction of an ego-function.

A restriction of this kind can itself have very different causes. Many of the mechanisms involved in the renunciation of function are well known to us as is a certain general purpose which runs through it. This purpose is more easily recognizable in the specific inhibitions. Analysis shows that when activities like playing the piano writing or even walking, undergo neurotic inhibitions, it is because the physical organs brought into play—the fingers or the feet—have become too strongly eroticized. It has been discovered as a general fact that the ego-function of an organ is impaired if its erotogenicity—its sexual significance—is increased. If I may be allowed a somewhat vulgar analogy like a maid servant who refuses to go on cooking because her master has started a love affair with her. As soon as writing which entails making a liquid substance flow on to a piece of white paper assumes the significance of copulation, or as soon as walking becomes a symbolic substitute for treading upon the body of mother earth, both writing and walking are stopped because they represent the performance of a forbidden sexual act. The ego renounces these functions which are within its sphere, in order not to have to undertake fresh measures of repression—in order to avoid coming into conflict with the id.

There are clearly also inhibitions which serve the purpose of self punishment. This is often the case in inhibitions of occupational activities. The ego is not allowed to carry on those activities because they would bring success and gain and these are things which the severe super-ego has forbidden. So the ego gives them up too in order to avoid coming into conflict with the super-ego

The more generalized inhibitions of the ego obey a different mechanism of a simple kind. When the ego is faced with a particularly difficult mental task, as occurs in mourning or when there is some tremendous suppression of affect or when a continual flood of sexual *phantasies is being kept down it loses so much* of the energy at its disposal that it has to cut down the expenditure of it at many points at once. It is in the position of a speculator whose money has become tied up in various enterprises. I came across an instructive example of this kind of intense though short-lived, general inhibition. The patient, an obsessional neurotic used to be overcome by a paralysing fatigue which lasted for one or more days whenever something occurred which should obviously have thrown him into a rage. We have here a point of departure from which we may hope to reach an understanding of the condition of general inhibition which characterizes states of depression, including the gravest form of them melancholia.

As regards inhibitions then we may say in conclusion that they are restrictions of the functions of the ego which have either been imposed as a measure of precaution or brought about as a result of an impoverishment of energy and we can see without difficulty in what respect an inhibition differs from a symptom for a symptom cannot be described as a process that takes place within or acts upon the ego.

CHAPTER II

THE main characteristics of the formation of symptoms have long since been studied and I hope established beyond dispute A symptom is a sign of and a substitute for an instinctual gratification which has remained in abeyance it is a consequence of the process of repression Repression proceeds from the ego when the latter—it may be at the b hest of the super ego —refuses to associate itself with an instinctual cathexis which has been aroused in the id The e o is able by means of repression to keep the idea which is the vehicle of the reprehensible impulse from becoming conscious Analysis shows that the idea often persists as an unconscious formation

So far everything seems clear but we soon come upon difficulties which have not as yet been solved Up till now our account of what occurs in repression has laid great stress on this point of exclusion from consciousness But it has left other points open to uncertainty One question that arose was what happened to the instinctual impulse which had been actuated in the id and which sought to be gratified? The answer was an indirect one It was that owing to the process of repression the pleasure that would have been expected from gratification had been transformed into unpleasure But we were then faced with the problem of how the gratification of an instinct could produce unpleasure The whole matter can be clarified I think if we commit ourselves to the definite statement that as a result of repression the intended course of the excitatory process in the id does not occur at all the ego succeeds in inhibiting or deflecting it If this is so the problem of *transformation of affect under repression* disappears At the same time this view implies that the ego can exert a very extensive influence over processes in the id and we shall have to find out in what way it is able to develop such astonishing powers

It seems to me that the ego obtains this influence in virtue of its intimate connections with the perceptual system—connections which as we know constitute its essence and provide the basis of its differentiation from the id In its function the perceptual system which we have called *Pcpt Cs* is bound up with the phenomenon of consciousness It receives excitations not only from outside but from within and endeavours by means of the pleasure unpleasure sensations which reach it from these directions to direct the course of every mental event in accordance with the pleasure principle We are very apt to think of the ego as powerless a ainst the id but when it is opposed to an instinctual process it has only to give a *signal of unpleasure* in order to attain its object with the aid of that almost omnipotent institution the pleasure principle To take this situation by itself for a moment we can illustrate it by an example from another field Let us imagine a country in which a certain small faction objects to a proposed measure the passa e of which would have the support of the masses This minority obtains command of the press and by its help manipulates the supreme arbiter *public opinion* and so succeeds in preventing the measure from being passed

But this explanation opens up fresh problems Whence does the energy come which is employed for giving the signal of unpleasure? Here we may be assisted by the idea that a defence against an unwelcome *internal* proce s will be modelled upon the defence adopted against an *external* stimulus that the ego wards off internal and external dan ers alike along identical lines In the case of external danger the organism has recourse to attempts at flight. The first thing it does is to withdraw cathexis from the perception of the dangerous object later on it discovers that it is a better plan to perform muscular movements of such a sort as will render perception of the dangerous object impossible even in the absence of any refusal to perceive it—that it is a better plan that is to remove it elf from the sphere of danger Repression is an equivalent of this attempt at flight The e o withdraws its (preconscious) cathexis from the psychical representative of the impulse that is to be repressed *and uses that cathexis for the purpo e of releasing unpleasure (anxiety)* The problem of how anxiety arises in connection with repression may be no simple one but we may legitimately maintain the opinion that the ego is the actual seat of anxiety and give up our earlier view that the cathectic energy of a repressed impulse is automatically turned into anxiety If I expressed myself in the latter sense on former occasions I was giving a phenomenolo ical description and not a metapsychological explanation of what was occurring

This brings us to a further question how is it possible from an economic point of view for a mere process of withdrawal and discharge like the withdrawing of a pre conscious ego-cathexis to produce unpleasure or anxiety seeing that according to our assumptions unpleasure and anxiety can only arise as a result

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a ects n general—w hall be i u e realm of pure psy h l gy and entering the con...es of phys ology Affect e states ha e be come incorporated in the m nd as precip tates of primeval traumatic expe iences and wh n a similar situat o occurs they a e re n ed the — — — l I d not think I ha e

experience of anxiety has gi en the affect of anxiety certain ch racteristic forms of exp es sion But, while cknowledgi g th s conne t on we must t lay und e tress n it nor o er look th fact that b logical necess ty demands that a situat of da ge should ha e an affec u e symbol, o that a symbol of this k d would ha to be cre ted n ny ca More ov r I d t think that we are justified in assuming that wh ever there s an o tbreak of anxiety om thing like a repr duct on of the situati f b rth goes on in th mind It is not even certain whether hyst rical attacks though they w e rinnally tra mati reprodu t on of this sort, permanently etain that character

As I h e h wn els wher m t of the repress ns th which we h t deal in ur therapeuti w k a e ca f aft r-expuls n They presuppose th perat on of ea h pri mal epress ns whi h ex rt an ttract on on th more recent t at o Far too littl is known a yet abo t th backgr und a d pre liminary st ge of rep essi n Th re a danger of ov -estim ting the part pl y d in r pre s on by the upe -ego We cannot at present say f m ts c wheth t is th m g e of th supe -ego which pr des th lme of d ma t between primal repress and fte -expuls on At any rate th ea li st o t breaks of anxiety which are of a ery inten kind occu before the supe -ego has b om differentiated It is highly p obable that the prec p t ting causes f primal repress quantitati f ctors h an ex ess e d gree of excitatio and the breaking throu h f th protecti barrier gainst t m l

Th ment on f the prot ti e barrier sounds a note which recalls to us the fact that repres s ons occur in two d fferent s tuations namely when an undesirable in ti ctual impul e is aroused by some external perception and when it arises internally without any such pro oca tion We hall return to this d fference pres ently But the protecti e barrier *only ex ts in* regard to external st mul not in regard to internal i stinctual demands

So l ng as we direct our atte tion to the ego s attempt at flight we hall get no nearer to the subject of *symptom format on* A symp tom arises from an i stinctual impulse which has been prejudic ally affected by repress o If the ego by making use of the ignal of unpleasure attains its object of completely *suppre sing the inst nctual impulse* we learn noth ng of how this has happened We can o ly find o t about it from those cases in which repress on has to a greater or less extent failed In this eve t the pos tio generally speaking is that the in tinctu l impulse has found a substitute in spite of repress on but a substi tute which is very much reduced di placed, and inhib ted and which is no lo ger recog nizable as a gratificat on And when the im p l e is carried out there is no sensati n of pleas e its carry g out has instead the *quality of a c mpuls on*

In thu deg ading a gratificatory process to a symptom repression displays its power in a further respect The sub t tuti e proce s is pre ent d if pos ble from finding discharge through m tility and even if this cannot be d ne the p ocess is f ed to expend itself in maki g alt ration in the subject s own body a d is not permitted to mping up n th outer world. It may not be transformed i to act on For as we know i repressio the ego is oper ating under the influe ce of external reality and theref re t d bars the *substitutive* process from havi g any effect upon that real ty

Ju t as th ego c t ls th path t act on in regard to th o ter w ld so t controls c ess to co ci u nes In rep ession t d splays its pow r in both d rect ns acting in th o e mann upon th stinct al mpuls itself and in the th upon the p ychical representat ve of th t mpulse At this point t is lev nt to ask h w I c n reconcile this ackn wledgment of the might f the ego with the descript n f t pos t on which I g e in *The Eg nd the Id* In that book I d ew a p ct re of ts d pe d e c upo the d and upon the supe -eg wh ch rev led how p we less d pprehens e it was in regard t both and with what an effort

it maintained its superiority over them This view has been widely echoed in psycho analytic literature A great deal of stress has been laid on the weakness of the ego in relation to the id and of our rational elements in the face of the demonic forces within us and there is a strong tendency to make what I have said into a foundation stone of a psycho analytic *Weltanschauung* Yet surely the psycho analyst with his knowledge of the way in which repression works should of all people be restrained from adopting such extreme and one sided views

I must confess that I am not at all partial to the fabrication of *Weltanschauungen* Such activities may be left to philosophers who avowedly find it impossible to make their journey through life without a Baedeker of that kind to tell them all about everything Let us humbly accept the contempt with which they look down on us from the vantage ground of their superior needs But since we too cannot forego our narcissistic pride we will draw comfort from the reflection that such Guides to Life soon grow out of date and that it is precisely short sighted narrow and finicky work like ours which obliges them to appear in new editions and that even the most up to date of them are nothing but attempts to find a substitute for the ancient useful and all embracing catechism We know well enough how little light science has so far been able to throw on the problems that surround us But however much ado the philosophers may make they cannot alter the situation Only patient persevering research in which everything is subordinated to the one requirement of certainty can gradually bring about a change The benighted traveller may sing aloud in the dark to deny his own fears but for all that he will not see an inch further beyond his nose

CHAPTER III

To return to this problem about the ego The apparent contradiction is due to our having taken abstractions too rigidly and attended exclusively now to the one side and now to the other of what is in reality a complicated state of affairs We were justified I think in dividing the ego from the id for there were certain considerations which necessitated that step On the other hand the ego is identical with the id and is merely a specially differentiated part of it If we regard this part by itself in contradistinction to the whole or if a real split has occurred between the two the weakness of the ego becomes apparent But if the ego remains bound up with the id and indistinguishable from it then it displays its power The same is true of the relation between the ego and the super ego In many situations the two are merged and as a rule we can only distinguish one from the other when there is a tension or conflict between them In repression the decisive fact is that the ego is an organization and the id is not The ego is indeed the organized portion of the id We should be quite wrong in picturing the ego and the id as two opposing camps and in thinking that when the ego tries to suppress a part of the id by means of repression the remainder of the id comes to the rescue of the endangered part and measures its strength with the ego This may often be what happens but it is not the primary situation in repression As a rule the instinctual impulse which is to be repressed remains isolated Although the act of repression demonstrates the strength of the ego in one particular it reveals the ego s powerlessness and reveals too how impervious to influence are the separate instinctual impulses of the id For the mental process which has been turned into a symptom owing to repression maintains its existence outside the organization of the ego and independently of it Indeed it is not the process alone but all [illegible]
the priv [illegible]
ever the [illegible]
part of t[illegible] go organization it is not at all certain that they will not draw that part over to themselves and thus enlarge themselves at the expense of the ego Long ago I compared a symptom to a foreign body which was keeping up a constant succession of stimuli and reactions in the tissue in which it was imbedded It does sometimes happen that the defensive struggle against an unwelcome instinctual impulse is brought to an end with the formation of a symptom As far as can be seen this is most often possible in hysterical conversions But usually the outcome is different The initial act of repression is followed by tedious and often interminable manoeuvres in which the struggle against the instinctual impulse is prolonged into a struggle against the symptom

In this secondary defensive struggle the ego faces two ways The one line of behaviour it adopts springs from the fact that its very nature obliges it to make what must be regarded as an attempt at restoration or reconciliation The ego is an organization It is based upon the maintenance of free intercourse and of

the possibility of reciprocal influ ce between all its parts. Its d sexualized energy still hows traces of its origin in its tendency to bind together and unify and this necessity t syn thesis grows stronger in proportion as the strength of the ego increases It is therefore only natural that the ego should try to prevent symptoms from remaining isolated and f reign by using every pos ble method to bind them to itself in one way or another and to incor porate them in its organization by means of those bonds As we know a te dency of this kind is already operative in the very act of forming a sympt m. A classical instance of this are those hysterical symptoms which have been shown to be comp omise between the need for gratification and the need for punishment. S ch symp ms participate in the ego from the very beginnin ince they fulfil a equirement of the super-ego whil o the oth hand they represent positions occupied by th repressed and points t wh h an irrupt on has been made by it into the ego-organization. The are a kind of front er pos tion with a mixed cathexis (Whether all primary h st rical symptoms are constructed on these lines would be worth en quiring int very carefully) The eg now proceeds t beha e as *though it recognized that* the sympt m had come t stay and that the only thing to d was t cept the ituat n in good part and draw a much dvantage from it as possible It makes an dapt ti n t the symptom—to th piec f th internal w ld which is alien t t—just as t rmally does to the bject e ext rnal wo ld. It can always find plenty f opportunities for doing so The presence f a ymptom m entail a certain impairment f the capacities f th indi dual, and this can be expl ted to ppease ome de mand on th part f the super-ego o t refuse some requirement coming from the ext rnal w ld. In this way the symptom gradually grows t be the representati f importa t in erest it is found t be useful f th main tenance of t elf and becomes m e and more closely merged with the e and mor and more indispensable to t It is onl ery rarely that the ph s cal proces f *h a ing* round a foreign body f llows such ourse as this Th re is a danger too f exaggerating the importance f secondary daptation f this kind to a symptom and of sa ing that the ego has crea ed th sympt m merely in rde t enj s dvan tages. It would be equally true to sa that a man who had lost his leg in the war had got t shot away so that he might thenceforward live on his pension without havin to work any more

In obsessional neurosis and paranoia the forms which the symptoms assume become very aluable to the ego because they obtain for it not certain advantages but a narcissistic gratification which it would otherwise forgo The symptoms which the obsess onal neurotic constructs flatter his self-esteem by making him feel that he is better than others because he is specially cleanly or specially conscient ous. The delusional constructions of the paranoiac offer to his acute perceptive and imaginati e powers a field of acti ty which he could not easily find elsewhere

All of this results in what s known as the *epinosic gain* of a eurosis. This epi osic gain comes to th a tance of the ego in its en dea our to incorporate the symptom and in creases the fixation of the latter When the analyst tries to h lp the ego in its struggle against the symptom, he finds that these rec o ciliatory bo ds between ego and symptom operat on the side of the resistances and that they are not easy to loosen.

The two lines of beha our which th ego d pts towards the symptom are in fact di rectl opposed to each other For the other lin is less friendly in character since it con tin es in the direction of repress on. Neverthe less the ego t ppears cannot be accused of inconsistency Being of a peaceable dispos tion t would like to incorporat the symptom in its framewo k. It is from th symptom itself that th troubl comes F r the symptom being the tru substitute and derivative of the repressed impulse carries o the role of the latter it continually renews its demands fo gratification and thus b inces the ego in its turn to give the ignal f unpleasure and put itself in a posture of defence

The seco dary defen e struggle against the sympt m is man -s ded. It is f ught out on many fields and makes use of multitude of means We shall n t be abl to say m ch bout it until we ha e mad an enquiry int indi du al cases f symptom f rmation. In d in this we hall ha e an opportunity f going into th p oblem f anxiety—a prob em which has long been loomin in th background. The wisest plan will be I think, t tart f om the symptoms prod ced by the hysterical neuroses for w are t as yet in a po t t consider the co ditions in which th symptoms f obsessional neurosis paran ia, and other neuroses are formed.

it maintained its superiority over them This view has been widely echoed in psycho analytic literature A great deal of stress has been laid on the weakness of the ego in relation to the id and of our rational elements in the face of the demonic forces within us and there is a strong tendency to make what I have said into a foundation stone of a psycho analytic *Weltanschauung* Yet surely the psycho analyst with his knowledge of the way in which repression works should of all people be restrained from adopting such extreme and one sided views

I must confess that I am not at all partial to the fabrication of *Weltanschauungen* Such activities may be left to philosophers who avowedly find it impossible to make their journey through life without a Baedeker of that kind to tell them all about everything Let us humbly accept the contempt with which they look down on us from the vantage ground of their superior needs But since we too cannot forego our narcissistic pride we will draw comfort from the reflection that such Guides to Life soon grow out of date and that it is precisely short sighted narrow and finicky work like ours which obliges them to appear in new editions and that even the most up to date of them are nothing but attempts to find a substitute for the ancient useful and all embracing catechism We know well enough how little light science has so far been able to throw on the problems that surround us But however much ado the philosophers may make they cannot alter the situation Only patient persevering research in which everything is subordinated to the one requirement of certainty can gradually bring about a change The benighted traveller may sing aloud in the dark to deny his own fears but for all that he will not see an inch further beyond his nose

CHAPTER III

To return to this problem about the ego The apparent contradiction is due to our having taken abstractions too rigidly and attended exclusively now to the one side and now to the other of what is in reality a complicated state of affairs We were justified I think in dividing the ego from the id for there were certain considerations which necessitated that step On the other hand the ego is identical with the id and is merely a specially differentiated part of it If we regard this part by itself in contradistinction to the whole or if a real split has occurred between the two the weakness of the ego becomes apparent But if the ego remains bound up with the id and indistinguishable from it then it displays its power The same is true of the relation between the ego and the super ego In many situations the two are merged and as a rule we can only distinguish one from the other when there is a tension or conflict between them In repression the decisive fact is that the ego is an organization and the id is not The ego is indeed the organized portion of the id We should be quite wrong in picturing the ego and the id as two opposing camps and in thinking that when the ego tries to suppress a part of the id by means of repression the remainder of the id comes to the rescue of the endangered part and measures its strength with the ego This may often be what happens but it is not the primary situation in repression As a rule the instinctual impulse which is to be repressed remains isolated Although the act of repression demonstrates the strength of the ego in one particular it reveals the ego s powerlessness and reveals too how impervious to influence are the separate instinctual impulses of the id For the mental process which has been turned into a symptom owing to repression maintains its existence outside the organization of the ego and independently of it Indeed it is not the process alone but all its derivatives which enjoy as it were the privilege of extra territoriality and whenever they come into associative contact with a part of the ego organization it is not at all certain that they will not draw that part over to themselves and thus enlarge themselves at the expense of the ego Long ago I compared a symptom to a foreign body which was keeping up a constant succession of stimuli and reactions in the tissue in which it was imbedded It does sometimes happen that the defensive struggle against an unwelcome instinctual impulse is brought to an end with the formation of a symptom As far as can be seen this is most often possible in hysterical conversions But usually the outcome is different The initial act of repression is followed by tedious and often interminable manoeuvres in which the struggle against the instinctual impulse is prolonged into a struggle against the symptom

In this secondary defensive struggle the ego faces two ways The one line of behaviour it adopts springs from the fact that its very nature obliges it to make what must be regarded as an attempt at restoration or reconciliation. The ego is an organization It is based upon the maintenance of free intercourse and of

with his mother had shown fear of his father we should have no right to say that he had a neurosis o a phobia. His emotional reaction would have bee entirely comprehensible What made it a neurosis was one thing alone the replacement of his f ther by a horse It is this displacemen then, which has a claim to be called a symptom and which, incidentall constitutes the alternative mechanism which ena bles a conflict d to amb ale ce to be resolved without the aid of a reaction formation.

Such a displacement is made possible r facili t ed t Little Hans s early age because the inborn traces of to m tic thought can stil be easily revived. Children d not as yet recognize or a a re lay such exaggerated tress upon the gulf tha separa es human beings from the animal world. In their eyes the grown man, the object of th ir fea and admiration still be ongs t the same category as the big animal who has o many en iable ttributes but against w om they ha e been warned because he may become dan erous. As we see the conflict of ambivalence is not dealt with in relation t one and the same person t is cir cumvented, as t were by o of the pair of conflicting impulses being directed to a vicari ous figure.

So f r everything is lear But the analysis of Little Hans s phobia has been very disappointing in one respect. The di rtion which constituted the symptom forma n was not applied to the psychical representative (the ideational content) f th instinctual impulse tha was to be repressed i was pplied to a quit different representative and one which onl c rresponded to ction to the disagreeable instinct It would be more in ord ance with our expectations if Little Hans had developed, instead f fear of h rses an i clination t ill treat them and to bea them or if he had expressed in strong terms a wish t see them fall down t be hurt even di in ... ("mak row with thei feet") Something of th sort did in f ct emerge in his analysis b was ot by any means in the f refront f his euros s. And, curiously enough, f he really had produced nimosity f this sort not against his f th but against horses his main symp om we hould not ha e said that h was suffering f m a eurosis There must be someth amiss he with our view of repres on or with our definition of symptom. On thing trikes us t once if Little Hans had really beha ed in such a w y to horses it would mean that repression had in no way al ered the character of his object on able and aggressive impulses them lves but only the object against which they were directed.

Undoubtedly there are cases in which this is all that repression does *But more than this has* happened in the development of Little Hans s phobia—how much more can be guessed from another analysis.

As we know Little Hans alleged tha what he wa afraid of was that a horse would b e him. Now sometime la r I was able to learn som thing about the origin of ano her animal pho a. I this instance the dreaded animal was a wolf it too had the sign ficance of a father substitute As a boy the patient in ques on—a Russian whom I did not anal se until he had reached his thirties—had had a dream (whose meaning was revealed in analy

had developed a

he seven

case of

Little Hans th ascertained fact that his father used to play at horses with him doubtles determined his cho ce of a horse as his anxiet animal. In th same way it ppeared at least highl probabl that th f ther of m Russian patient used when playing with him to pretend to be a w lf and joki gly threaten to ea him up. Since then I have come across third instanc The patie t was a young American wh came to me f r treatment. True he had not

gingerbread man so s to t him up He den tified himself with this edible person and the Arab ch f was ea ly recognizabl as a fa her substitute This phantasy form d the sub tra um f his auto-erotic phanta es.

Yet in sp e f that su h an idea is so strange t us that we can hardl credit its existenc in child N d w know wheth t reall means what t eems to and we cannot und r and how t can ha e become the ubject matter f phobia. Analyt bservation supplies the requi t inf rmation. It hows that the dea f being eaten by the f ther gi es

Freud, From the History f an Infantile Neurosis" (5) *Collected P* ... III.

CHAPTER IV

LET us take as our first example an infantile hysterical phobia of animals We will select the case of Little Hans whose phobia of horses was undoubtedly typical in all its main features The first thing that is apparent is that in a concrete case of neurotic illness the state of affairs is much more complex than one would suppose so long as one was dealing with abstractions It takes some time to orientate oneself and to decide which the repressed impulse is wh [illegible] found and [illegible]

Little H[illegible] e street because he was afraid of horses This is the raw material of the case Which part of it constitutes the symptoms? Is it his having the fear? Is it his choice of an object for his fear? Is it his giving up his freedom of movement? Or is it several of these combined? What is the gratification which he renounces? And why does he have to renounce it?

At a first glance one is tempted to reply that the case is not so very obscure Little Hans s unaccountable fear of horses is the symptom and his inability to go out into the streets is an inhibition a restriction which his ego has imposed on it elf so as not to arouse the anxiety symptom The second point is clearly correct and in the discussion which follows I shall not concern myself any further with this inhibition As regards what was presumably the symptom a superficial acquaintance with the case does not even disclose its true formulation For further investigation shows that what he was suffering from was not a vague fear of horses but a quite definite apprehension that a horse was going to bite him This idea indeed was endeavouring to withdraw from consciousness and get itself replaced by an undefined phobia in which only the anxiety and its object still appeared Was it perhaps this idea which was the nucleus of his symptom?

We shall not make any headway until we have reviewed the little boy s psychological situation as a whole as it came to light in the course of analytic treatment He was at that time in the Oedipus position with its attendant feelings of jealousy and hostility towards his father whom nevertheless—except in so far as his mother was the cause of estrangement—he dearly loved Here then we have a conflict due to ambivalence a firmly rooted love and a no less well grounded hatred directed against one and the same person Little Hans s phobia must be an attempt to solve this conflict. Conflicts of this kind due to ambivalence are very frequent and they can have another typical outcome in which one of the two conflicting feelings (usually that of affection) becomes enormously enhanced and the other vanishes. Only the exaggerated degree and compulsive character of the feeling that remains betray the fact that it is not the sole one in existence but is continually on the alert to keep the opposite feeling under suppression and enables us to postulate the operation of a process which we call *repression by means of reaction formation* (in the ego) Cases like Little Hans s show no traces of a reaction formation of this kind There are clearly different ways of egress from a conflict of ambivalence

Meanwhile we have been able to establish another point with certainty The instinctual impulse which underwent repression in Little Hans was a hostile one against his father Proof of this was obtained in his analysis while the idea of the biting horse was being followed up. Hans had seen a horse fall down and he had also seen a playmate with whom he was playing at horses fall down and hurt him elf Analysis justified the inference that he had a conative impulse that his father should fall down and hurt himself as his playmate and the horse had done Moreover his attitude towards someone s departure on a certain occasion makes it probable that his wish that his father should be out of the way found a less hesitating expression But a wish of this sort is tantamount to an intention of putting the father out of the way oneself—is tantamount that is to the murderous impulse which is one component of the Oedipus complex.

So far there seem to be no connecting links between Little Hans s repressed instinctual impulse and the substitute for it which we suspect is to be seen in his phobia of horses Let us simplify his psychological situation by setting on one side the elements of infancy and ambivalence Let us imagine that he is a young servant who is in love with the mistress of the house and has received ome tokens of her favour He hates his master who is more powerful than he and he would like to have him out of the way It would then be eminently natural for him to be afraid of his master and to dread his vengeance—just as Little Hans was frightened of horses We cannot therefore describe the anxiety belonging to this phobia as a symptom If Little Hans being in love

[1] F e d A alysi of a Ph bi i a F e Yea -Old Boy' (1909) *Collected P pers* III

feminine side was strongly developed. The analysis of his wolf-dream revealed very little intentional aggressiveness towards his father but it brought forward unmistakabl proof that his passive tender attitude to his father had been overtaken by repression. In his case too the other factors may have been operative as well but they were not visible. How is it that, whereas these differences between the two cases almost amount to an antithesis, the final outcome—a phobia—was approximately the same? The answer must be sought in another quarter I think it will be found in the second fact which emerges from our brief comparative examination. It seems to me that in both cases we can detect what the motive force of the repression was and can substantiate our view of its nature from the line of development which the two children subsequently pursued. This motive force was identical in both. It was the fear of impending castration. Little Hans gave up his aggressiveness towards his father from fear of being castrated. His fear that a horse would bite him can easily be extended into meaning a fear that a horse would bite off his genitals, would castrate him. But it was from fear of being castrated, too that the little Russian relinquished his desire to be loved by his father for he thought that a relation of that sort presupposed a sacrifice of his genitals—of the organ which distinguished him from women. As we see both forms of the Oedipus complex, the normal, active form and the inverted one are broken down by the castration complex. The Russian boy's anxiety idea of being eaten up by a wolf contained, it is true, no suggestion of castration, for the oral regression it had undergone had removed it too far from the phallic stage. But the analysis of his dream rendered further proof superfluous. It was a triumph of repression that the form in which his phobia was expressed should no longer have contained any allusion to castration.

So now we have made the unexpected discovery that in both patients the motive force of the repression was fear of castration. The ideational content of their anxiety—being bitten by a horse and being eaten up by a wolf—was a substitute by distortion for the idea of being castrated by the father. It was this idea which had undergone repression. In the Russian boy the idea was an expression of a desire which was not able to subsist in the face of his masculine revolt; in Little Hans it was the expression of a reaction in him which had turned his aggressiveness into its opposite. But the *affect* of anxiety which was the essence of their phobia, came not from the process of repression, not from the libidinal catheses of the repressed impulses but from the repressing agency itself. The anxiety belonging to the animal phobias was an untransformed fear of castration. It was therefore an objective fear a fear of a danger which actually was imminent or believed to be so. It was anxiety which produced repression and not, as I formerly believed, repression which produced anxiety.

I cannot deny the fact, though it is not pleasant to recall it that I have on many occasions asserted that in repression the psychical representative of the instinct is distorted, displaced, etc., while the libido belonging to the instinctual impulse is transformed into anxiety. But now an examination of phobias which should be best able to provide confirmatory evidence fails to bear out my assertion. The anxiety felt in animal phobias is the castration anxiety of the ego while the anxiety felt in agoraphobia (a subject that has been less thoroughly studied) seems to be a fear of incurring sexual temptation—a fear which, after all, must be connected in its origins with the fear of castration. As far as can be seen at present, the majority of phobias go back to an anxiety of this kind felt by the ego in regard to the demands of the libido. It is always the ego's attitude of anxiety which is the primary thing and which sets repression going. Anxiety never arises from repressed libido. If I had formerly been content to say that after the occurrence of repression there appeared, in place of the manifestation of libido that was to be expected, a certain amount of anxiety I should have nothing to retract today. The description would be correct and there does undoubtedly exist a correspondence of the kind asserted between the strength of the impulse that has to be repressed and the intensity of the resultant anxiety. But I must admit that I thought I was giving more than a mere description. I believed I had put my finger on a metapsychological process of direct transformation of libido into anxiety. I can now no longer maintain this view. And, indeed, I found it impossible at the time to explain how a transformation of that kind was carried out.

It may be asked how I arrived at this idea of transformation in the first instance. It was while I was studying the actual neuroses at a time when analysis was still a very long way from distinguishing between processes in the

expression in a form that has undergone regressive degradation to a passive tender impulse to be loved by him in a genital-erotic way

Further research into the case history of the Wolf Man leaves no doubt of the correctness of this explanation The genital impulse it is true betrays no sign of its tender inclination when it is expressed in the language belonging to that transition phase between the oral and sadistic organization of the libido which has been left behind Besides is it merely a question of the replacement of a particular psychical representative by a re ressive form of expression or is it a question of the genuine regressive degradation of a genitally orientated impulse in the id? It is not at all easy to make certain The case history of the Wolf Man gives very definite support to the second more serious view for from the time of the decisive dream onward the boy became naughty tormenting and sadistic and soon after developed a regular obsessional neurosis At any rate we can see that repression is not the only means which the ego can employ for the purpose of defence against an unwelcome instinctual impulse If it succeeds in making an instinct regress it will actually have done it much more injury than it could have by repressing it Sometimes indeed after forcing an instinct to regress in this way

The case (

less complic raise a number of further considerations But we already learn two unexpected facts There can be no doubt that the instinctual impulse which was repressed in both phobias was a hostile one against the father One mi ht say that that impulse had been repressed by being reversed Instead of aggressiveness *towards* the father there appeared aggressiveness *from* the father in the shape of revenge Since this aggressiveness is in any case rooted in the sadistic phase of the libido a certain degree of degradation of it is all that is needed to reduce it to the oral stage This stage while only adumbrated in Little Hans s fear of being bitten was blatantly exhibited in the Wolf Man s terror of being devoured But besides this the analysis has demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt the presence of another instinctual impulse of an opposite nature which had succumbed to repression This was a loving passive impulse directed towards the father which had already attained the genital (phallic) level of libidinal organization As regards the final outcome of the process of repression this impulse eems, indeed to have been the more important of the two it underwent a more far reaching regression and had a decisive influence upon the content of the phobia In following up a single current of instinctual repression we have thus come upon a confluence of two The two instinctual impulses that have been overtaken by repression—sadistic aggressiveness towards the father and passive affection for him—form a pair of opposites Furthermore a full comprehension of Little Hans s case shows that the formation of his phobia had had the effect of abolishing his affectionate object cathexis of his mother as well though the actual content of his phobia betrayed no sign of it The process of repression had attacked almost all the components of his Oedipus complex—both his hostile and his tender impulses toward his father and his tender impulses toward his mother In my Russian patient this state of affairs was much less patent

These are unwelcome complications considering that we only set out to study simple cases of symptom formation and with that intention selected the earliest and to all appearances most transparent neuroses of childhood Instead of a single repression we have found a collection of them and have become involved with regression into the bargain Perhaps we have added to the confusion by treating the two cases of animal phobia at our disposal—Little Hans and the Wolf Man—as thou h they were cast in the same mould As a matter of fact certain differences between them stand out It is only with regard to Little Hans that we can positively assert that what his phobia disposed of were the two main impulses of the Oedipus complex viz his aggressiveness towards his father and his over fondness for his mother A tender feeling for his father was undoubtedly there too and played a part in repressing the opposite feeling but we can prove neither that it was strong enough to draw repression upon itself nor that it subsided after his phobia appeared Hans seems in fact to have been a normal boy with what is called a *positive* Oedipus complex It is possible that those factors which seem not to have been present were actually at work in him but we cannot demonstrate their existence Even the most exhaustive analysis has gaps in its data and is insufficiently documented In the ca e of the Wolf Man something different is lacking His attitude to female objects had been disturbed by an early seduction and his passive

conversion hysteria should be such a pecul ly obscure thing I d not know but the fact provides us with good reason for qu tting such an unproducti e field of enquiry

Let us turn to the obses ional neuroses in the hope of learning more about the format on f symptoms. The symptoms belo ging to this neurosis fall in ge eral nto two groups e ch ha ing an opposit bias They a e e ther prohib tions, precautions and expi t ns—that is negative in characte —or they are substituti e gratifications often ppearing in symb lic dis guise The negati e defen ive gr up of symptoms is the mo e primary f the tw but as the illness is pr longed the grat ficatory group overriding all defensi e m a ures gains the upper hand Th symptom format on cores a triumph f t ceeds n c mbining the tw by jo ning to what was originally a d fen command o prohib ti the significa ce of a gratificat o and in rd r to ch eve this end it will often make u e of the m t in enious associati e paths S ch an chievement dem n strates the tendency of the ego t synth tiza tion which t ha alread been seen to possess

n one knows why plays s ch la ge part in bsessional neuroses In the crudest instan e the symptom has two phases an a t n which carries out rtain inju ction s mmedi tely succeeded by an th tion which stops or undoes th first eve f it does not go quite so f r as to carry t its oppos te

Tw impressions t on e em rg f m this brief urvey of bsessional sympt ms The first is that a ceaseless stru gle being wag d gainst the repressed n whi h the repre g force steadily lose ground the se ond is that the ego and the super-eg ha e a speciall larg share in the f rmation f th symptoms

Obses nal urosis is unquesti bly the most int esting and repay ng subject of an lyti resea h. But as a pr blem t has not yet been ma t red It must be fess d that f w endea our t pen trat m re deeply int ts nat we still ha t ely upon do btful assumpti ns and un firmed suppositio Obses onal ne osis riginate n doubt in the sam tuation a hysteri nam ly th ty f w ding ff the lib dinal d ma d f th Oedipus mplex. I deed every b ss nal neurosi seems to ha e substrat m f hys terical symptoms that ha e bee f rmed t a very early stage But it is subseque along qu te d fferent lines owi g to tional f ctor The genital organizati l'b d turns out to be weak and insu res stant so that when the ego begins f ns e actions the first thing it succeeds in doing is to throw back in part or altogether the genital organizat on (of the phallic phase) on to the earlier sadistic-anal level This phe n menon of regression is dec si e for all that follows

Another pos b'lity has to be considered. P rhaps regres o is the re ult not of a con *stitut onal f ctor* but of a time factor It may be that regress o is rendered poss ble not be cau e the genital organizatio of the libido is too weak but becau e the oppo tion of th ego begins too early while the sadistic phase is at ts height I am not prepared *to* *expre s* an ab olut op nion on thi point but I may say that analytic observation does not speak in fav ur of such an assumpt on. It rather tends to how that by the time an obses onal neurosis begins to show tself the phallic stage has al ready been attained Moreover the onset of this ne rosis belo gs to later t me of life than that of hysteria It sets i in the econd period of childhood with the latency peri d I a pati nt whose ase I was ble to study and who wa overtaken by this d order at a ery late date t became *clear that the determini g* cause of his regression and of th emerge ce of his obsess al eurosis was a real occurrence that impa red a gen tal life which had up till then been tact

A rega ds a metapsychological explanat on f regre s n I am in lined to fi d it in *defu sion of inst ct* in a d tachment of the t c compo ts which t th beginn ng of the ge t l tage had bec me joined to the de truc ti cathe es bel ging to the sadistic phase

In bringi g regre o about the eg cores th first point in its d f n e truggle against the dema d of the lib do In this c nn ction we hall find t d antag us to distingu sh the m e ge e al t on of *d f nc f m repr s on* Repres ly e of th mechanisms which defence m kes u e f It is perhaps in obsessi nal ca e m re than in n rmal or hysterical o es that we can mo t clea ly re ognize that the motive f rce of defe e is th castration com ple d that what is be ng wa d d ff are the t ds f th Oed pus compl x. W e t present dealing with the beginning of the latency period period whi h s char ct rized by the pa ing way of th Oedipus complex the

ego and processes in the id I found that out breaks of anxiety and a general state of anxiety preparedness were produced by certain sexual practices such as *coitus interruptus* undischarged sexual excitement or enforced abstinence—that is whenever sexual excitement was inhibited arrested or deflected in its progress towards gratification Since sexual excitement was an expression of libidinal instinctual impulses it did not seem too rash to assume that the libido was turned into anxiety through th[illegible] a[illegible]ency of these d[illegible] which I [illegible] over it [illegible] [illegible]bido belonging to the id processes is subjected to interruption at the instigation of repression We can still maintain therefore that in repression anxiety is produced from the libidinal cathexes of the instinctual impulses But how can we reconcile this conclusion with our other conclusion that the anxiety felt in phobias is an ego anxiety and arises in the ego and that it does not proceed out of repression but on the contrary sets repression in motion? There seems to be a contradiction here which is not at all simple to solve It will not be easy to reduce the two sources of anxiety to a single one We might attempt to do so by supposing that when coitus is disturbed or sexual excitement interrupted or abstinence enforced the ego scents certain dangers to which it reacts with anxiety But this takes us nowhere On the other hand our analysis of the phobias seems to admit of no correction *Non liquet*

CHAPTER V

WE set out to study the formation of symptoms and the secondary struggle waged by the ego against symptoms But in picking on the phobias for this purpose we have clearly made an unlucky choice The anxiety which predominates in them appears to complicate and obscure the picture There are plenty of neuroses which exhibit no anxiety whatever True conversion hysteria is one of these Even in its most severe symptoms no admixture of anxiety is found This fact alone ought to warn us against making too close a connection between anxiety and symptom formation The phobias are so closely akin to conversion hysteria in every other respect that I have felt justified in classing them with it under the name of *anxiety hysteria* But no one has as yet been able to say what it is that determines whether any given case shall take the form of a conversion hysteria or a phobia—has been able that is to say to establish how the production of anxiety in hysteria is conditioned

The commonest symptoms of conversion hysteria—motor paralyses contractures involuntary actions or discharges pains and hallucinations—are cathectic processes which are either permanently maintained or intermittent But this puts fresh difficulties in the way Not much is actually known about these symptoms Analysis can show what the disturbed excitatory process is which the symptoms replace It usually turns out that they themselves have a share in that process It is as though they had concentrated in themselves the whole energy of the process For instance it will be found that the pains from which a patient suffers were present in the situation in which the repression occurred or that his hallucination was at that time a perception or that his motor paralysis stands for a defence against an action which he had meant to perform but which had been inhibited or that his contracture is usually a displacement of an intended innervation of the muscles in some other part of his body or that his convulsions are the equivalent of an outburst of affect which has been withdrawn from the normal control of the ego The sensation of unpleasure which accompanies the appearance of the symptoms varies in a striking degree In chronic symptoms which have been displaced on to motility like paralyses and contractures it is almost always entirely absent the ego behaves towards the symptoms as though it had nothing to do with them In intermittent symptoms and in those concerned with the sensory field unpleasure is as a rule distinctly felt and in symptoms of pain it may reach an extreme degree The picture presented is so manifold that it is difficult to discover the factor which permits of all these variations and yet establishes a uniformity in them There is moreover little to be seen in conversion hysteria of the ego s struggle against the symptom after it has been formed It is only when sensitivity to pain in some part of the body constitutes the symptom that that symptom is in a position to play a dual role In that case the symptom of pain will appear no less regularly whenever the part of the body concerned is touched from outside than when the pathogenic situation which it represents is associatively activated from within and the ego will take precautions to prevent the symptom from being arou ed through external perceptions Why the formation of symptoms in

It is not clear —ED

the forces th t are to be kept off more ntoler abl Both ff cts are d e to one factor nam ly regres o of the lib d

M h of what has been said mav be obje ted to on the ground that the unpleasant ob e e ideas are themsel es co cious *But there is no* doubt that before becom g cons ious they ha e been thro gh a process of repres io In most of them the a tual text of the aggres e tinctual impulse i altogether unknown to the ego d t requires a good deal of anal t c work to make it co c ou. What doe penetrate into onscio ess usually o ly d torted sub titute whi h is e th r of a ague dream like and c fused nat e o o tra ected as t be unrecognizable E en whe e r pres on has ot e croached upo the content f the ag gressive impulse t has ce ta nly abolished ts accompan ing ffect e qu lity with the result that th ggre ivenes appe rs to the ego not *to be an impuls o b t as the patients them* sel es sav merely an *ide* which awak ns no feeling But th rema kabl thing i that this i n t th case What happens s that the affect wh ch has been left t when th obsess onal idea percei ed appears i a differe t place The super-ego beha es as though repres on had n t occurred and s though t knew the real f rmulat on d full affecti e qual ty of the aggres ive impulse and it treat the ego acco d ingly The ego which th o e ha d knows that it is innoce t m st on the othe accept a sense f guilt and arry re pons b lit which it cannot ccount fo This stat of affai s is howeve ot o puzzling as it w uld eem at first ght The beha our f th supe -ego is perf ctl intell gibl and the co trad ct on in the ego mer ly hows that t has h t o t th id by me ns of repres on wh'l remaining fully cces ble t the nfl ce of the supe ego If t is ked why the eg does t al o tt mpt t withdraw itself f m the painful criticism of the uper-eg the impl a swe that it does man ge t do so in great umber of in tan es There e obses al neur es in whi h sense of gu'lt whate e pre e t In them as f as an be seen th g has o ded becom g aware f it b tut tin a new set f sympt m pena es restrictio s of s lf puni hing kind. These sympt ms epre ent at the same time gratificati n of m chi t c impulses which, in th t m ha bee ein f rced by regres on

Obsess onal neuro s p esents s ch a va t multipl city of phenomena that we have never yet ucceeded n makin a coherent synthes s of all its vari t ons All we can do is to p ck out certain typical correlati ns but there is always the risk that we mav ha e ove looked other uniform t es of a no less important kind

I ha e already de cribed the general tend ncy of s mptom formation in ob es onal neu o s It s to gi e ever greater room to substitut ve grat ficat on at the expen e of frustrat on Symptoms wh ch once stood for a restric t of the eg come later on to represent grat ficat ons as well thanks to the egos in clination to synthetize a d it is quite clear that *this ec d meaning* gradually becomes the more important of the two The result of th s proces whi h approxim tes more and more to a complete f lure of the original purpose of d f nce is an e tremely estricted ego which is red ced to seeking gratification in the symp- *toms The di placement of the distribution* of forces in fa our of gratification may ha e the alarmin outcome of paralysing the will of the *ego so that in every deci ion that it has to make* it is almost as str ngly impelled from the one side as from the other The acute confl ct be- tween id and uper-e o which has dominated the 'llness from the very beg nning may as ume such ext s e p oporti that the ego u abl to carry o t t office of mediator can under t ke n th g which is not drawn into the phere of that conflict

CHAPTER VI

IN the course of these struggles two acti ities of th ego of a symptom form n kind a e ob- s rvable which de erve pecial attention be cause they are obviously surrogates of repres sion and the efore well su ted to illustrate ts purpo e and techn que The fact that uch uxiliary and subst tut e techn ques emerge ma reue that true repre on has m t w th difficult s n ts f t n g If one n ders how much mo th ego is the c of act on of sympt m f rmati n in obses al neu tha t s n hysteria and with what tenacity it clings to t lat ns to real ty emplo ing all its tellectual facult es t that e d—so much that the ery pr cess f thinking becomes h pe -cath ted and er t ized—the e may pe haps get a clo er dea of the mportanc of th se ariat o s of repression

The two techniques I refe t re *u do g wh t h b en d e a d isol t g* The first of these h wid ra of applicatio and goes back very far It is as it w e a negative magic

Cf Theod Re k *G ld stwa g and St f bedurfn* 9 5 p. 5

creation or consolidation of the super ego and the erection of ethical and aesthetic barriers in the ego In obsessional neuroses these processes are carried further than is normal In order to effect the destruction of the Oedipus complex a regressive degradation of the libido takes place as well the super ego becomes exceptionally severe and unkind and the ego in obedience to the super ego produces strong reaction formations in the shape of conscientiousness pity and cleanliness Implacable though not therefore always successful severity is shown in putting down the temptation to continue early infantile masturbation which is now attached to regressive (sadistic anal) ideational ima es but which still represents the unsubjugated part of the phallic organization There is an inherent contradiction about this state of affairs in which precisely in the interests of masculinity (castration anxiety) every activity belonging to masculinity is stopped But here too obsessional neurosis is only overdoing the normal method of abolishing the Oedipus complex We once more find an illustration of the truth that every exaggeration contains the seed of its own destruction For under the guise of obsessional acts the masturbation that has been suppressed approaches ever more closely to gratification

The reaction formations in the ego of the obsessional neurotic which we have recognized as exaggerations of normal character formation should be regarded I think as yet another mechanism of defence and placed on the same level as regression and repression They seem to be absent or very much weaker in hysteria Looking back we can now get an idea of what is peculiar to the defensive process in hysteria It seems that in it the process is limited to repression alone The ego turns away from the disagreeable instinctual impulse and leaves it to pursue its course in the unconscious taking no further part in its lot This view cannot be absolutely correct for we are acquainted with the case in which a hysterical symptom is at the same time a fulfilment of a penalty imposed by the super ego but it may describe a general characteristic of the behaviour of the ego in hysteria

We can either simply accept it as a fact that in obsessional neurosis a super ego of this severe kind emerges or we can take the regression of the libido as the fundamental characteristic of the affection and attempt to relate the severity of the super ego to it And indeed the super ego originating as it does in the id cannot dissociate itself from the regression and defusion of instinct which have taken place there We cannot be surprised if it becomes harsher unkinder and more tormenting than where development has been normal

The chief task during the latency period seems to be the warding off of the temptation to masturbate This struggle produces a series of symptoms which appear in a typical fashion in the most different individuals and which bear the general character of ceremonial It is a great pity that no one has as yet collected them and systematically analysed them Being the earliest products of the neurosis they should best be able to shed li ht on the mechanisms employed in its symptom formation They already exhibit those features which are destined to come to the fore so fatefully in the serious illness that lies ahead—the manner in which the symptoms are introduced into certain procedures (which later on become almost automatic) in connection with going to sleep washing dressing and walking about as well as the tendency to repetition and delay Why this should be so is at pre ent not at all clear but the sublimation of anal erotic components plays an unmistakable part

The advent of puberty opens a new chapter in the history of an obsessional neurosis The organization at the genital level which has been stopped in childhood starts again with great vigour But as we know the sexual development of the child determines what direction this new start will take Not only will the early aggressive impulses be reawakened but a greater or lesser proportion of the new libidinal impulses—in bad cases the whole of them—will have to follow the course prescribed for them by regression and will emerge as aggressive and destructive tendencies In consequence of the erotic trends being disguised in this way and owing to the powerful reaction formations in the ego the struggle against sexuality will henceforward be carried on under the banner of ethical principles The ego will recoil with astonishment from promptings to cruelty and violence which enter con ciousness from the id and it has no notion that in them it is combating erotic wishes including many which it would otherwise not have taken exception to The super ego overstrict as it is insists all the more strongly on the suppression of sexuality seeing that the latter has assumed such repulsive forms Thus in obsessional neurosis the conflict is aggravated in two directions the defensive forces become more intolerant and

some phantasies or a manifestation of aggressive trends. It must not relax, but is constantly prepared for a struggle. It fortifies its compulsion to concentrate and to isolate by the help of those magical acts of isolation which, in the form of symptoms, grow to be so noticeable and to have so much practical importance for the patient, but which are actually, of course, useless and in the nature of ceremonials.

But in thus endeavouring to prevent associations and connections of thought, the ego is obeying one of the oldest and most fundamental commands of obsessional neurosis, the taboo of touching. If one asks oneself why the avoidance of touching, contact, or contamination should play such a large part in this neurosis and should become the subject-matter of complicated systems, the answer is that touching and physical contact are the immediate aim of the aggressive as well as the loving object-cathexes. Eros desires contact because it strives to make the ego and the loved object one, to abolish all barriers of distance between them. But the first requisite of destructiveness too which (before the invention of long-range weapons) can only take effect *at close quarters*, is physical contact, a coming to grips. To *touch* a woman has become a euphemism for using her as a sexual object. Not to *touch* one's genitals is the phrase employed for forbidding autoerotic gratification. Since obsessional neurosis begins by persecuting touching in its erotic sense and then, after regression has taken place, goes on to persecute it in its new sense of aggressiveness, nothing is so strongly proscribed in this illness as touching nor so well suited to become the central point of a system of prohibitions. Now isolation is a removal of the possibility of its being *touched*, to withdraw it from any sort of contact. When a neurotic isolates an impression or an activity by interpolating an interval, he lets it be understood symbolically that he will not allow his thoughts about that impression or activity to come into associative contact with his other thoughts.

This is as far as our investigations into the formation of symptoms take us. It is hardly worth while summing them up, for the results they have yielded are scanty and incomplete and tell us scarcely anything that we do not already know. It would be fruitless to turn our attention to symptom-formation in other disorders besides phobias, conversion-hysteria, and obsessional neurosis, for too little is known about them. But in reviewing those three neuroses together we are brought up against a very serious problem the consideration of which can no longer be put off. All three have as their starting-point the destruction of the Oedipus complex, and in all three the motive force of the ego's opposition is, we believe, the fear of castration. Yet it is only in the phobias that this fear comes to the surface and is acknowledged as such. What has become of it in the other two neuroses? How has the ego spared itself this fear? The problem becomes accentuated when we recollect the possibility already referred to that anxiety arises directly, by a kind of fermentation, as it were, from a libidinal cathexis whose processes have been disturbed. Furthermore, is it absolutely certain that fear of castration is the only motive force of repression or defence? If we think of neuroses in women we are bound to doubt it. For though we can with certainty establish in them the presence of a castration complex, we can hardly *speak with propriety of castration anxiety* where castration has already taken place.

CHAPTER VII

LET us go back again to infantile phobias of animals, for we still know more about them than about others. In animal phobias, then, the ego has to oppose a libidinal object-cathexis coming from the id—a cathexis that belongs either to the positive or the negative Oedipus complex—because it believes that to give way to it would entail the danger of castration. This question has already been discussed, but there still remains a doubtful point to clear up. In Little Hans' case—that is, in the case of a positive Oedipus complex—was it his fondness for his mother or was it his aggressiveness towards his father which called out the defence of the ego? In practice it seems to make no difference, especially as each set of feelings implies the other; but the question has a theoretical interest, since it is only the feeling of affection for the mother which can count as a purely erotic one. The aggressive impulse flows mainly from the instinct of *destruction*; and we have always believed that in a neurosis it is against the demands of the libido and not against those of any other instinct that the ego is defending itself. In point of fact we know that, after Hans's phobia had been formed, his tender attachment to his mother seemed to disappear, having been completely disposed of by repression, while the symptom-formation (substitutive formation) took place in relation to his aggressive impulses. In the Wolf Man the situation was simpler. The impulse that was

and endeavours by means of motor symbolism to blow away not merely the consequence of some occurrence experience or impression but those very events themselves I choose the term blow away advisedly so as to remind the reader of the part played by this technique not only in neuroses but in magical acts popular customs and religious ceremonies as well In obsessional neurosis we first come across the technique of undoing what has been done in symptoms which occur in two phases—*dichronous* symptoms—in which one action is cancelled out by a second so that it is as though neither action had taken place whereas in reality both have This aim of undoing is the second underlying motive of obsessional ceremonials the first being to take precautions in order to prevent the occurrence or recurrence of some given event The difference between the two is easily seen the precautionary measures are rational whilst the measures taken to abolish something by undoing it are irrational and magical It is of course to be suspected that the latter is the earlier motive of the two and proceeds from an animistic attitude towards the environment This endeavour to undo shades off into normal behaviour in the case in which a person decides to regard an event as not having happened But whereas he will take no direct steps against the event and will simply look away from it and its consequences the neurotic person will try to make the past itself non existent He will try to repress it by motor means The same aim may perhaps be present in and account for the compulsion to repeat actions which is so frequently met with in obsessional neuroses and which serves a number of contradictory purposes at once When anything has not happened in the desired way it can be undone by being repeated in a different way and now all the motives that exist for lingering over such repetitions come into play as well As the neurosis proceeds we often find that one symptom forming motive of first rate importance is the endeavour to undo a traumatic experience We thus unexpectedly discover a new motor technique of defence or (as we may say in this case with less inaccuracy) of repression

The second of these techniques that we are setting out to describe for the first time that of isolation is characteristic for obsessional neurosis It too takes place in the motor sphere When the subject has done something which has a significance for his neurosis or after something unpleasant has happened he will interpolate an interval during which nothing further may happen—during which he may perceive nothing and do nothing This behaviour which seems so strange at first sight is soon seen to have a relation to repression We know that in hysteria a traumatic experience is able to be overtaken by amnesia In obsessional neurosis this can often not be achieved But instead of being forgotten the experience is deprived of its affect and its associative connections are suppressed or interrupted so that it remains as though isolated and is not reproduced in the ordinary processes of thought The effect of isolation is thus the same as the effect of repression with amnesia This technique is then carried out in the isolations of obsessional neurosis It is at the same time reinforced in a magical sense from the motor sphere The elements that are held apart in this way are precisely those which belong together associatively Motor isolation is meant to ensure an interruption of the connection in thought The normal phenomenon of concentration provides a pretext for this kind of neurotic procedure The normal person concentrates on what seems to him important in the way of an impression or a piece of work in order that it shall not be interfered with by the intrusion of any other mental processes or activities But even he uses concentration to keep away not only what is irrelevant or unimportant to the matter in hand but above all what is unsuitable because it is contradictory He is most disturbed by those elements which once belonged to it but which have been discarded in the course of his development—as for instance by any manifestation of the ambivalence belonging to his father complex in his relation to God or by any impulses attached to his excretory organs in his emotions of love Thus in the normal course of things the ego has a great deal of isolating work to do in its function of directing the current of thought And as we know in carrying out our analytic technique we have to train it to relinquish that function eminently justified as it is in itself for the time being

All analysts have found that it is especially difficult for the obsessional neurotic to carry out the fundamental rule of psycho analytic treatment Probably his ego is more watchful and makes sharper isolations because of the high degree of tension due to conflict that exists between his super-ego and his id While his thoughts are working his ego has to keep off too much in the way of an intrusion of uncon

CHAPTER III

repressed was his feminine attitude towards his father and that attitude was a genuinely erotic one And it was in relation to that impulse too that the formation of his symptoms took place

It is almost humiliating that after working so long we should still be having difficulty in understanding the most fundamental facts But we are determined to simplify nothing and to hide nothing If we cannot see things clearly we will at least see clearly what the obscurities are What is hampering us here is evidently some hitch in the development of our theory of the instincts We began by tracing the organization of the libido through its successive stages—from the oral through the sadistic anal to the genital—and in doing so placed all the components of the sexual instinct on the same footing Later it appeared that sadism was the representative of another instinct which was opposed to Eros This new view that the instincts fell into two groups seems to explode the earlier view of the successive stages of libidinal organization But we do not have to break fresh ground in order to find a way out of the difficulty The solution has been at hand for a long time and consists in the fact that what we are concerned with are scarcely ever pure instinctual impul es but mixtures in various proportions of the two groups of instincts If this is so there is no need to revise our view of the organizations of the libido A sadistic cathexis of an object may legitimately claim to be treated as a libidinal one and an aggressive impulse against the father can just as well be subjected to repression as a loving impulse towards the mother Nevertheless we shall bear in mind for future consideration the possibility that repression is a process which has a special relation to the genital organization of the libido and that the ego resorts to other methods of defence when it has to secure itself against the libido on other levels of organization A case like Little Hans s does not enable us to come to any clear conclusion It is true that in him an aggressive impulse had been disposed of by repression but this happened after the genital organization had been attained

This time we will keep our attention on the question of anxiety We have said that as soon as the ego recognized the danger of castration it gave the signal of anxiety and inhibited through the pleasure unpleasure system (in a way which we cannot as yet understand more fully) the impending cathetic process in the id At the same time the phobia became formed and now the castration anxiety was directed to a different object and expressed in a distorted form so that the patient was afraid not of being castrated by his father but of being bitten by a horse or eaten by a wolf This substitutive formation had two obvious advantages In the first place it avoided a conflict due to ambivalence (for the father had been a loved object too) and in the second place it enabled the ego to cease producin anxiety For the anxiety belonging to a phobia is conditional it only emerges when the object of it is perceived and rightly so since it is only then that the danger situation is present There is no need to be afraid of being castrated by a father who is not there On the other hand one cannot get rid of a father he can appear whenever he chooses But if he is replaced by an animal all one has to do is to avoid the sight of it—that is its presence—in order to be free from dan er and anxiety Little Hans therefore imposed a restriction upon his e o He produced the inhibition of not leaving the house so as not to come across any horses The youn Russian had an even easier time of it for it was hardly a privation for him not to look at a particular picture book any more If his naughty sister had not always been showing him the book with the picture of the wolf standin upright in it he would have been able to feel safe from his fears

On a previous occasion I have stated that phobias have the character of a projection in that they replace an internal instinctual danger by an external perceptual one The advantage of doing this comes from the fact that the individual can protect himself against external dangers by fleeing from them and avoidin the perception of them whereas it is useless to try to flee from dangers that arise from within This statement of mine was not incorrect but it did not go below the surface of things For an instinctual demand is after all not dangerous in itself it only becomes so inasmuch as it entails a real external danger the dan er of castration Thus what happens in a phobia in the last resort is merely that one external danger is replaced by another The view that in a phobia the ego is able to escape anxiety by means of avoidance or inhibitory symptoms fits in th h —

f [illegible] n a ective reaction on the part of the ego to danger and the danger which is being

signalled in this way is the danger of castration. The anxiety differs in no respect from the anxiety which the ego normally feels in situations of danger except that its content remains unconscious and only becomes conscious in the form of a distortion.

The same is true I think, of the phobias of grown-up persons, although the material that undergoes modification in their neuroses is much more abundant and there are some additional factors in the formation of the symptoms. Fundamentally the position is identical. The agoraphobic patient imposes a restriction upon his ego so as to escape a certain instinctual danger namely the danger of giving way to his erotic desires. For if he did so the danger of being castrated, or some similar danger would once more be conjured up as it was in his childhood. I may cite as an instance the case of a young man who became agoraphobic because he was afraid of yielding to the solicitations of prostitutes and of contracting a syphilitic infection from them as a punishment.

I am well aware that a great number of cases exhibit a much more complicated structure and that many other repressed instinctual impulses can enter into a phobia. But they are only tributary streams which have for the most part joined the main current of the neurosis at a later stage. The symptomatology of agoraphobia, for example, is complicated by the fact that the ego does not confine itself to making a renunciation. In order to rob the situation of danger it does more: it usually effects a temporal regression to infancy (in extreme cases to pre-natal days, that is, to a time when the individual was in his mother's womb and protected against the dangers which beset him in the present). A regression of this kind now becomes a condition whose fulfilment exempts the ego from making its renunciation. For instance, an agoraphobic patient may be able to walk in the street provided he is accompanied like a small child by someone he knows and trusts; or for the same reason, he may be able to go out alone provided he remains within a certain distance of his own house and does not go to places which are not familiar to him or where people do not know him. What these stipulations are will depend in each case upon the infantile factors which dominate him through his neurosis. The phobia of being alone is unambiguous in its meaning irrespective of any infantile regression: it is, ultimately an endeavour to avoid the temptation to indulge in solitary masturbation. Naturally infantile regression can only take place when the individual is no longer a child.

A phobia generally sets in only after a first anxiety attack has been experienced in specific circumstances, such as in the street or in a train or in solitude. Thereafter the anxiety is held in ban by the phobia, but it re-emerges whenever the protective stipulation cannot be fulfilled. The mechanism of phobia does good service as a means of defence and tends to be very stable. A continuation of the defensive struggle in the shape of a struggle against the symptom occurs frequently but not invariably.

What has been said about anxiety in phobias is true of obsessional neuroses as well. In this respect it is not difficult for us to put obsessional neuroses on a level with phobias. In the former the mainspring of all later symptom formation is clearly the ego's fear of the super-ego. The danger situation from which the ego must get away is the hostility of the super-ego. There is no trace of projection here; the danger is completely internalized. But if we ask ourselves what it is that the ego fears from the super-ego we cannot but think that the punishment threatened by the latter must be an extension of the punishment of castration. Just as the father has become depersonalized in the shape of the super-ego, so has the fear of castration at his hands become transformed into an undefined social or moral anxiety. But this anxiety is concealed. The ego escapes it by obediently carrying out the behests, precautions, and penances that have been enjoined on it. If it is impeded in doing so, it is at once overtaken by an acute feeling of discomfort which may, I think, be regarded as an equivalent of anxiety and which the patients themselves liken to anxiety.

The conclusion we have come to then is this. Anxiety is a *reaction to a situation of danger*. It is obviated by the ego's doing something to avoid that situation or to withdraw from it. It might be said that symptoms are created so as to prevent anxiety from emerging. But this does not go deep enough. It would be truer to say that symptoms are created so as to avoid a danger situation whose approach has been signalled by the emergence of anxiety. In the cases that we have discussed, the danger concerned was the danger of castration or something that is an off-shoot of castration.

If anxiety is a reaction of the ego to danger we shall be tempted to regard the traumatic neuroses which so often follow upon a narrow escape from death, as a direct result of a fear of

death (or fear *for* life) and to dismiss from our minds the que tion of castration and the sub ordinate relations of the ego Most physicians who observed the traumatic neuroses that occurred during the great war took this line and triumphantly announced that proof was now forthcoming that a threat to the instinct of elf preservation could by itself produce a neurosis without any admixture of sexual factors and without requiring any of the com plicated hypotheses of psycho analysis It is in fact greatly to be regretted that not a sin le analysis of a traumatic neurosis of any value is extant And it is to be regretted not because such an analysis would contradict the aetio logical importance of sexuality—for any such contradiction has long since been disposed of by the introduction of the concept of narcissism which brings the libidinal cathexis of the ego into line with the cathexes of objects and emphasizes the libidinal character of the in stinct of self preservation—but because in the absence of any analyses of this kind we have lost a precious opportunity of making decisive discoveries about the relations between anxiety and the formation of symptoms In view of all that we know about the structure of the com paratively simple neuroses of everyday life it would seem highly improbable that a neurosis could come into being merely because of the objective presence of danger without any par ticipation of the deeper levels of the mental apparatus But the unconscious seems to con tain nothing that would lend substance to the concept of the annihilation of life Castration can be pictured on the basis of the daily experience of the faeces being separated from the body or on the basis of losing the mother s breast at weaning But nothing resembling death can ever have been experienced or if it has as in fainting it has left no observable traces behind I am therefore inclined to adhere to the view that the fear of death should be regarded as analogous to the fear of castration and that the situation to which the ego is re acting is one of being abandoned by the pro tecting super ego—the powers of destiny—so that it has no longer any safeguard again t all the dangers that surround it In addition it must be remembered that in those experiences which lead to a traumatic neurosis the pro tective barrier against external stimuli has been broken through and over great quantities of excitation impinge upon the mental apparatus so that we have here the second possibility that anxiety is not only being signalled as an affect but is also being created anew out of the economic conditions of the situation

The statement I have just made to the effect that the ego has been prepared to expect castration by having undergone constantly repeated object losses places the question of anxiety in a new light We have hitherto regarded it as an affective signal of danger But now since the danger [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] which make a ainst this view we cannot but be struck by one very remark able correlation The first experience of anxiety through which the individual goes is (in the case of human bein s at all events) birth and objectively speaking birth is a separation from the mother It can be compared to a castration of the mother (by equating the child with a penis) Now it would be very satisfactory if anxiety as a symbol of separation were to be repeated on every subsequent occasion on which a separation took place But unfor tunately we are prevented from making use of this correlation by the fact that birth is not experienced subjectively as a separation from the mother since the foetus being a completely narcissistic creature is totally unaware of her existence as an object Another adverse argu ment is that we know what the affective re actions to separation are they are pain and mourning not anxiety Incidentally it may be remembered that in discussing the question of mourning we also failed to discover why it should be such a painful thing

CHAPTER VIII

THE time has come to pause and reflect What we clearly want is some idea of what anxiety really is some criterion that will enable us to distinguish true statements about it from false ones But this is not easy to get Anxiety is not so simple as all that Up till now we have arrived at nothing but contradictory views about it none of which can to the unprejudiced eye be given preference over the other I therefore propose to adopt a d fferent pro cedure I propose to assemble quite impartially all the facts that we do know about anxiety and to give up the idea of making any im mediate synthesis of them

Anxiety then is in the first place something that is felt We call it an affective state al though we are also ignorant of what an affect

M [illegible] g [illegible] d M l ch l (917) C llect d P p IV

is. As a feeling anxiety has a very marked quality of unpleasure But that is not the whole of its quality Not every unpleasure is *anxiety* for there are other sensations such as tension pain, or mourning which have the quality of unpleasure Thus anxiety must have other distinctive features besides this quality Can we succeed in finding out what the differences are between these various unpleasurable affects?

We can at any rate note one or two things about the feeling of anxiety Its unpleasurable quality seems to have a character of its own—something not very obvious whose presence is difficult to prove yet which is in all likelihood there. But besides having this special character which is difficult to isolate we notice that anxiety is accompanied by fairly definite physical sensations which can be referred to particular organs of the body As we are not concerned here with the physiology of anxiety we shall content ourselves with mentioning a few examples of these sensations. The clearest and most frequent ones are those connected with the respiratory organs and with the heart. They provide evidence that motor innervations i.e., processes of discharge play a part in the general phenomenon of anxiety

Analysis of anxiety states therefore reveals the existence of (1) a specific quality of unpleasure, (2) acts of discharge and (3) perceptions of those acts The two last points indicate at once a difference between states of anxiety and other similar states, like those of mourning and pain. The latter do not have any motor manifestation or if they have the manifestation is not an integral part of the whole state but is distinct from it as being a result of it or a reaction to it Anxiety then is a special state of unpleasure with acts of discharge along particular channels In accordance with our general views we should be inclined to think that anxiety is based upon an increase of excitation which, on the one hand produces the quality of unpleasure and, on the other finds relief through the channels of discharge mentioned above But a purely physiological account of this sort is scarcely sufficient We are tempted to assume the presence of a historical factor which binds the sensations of anxiety and its innervations firmly together In other *words that* an anxiety state is the reproduction of some experience which contains the necessary conditions for such an increase of excitation and a discharge along particular channels and that from this circumstance the unpleasure of anxiety receives its specific character In man birth is a prototypic experience of this kind and one is therefore *inclined to regard* anxiety states as a reproduction of the trauma of birth.

This does not imply that anxiety occupies a different position from all the other affective states In my opinion, the other affects are also reproductions of very early, perhaps even pre individual, experiences of vital importance and I should be inclined to regard them as universal typical and innate hysterical attacks comparable with the recently and individually acquired attacks which occur in hysterical neuroses and whose origin and *significance as memory symbols* have been revealed by analysis *Of course* it would be very desirable to be able to demonstrate the truth of this view in a number of such affects—a thing which is still very far from being the case

Certain immediate objections to this view *that anxiety goes back to the event of birth* have to be met It may be argued that anxiety common

Therefore there can be anxiety without the prototype of birth But this objection takes us beyond the barrier that divides psychology from biology It may be precisely because anxiety *has an indispensable biological function* to fulfil as a reaction to a state of danger that it is differently fashioned in different living beings We do not know besides, whether anxiety involves the same sensations and innervations in creatures far removed from man as it does in man himself Thus there is no good argument here against the view that in man, anxiety is modelled upon the process of birth.

If the structure and origin of anxiety are as *described* the next question is what is the function of anxiety and on what occasions is it reproduced? The answer seems to be obvious and convincing anxiety arose originally as a reaction to a state of danger and it is reproduced whenever a state of that kind recurs

This answer however raises further considerations. The innervations involved in the original state of anxiety probably had a meaning and purpose just as have the muscular movements which accompany a first hysterical attack. In order to understand an hysterical attack all one has to do is to look for a situation in which the movements in question would form

part of an appropriate and expedient action Thus in birth it is probable that the innervations in being directed to the respiratory organs are preparing the way for the activity of the lungs and that in accelerating the heart beat they are helping to keep the blood free from toxic substances Naturally when the anxiety state is reproduced later on as an affect it will be lacking in any such expediency just as the repetitions of a hysterical attack are When the individual is placed in a new situation of danger it may well be quite inexpedient for him to respond with an anxiety state (which is a reaction to an earlier danger) instead of initiating a reaction which is appropriate to the present danger But his behaviour may become expedient once more if he recognizes the dan er situation before it has actually overtaken him and signals its approach by an outbreak of anxiety In that case he can at once get rid of his anxiety by having recourse to more suitable measures Thus we see that there are two ways in which anxiety can emerge in an expedient way when a new situation of danger has occurred or in an expedient way in order to give a signal and prevent such a situation from occurring

But what is a *danger?* In the act of birth there is a real danger to life We know what this means objectively but what it means in a psychological sense we have no idea The dan er of birth has as yet no mental content for the subject One cannot possibly suppose that the foetus has any sort of knowledge that its life is in danger of being destroyed It can only be aware of some vast upheaval in the economy of its narcissistic libido Very large quantities of excitation crowd in upon it giving rise to new sensations of unpleasure and many organs acquire an increased cathexis thus foreshadowing the object cathexis which will soon set in What elements in all this can be considered to be distinctive of a *danger situation?*

Unfortunately far too little is known about the mental constitution of the new born child to make a direct answer possible I cannot even vouch for the validity of the description I have just given It is easy to say that the baby will repeat its affect of anxiety in every situation which recalls the event of birth The important thing to know is what it is that recalls that event and what it is in that event that is recalled

All we can do is to examine the occasions on which infants or rather older children show readiness to produce anxiety In his book on the trauma of birth Rank has made a determined attempt to establish a relationship between the earliest phobias of children and the impressions made on them by the event of birth But I do not think he has been successful. His theory is open to two objections In the first place he assumes that the infant has received certain sensory impressions in particular of a visual kind at the time of birth the renewal of which can recall to its memory the trauma of birth and thus evoke a reaction of anxiety This assumption is quite unfounded and extremely improbable It is not credible that a child should retain any but tactile and general sensations relating to the process of birth If later on children show fear of small animals that disappear into holes or emerge from them this reaction according to Rank, is due to their perceiving an analogy But it is an analogy of which they cannot be aware In the econd place in consid [illegible]

[illegible] ia uterine existence now on its recollection of the traumatic disturbance which interrupted that existence so that he is able to make almost any interpretation he pleases There are moreover certain examples of child hood anxiety which directly traverse his theory When for instance a child is left alone in the dark one would expect it accordin to his view to welcome the re establishment of the intra uterine situation yet it is precisely on such occasions that the child reacts with anxiety And if this is explained by saying that the child is bein reminded of the interruption which the event of birth made in its intra uterine happiness then one can no longer shut one s eyes to the far fetched character of such explanations

I am driven to the conclusion that the earliest phobias of infancy cannot be directly traced back to impressions of birth and that so far they have not been explained A certain preparedness for anxiety is undoubtedly present in the infant But this preparedness for anxiety instead of being at its maximum immediately after birth and then slowly decreasing does not emerge till later on as the mental development of the infant proceeds It lasts over a certain period of childhood If the early phobias persist beyond that period one is inclined to suspect the presence of a neurotic disturbance

R k *Th T m f B th d ts Imp tance f P ych A lytic Th py* (9 4)

a.hough here .ra.n it is ot at all clear what their relation is to the undoub ed neuroses that appear L er on in childhood.

Only a few of t.e manifestations of a..xiety in children are comprehensible to us and we must co..... our attention to them. They occur for instance when a child is alone or in the d.rk, or when it finds i.self with an un known person instead of *one to* whom t is used—such as .s mother These three m.ta..ces can be reduced to a single condition namely that f missing someo e who is loved and longed for

Here is the key I thi.k, to an understand ing of a..xiety a.d to a reconciliation of the contradictions that seem t beset i.. The childs memory picture of the person longed f is no doubt in..en.ively ca.hected probably in a hallucinatory way at first. But this has no effect and now it seems as thou.h the longing turns in.o anxiety This anxi ty has all the appeara..ce of bein., an expressi of the child s feeling of not knowing what t do as though in its still undeveloped state t did n t know how t cope with i's cath xis f longing Here anxiety seems to be reaction t the felt loss f t.e bject a.d one is at once reminded of the f ct that castration anxi ty too is a fear of bei.g separated from a highly valued object, and t.at the earliest anxiety f all—t.e primal a..xiety f birth—is brought about on the occasion of a separation *from* the mot..er

But our next re..ectio takes us a step beyond t.is question of loss f bj ct. The reason why t.. infa.t in arms wants to perceive the presence of its m ther is only because t already knows by experience that h gratifies all ts needs without delay The situation then, that it regards as a *danger* and ga..st which t wa..s to be safe-guarded is o e of on-gratifica tion, f growi.g tension due t need against w..h it is helpless. I think that if w dopt t..s view all the f cts fall in o place The situa tion f on-gratification in which th amounts of stimulation rise t an unpleasurabl he ht without t.e infan bei.g ble t master them by m..ing a.d discharging them psych logi cally must be analogous f t t the experience f being born—must be a repet ti n of that situation f danger What both situti ns have in common is an conomic disturbance caused by an a ccumulation of am unts of stimulation which require t be disposed of It is this element which is the real essence of the danger In both cases t.e same reaction of anxiety sets in. (This anxiety reaction is still an expedient one in the child at the sucki..g stage fo ju.t as t ...ted the *lungs of the new born baby* to get rid of the i..ternal s..mali so now in being discharged into the respiratory and vocal muscular apparatus, it calls the mo..her to the ... ... suppose that

the presence of danger

When the child has found out by experience that an external, perceptible object can put an end to the da..gerous situation which is reminiscent of b rth the nature of the danger it fears is displaced from the economic situation on to the cond t on which determined that situation, viz. the loss of object. It is the absence of the mother that is now the danger and as oon as that danger ari.es the small child gives the gnal of anxiety before the dreaded econom c situation has set in. This change const tutes a first important step for ward in the provisi n made by the child for its self-preservation, and at the same time represents a transition from the automatic and in voluntary new-creation of anxiety to the inten..ional reproduction of anxiet as a signal f danger

In these two aspects as an utomatic phe nomenon and as a rescue- ignal anxiety is seen to be a prod ct of the infant s mental *helplessness which is a natural counterpart of* its b ological helplessnes The striki..g coincidence by which th anxiety of the new-born baby and the anxi ty of the infant in arms both depend upon a separation from the mother does not need to be explained on psychol ...cal lines It can be accounted f imply enough from a b ological point of ew for just as th mother originally satis..ed all th needs of the foetus through her own body so now after ts b rth sh continues to do so though partly through othe means Th re is m ch m re continuity between intra ut rine life and earliest infancy than th impressive caesura of the act of birth allows us to believe. What happens is that t.e child s b logical situation as a foetus is replaced for t by a psychological object relation t i.s mother B t we must n t f rget that during ts intra-uterine life the mother was t an object f r the foetus and that at that time there were no object t all as f r as t was co cerned It is bv ous that in this chem f things there is no room for the b-reacti n of the b rth-trauma W cann t find that anxiety has any othe function except that

of being a signal for the avoidance of a danger situation

The importance of the loss of object as a determinant of anxiety extends considerably further For the next transformation of anxiety viz the castration anxiety belonging to the phallic phase is also a fear of separation and is thus attached to the same determinant In this case the danger is of being separated from one s genitals Ferenczi has traced quite correctly I think a clear line of connection between this fear and the fears contained in the earlier situations of danger According to him the high degree of narcissistic value which the penis possesses is due to the fact that this organ is a guarantee to its owner that he can be once more united to his mother—i e to a substitute for her—in the act of copulation Being deprived of it amounts to a renewed separation from her and this in its turn means being helplessly exposed to an unpleasurable tension due to instinctual need as was the case in birth But this need whose increase is feared is now a specific one belonging to the genital libido and is no longer an indeterminate one as in the period of infancy It may be added that for a man who is impotent (that is who is inhibited by the threat of castration) the substitute for copulation is a phantasy of returning into his mother s womb Following out Ferenczi s line of thought one might say that such a man while endeavouring to return to his mother s womb vicariously—by means of his genital organ proceeds to replace that organ regressively by his body as a whole

The progress which the child makes in its development—its growing independence the sharper division of its mental apparatus into several institutions the advent of new needs—cannot fail to exert an influence upon the content of the danger situation We have already traced the change of that content from loss of the mother as an object to castration The next change is enforced by the power of the super ego With the depersonalization of the parental institution from which castration was feared the danger becomes less defined Castration anxiety develops into moral anxiety —social anxiety—and it is not so easy now to know what the anxiety is about The formula *separation and expulsion from the horde* only applies to that later portion of the super-ego which has been formed on the strength of social prototypes not to the nucleus of the super-ego which corresponds to the introjected parental institution Putting it more generally what the ego regards as the danger and responds to with an anxiety signal is that the super-ego should be angry with it or punish it or cease to love it The final transformation which the fear of the super ego undergoes is it seems to me the fear of death (or fear for life) which is a fear of the super ego projected on to the powers of destiny

At one time I attached some importance to the view that what found discharge in anxiety was the cathexis which had been withdrawn in the process of repression This view seems to me no longer of any interest The reason for this is that whereas I formerly believed that anxiety invariably arose automatically through an economic process my present conception of anxiety as a signal given by the ego in order to affect the pleasure unpleasure institution does away with the necessity of considering the economic factor Of course there is nothing to be said against the idea that it is precisely the energy that has been liberated by being withdrawn through repression which is used by the ego to arouse affect but it is no longer of any importance which portion of the general energy is employed for this purpose

This new view of things calls for an examination of another proposition of mine namely that the ego is the actual seat of anxiety I think this proposition still holds good There is as far as can be seen no reason to assign any manifestation of anxiety to the super-ego while the expression *anxiety of the id* stands in need of correction though rather as to its form than its substance Anxiety is an affective state and as such can of course only be felt by the ego The id cannot have anxiety as the ego can for it is not an organization and cannot make a judgment about a situation of danger On the other hand it very often happens that processes take place or begin to take place in the id which cause the ego to produce anxiety Indeed it is probable that the earliest repressions as well as most of the later ones are motivated by an ego anxiety of this sort in regard to processes in the id Here again one may rightly distinguish between the case in which something occurs in the id which activates a danger situation for the ego and induces the latter to give the anxiety signal for inhibition to take place and the case in which a situation analogous to the trauma of birth is established in the id and an automatic reaction of anxiety ensues The two cases may be brought closer together if it is pointed out that the second case applies to the earliest and original danger situation while the first case

regards to any one of the later determinants of anxiety that have been derived from it or with regard to psychological disorders that the second case is operative in the aetiology of the actual neuroses while the first remains typical for that of the psychoneuroses

We see, then, that it is not so much a question of taking back our earlier findings as of bringing them into line with more recent discoveries. It is still an undeniable fact that in sexual abstinence improper interference with the processes of sexual excitation, or deflection of the latter from its psychological modification, anxiety arises directly out of libido in other words that the ego is reduced to a state of helplessness in the face of an excessive tension due to need, as it was in the situation of birth, and that anxiety is then produced. Here once more though the matter is of little importance it is very possible that what finds discharge in anxiety is precisely the surplus of unutilized libido As we know psychoneurosis is especially liable to develop on the basis of an actual neurosis This looks as though the ego were attempting to save itself from anxiety which it has learned to keep in suspension for a while and to bind it by the formation of symptoms. Analysis of the traumatic war neuroses—a term which, by the way covers a great variety of disorders—would probably have shown that a number of them possess the characteristics of actual neuroses

In describing the evolution of the various danger situations from the prototype the act of birth, I have had no intention of asserting that every later determinant of anxiety completely invalidates the preceding one It is true that as the development of the ego goes on the earlier danger-situations tend to lose their force and to be set aside so that we might say that each period of the individual's life has its appropriate determinant of anxiety Thus the danger of psychological helplessness is appropriate to the period of life when his ego is immature the danger of loss of object, to early childhood when he is still dependent on others the danger of castration to the phallic phase and the fear of his super-ego to the latency period. Nevertheless all these danger situations and determinants of anxiety can persist side by side and cause the ego to react to them with anxiety at a later period than the appropriate one or again several of them can come into operation at the same time It is possible moreover that there is a close relationship between the danger-situation that is operative at a given moment and the form taken by the ensuing neurosis.

When in an earlier part of this discussion we found that the danger of castration was of importance in more than one neurotic affection, we put ourselves on guard against over-estimating that factor since it could not be a decisive one for the female sex and since women are undoubtedly more subject to neuroses than men. We now see that there is no danger of our regarding castration anxiety as the sole motive force of the defensive processes which lead to neurosis. I have shown elsewhere how the little girl in the course of her development is led to make a loving object cathexis through her castration complex. It is precisely in women that the danger situation of loss of object seems to have remained the most effective All we need to do is to make a slight modification in our description of their determinant of anxiety in the sense that it is no longer a matter of feeling the want of or actually losing the object itself but of losing the object's love. Since there is no doubt that hysteria has a strong affinity with the nature of women, just as obsessional neurosis has with that of men it appears probable that, as a determinant of anxiety loss of love plays much

Since the d... the ... d the Id

ind fin... len th... f me B... w ou... int res... is t... med the ... tudes f the repressed ... d we begi... suspect this ... no self-evident perhaps no even th... usual th... g that those impulses h... ld remain unaltered and unal... rabl... this way There i... d... bt that the ... riginal impulses have bee... nh'b ted

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CHAPTER IX

WHAT we have now to do is to consider the relationship between the formation of symptoms and the production of anxiety

There seem to be two very widely held opinions on this subject One is that anxiety is itself a neurotic symptom The other is that there is a much more intimate relation between the two According to the second opinion symptoms are only formed in order to avoid anxiety they bind the mental energy which would otherwise be discharged as anxiety Thus anxiety would be the fundamental phenomenon and main problem of neurosis

That this latter opinion is at least in part true is shown by some striking examples If an agoraphobic patient who has been accompanied into the street is left alone there he will have an anxiety attack Or if an obsessional neurotic is prevented from washing his hands after having touched something he will become a prey to almost unbearable anxiety It is plain then that the purpose and the result of having a companion in the street or of washing the hands were to obviate outbreaks of anxiety of this kind In this sense every inhibition which the ego imposes upon itself can be called a *symptom*

Since we have traced back the production of anxiety to a situation of danger we should prefer to say that symptoms are created in order to remove the ego from a situation of danger If the symptoms are prevented from being formed the danger does in fact materialize that is a situation analogous to birth is established in which the ego is helpless in the face of a constantly increasing instinctual demand—the earliest and original determinant of anxiety Thus in our view the relation between anxiety and symptom is less close than was supposed for we have inserted the factor of the danger situation between them We can also add that the production of anxiety sets symptom formation going and is indeed a necessary pre requisite of it For if the ego did not arouse the pleasure unpleasure institution by developing anxiety it would not have the power to arrest the process which is preparing in the id and which threatens danger There is in all this an evident inclination to limit to a minimum the amount of anxiety developed and to employ it only as a signal for to do more would only be to feel in another place the unpleasure which the instinctual process was threatening to produce and that would not be a good result from the standpoint of the pleasure principle although it is one that occurs often enough in the neuroses

The formation of symptoms then does in effect put an end to the danger situation It has two aspects one hidden from view brings about those alterations in the id in virtue of which the ego is removed from danger the other presents to the world what the symptom formation has created in place of the instinctual process which has been affected—namely the substitutive formation

It would however be more correct to ascribe to the defensive process what we have just said about symptom formation and to use the latter term as synonymous with substitute formation It will then be clear that the defensive process is analogous to the method adopted by the ego for removing itself from a danger that threatens it from outside that is to flight The defensive process is an attempt at flight from an instinctual danger An examination of the weak points in this comparison should prove informative One thing that can be said against it is that the loss of an object (or loss of love on the part of the object) and the threat of castration are just as much dangers coming from without as say a ferocious animal would be they are not instinctual dangers Nevertheless the two cases are not the same A wolf would probably attack a man irrespective of his behaviour towards it but the loved person would not cease to love him nor would he be threatened with castration if he did not entertain certain feelings and intentions in his mind. Thus such instinctual impulses are determinants of external dangers and so become dangerous in themselves and the individual can proceed against the external dangers by taking measures against the internal ones In phobias of animals the danger seems to be still entirely felt as an external one just as it has undergone an external displacement in the symptoms In obsessional neuroses the danger is much more internalized That portion of anxiety in regard to the super-ego which constitutes social anxiety represents an internal substitute for an external danger while the other portion—moral anxiety—is already completely endo psychic.

Another objection is that in taking flight from an impending external danger all that the subject does is to increase the distance between himself and what is threatening him He does not

prepare to defend himself against it or attempt to alter anything abo t it as w uld be the ca.e f he attacked the wolf with a stick or — N w h d f s ve process rre ssue and som how suppresses t or deflects t 11o n its aim and thus enders it innocu us This ob j ction seems u impeachable a d must be g ven d e w ght I th nk it is probable that there are some d fens e proce ses which can truly be lik ed to an attempt at fl ght while in others the go takes a much more active line of self prot tio and initiates vigorous coun ter measu es B t pe hap the wh le nalogy between d f nce and flight s inval dated by the fact that both the ego a d the instı ct in th id e parts of the same orga ı atio not separate entitı s like the wolf and the child so that a y kind of behaviour on the part of the eg will ult in a alterat o in the inst nctual proces as well.

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from witho t f m within Again at a c r t p od of lif his most mporta t ı terest really is that the peopl h s d pend t on should t w thd aw the loving care of him Later on his boyhood wh he f ls th t hı f th r is a pow ful rival n reg d to hı moth nd becomes awar of hı wn ag r s-sive inclı tı tow ds him d of his sexual intent on towa ds h mother he really is jus-tified in being afra d f h s f ther d his f r of be g pun hed by him can find xp e o through phyl g net c ı fo c ment n the f r of being castrated Finally as he te into social relatio hips it e lly s ece sary fo him to be afra d f his super-eg h s co scien e f r the bs ce of th t factor w uld g e rise fo him to er c flı t da gers a d so on.

But thı la t po t raıs a new problem In.tead f the aff t of nxı ty I t u t ke for a m ment anoth ff ct say that f pa n It seems qu t normal that t four yea s f ge g l sh uld weep pa f lly f her doll is b ken or at six f he choolmistress reproves her or at s xteen if she is sl ghted by her young man or at twenty five if a ch ld of her own dies Each of the e determinants of pain has its own t me and each passes away when that time

over some wo thless ı

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Why th s should be so requ res a rather long answ r F rst of all let us see what the facts a e In a great numbe of cases the old deter *mina ts of anxiety do really lapse after having* produced neurotic reactions The phobias of inf nts which con st in being afraid of be g alo e or in the da k or among strangers— phob as which can alm st be called normal— usually pass off late o the ch ld grows out of them as we say about many other d s tu bances of ch ldh od Animal phob as wh h *a e of ch frequ nt occurrence* undergo the

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Since we have traced back the production of anxiety to a situation of danger we should prefer to say that symptoms are created in order to remove the ego from a situation of danger If the symptoms are prevented from being formed the danger does in fact materialize that is a situation analogous to birth is established in which the ego is helpless in the face of a constantly increasing instinctual demand—the earliest and original determinant of anxiety Thus in our view the relation between anxiety and symptom is less close than was supposed for we have inserted the factor of the danger situation between them We can also add that the production of anxiety sets symptom formation going and is indeed a necessary pre requisite of it For if the ego did not arouse the pleasure unpleasure institution by developing anxiety it would not have the power to arrest the process which is preparing in the id and which threatens danger There is in all this an evident inclination to limit to a minimum the amount of anxiety developed and to employ it only as a signal for to do more would only be to feel in another place the unpleasure which the instinctual process was threatening to produce and that would not be a good result from the standpoint of the pleasure principle although it is one that occurs often enough in the neuroses

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Another objection is that in taking flight from an impending external danger all that the subject does is to increase the distance between himself and what is threatening him He does not

prepare to defend himself against it or attempt to alter anything about it, as would be the case if he attacked the wolf with a stick or shot at it with a gun. Now the defensive process seems to do something more than would correspond to an attempt at flight. It joins issue with the threatening instinctual process and somehow suppresses it or deflects it from its aims and thus renders it innocuous. This objection seems unimpeachable and must be given due weight. I think it is probable that there are some defensive processes which can truly be likened to an attempt at flight, while in others the ego takes a much more active line of self-protection and initiates vigorous counter-measures. But perhaps the whole analogy between defence and flight is invalidated by the fact that both the ego and the instinct in the id are parts of the same organization, not separate entities like the wolf and the child, so that any kind of behaviour on the part of the ego will result in an alteration in the instinctual process as well.

This study of the determinants of anxiety has, as it were, shown the defensive behaviour of the ego in a rational light. Each situation of danger corresponds to a particular period of life or developmental phase of the mental apparatus and appears to be justifiable for it. In early infancy the individual is really not fitted to master psychologically the large quantities of excitation that *impinge upon him*, whether from without or from within. Again, at a certain period of life his most important interest really is that the people he is dependent on should not withdraw their loving care of him. Later on in his boyhood, when he feels that his father is a powerful rival in regard to his mother and becomes aware of his own aggressive inclinations towards him and of his sexual intentions towards his mother, he really is justified in being afraid of his father; and his fear of being punished by him can find expression through phylogenetic reinforcement in the fear of being castrated. Finally, when he enters into social relationships it really is necessary for him to be afraid of his *super-ego*, his conscience, for the absence of that factor would give rise for him to severe conflicts, dangers and so on.

But this last point raises a new problem. Instead of the affect of anxiety let us take for a moment another affect, say that of pain. It seems quite normal that a girl of four years of age should weep painfully if her doll is broken; or at six, if her schoolmistress reproves her; or at sixteen, if she is slighted by her young man; or at twenty-five, if a child of her own dies. *Each of these determinants of pain* has its own time and each passes away when that time is over. Only the final and definitive determinants remain throughout life. We should think it rather unusual if this same girl, after she had grown to be a wife and mother, were to cry over some worthless trinket that had been damaged. Yet this is how the neurotic behaves. Although all the instances for mastering stimuli have long ago been developed within wide limits in his mental apparatus, and although he is sufficiently *grown-up to gratify* most of his needs for himself and has long ago learnt that castration is no longer practised as a punishment, he nevertheless behaves as though the old danger-situations still existed and retains all the earlier determinants of anxiety.

Why this should be so requires a rather long answer. First of all we must sift the facts. In a great number of cases the old determinants of anxiety do really lapse after having produced neurotic reactions. The phobias of infants, whether of being afraid of being alone or in the dark or among strangers—phobias which can almost be called normal—usually pass off later on; the child grows out of them, as we say about many other disturbances of childhood. Animal phobias, which are of such *frequent occurrence*, undergo the same fate, and many conversion hysterias of early years find no continuation in later life. Ceremonial actions appear extremely often in the latency period but only a very small proportion of them develop later into a full obsessional neurosis. In general, so far as we can tell from our observations of town children belonging to the white races and living according to fairly high cultural standards, the neuroses of childhood are in the nature of regular episodes in a child's development, although too little attention is still being paid to them. Signs of childhood neuroses can be detected in all adult neurotics without exception; but by no means all children who show those signs become neurotic in later life. It must be, therefore, that certain determinants of anxiety are relinquished and certain danger-situations lose their significance as the individual becomes more mature. Moreover, some of these danger-situations manage to survive into later times by modifying their determinants of anxiety so as to bring them up to date. Thus, for instance, a man may retain his fear of castration in the guise

of a syphilidophobia after he has got to know that it is no longer customary to castrate people for indulging their sexual lusts but that on the other hand severe diseases may overtake anyone who thus gives way to his instincts Furthermore some determinants of anxiety such as fear of the super-ego are destined not to disappear at all but to accompany the individual throughout his life In that case the neurotic will differ from the normal person in that his reactions to the dangers in question will be unduly strong Finally being grown up affords no absolute protection against a return of the original traumatic anxiety situation Each individual has in all probability a limit beyond which his mental apparatus fails in its function of mastering the quantities of excitation which require to be disposed of

These minor rectifications cannot in any way alter the main fact that a great many people remain infantile in their behaviour in regard to danger and do not overcome age old determinants of anxiety To deny this would be to deny the existence of neurosis for it is precisely such people whom we call neurotics But how is this possible? Why are not all neuroses episodes in the development of the individual which come to a close when the next phase is reached? Whence comes the element of persistence in these reactions to danger? Why does the affect of anxiety alone seem to enjoy the advantage over all other affects of evoking reactions which are distinguished from the rest in being abnormal and which through their inexpediency run counter to the movement of life? In other words we have once more unexpectedly come upon the riddle which has so often confronted us whence does neurosis come—what is its ultimate its own peculiar meaning? After whole decades of psycho analytic work we are as much in the dark about this problem as ever

CHAPTER X

ANXIETY is the reaction to danger One cannot help suspecting however that the reason why the affect of anxiety occupies a unique position in the economy of the mind has something to do with the essential nature of dan er Yet danger is a universal human experience dangers are the same for everybody What we need and cannot lay our finger on is some factor which will explain why some people are able to subject the affect of anxiety in spite of its unique quality to the ordinary workings of the mind or why others are doomed to break down over this task Two attempts to find a factor of this kind have been made and it is natural that such efforts should meet with a sympathetic reception since they set out to fill a most urgent need The two attempts in question are mutually complementary they approach the problem at opposite ends The first was made by Alfred Adler more than ten years ago He maintained in essence that it was those individuals who were too greatly impeded by some organic inferiority who failed to master the task set before them by danger If it were true that *simplex sigillum veri* we should welcome this answer as a perfect solution of the problem But on the contrary our critical studies of the last ten years have effectively demonstrated the total inadequacy of such an explanation—an explanation moreover which sets aside the whole wealth of material that has been discovered by psycho analysis

The second attempt was made by Otto Rank in 1923 in his book *The Trauma of Birth* It would be unjust to put his attempt on the same level as Adler s except in this single point which concerns us here for it remains upon psycho analytic ground and pursues a psycho analytic line of thought so that it may be accepted as a legitimate endeavour to solve the problems of analysis In this matter of the relation of the individual to danger Rank moves away from the question of organic defect in the individual and concentrates on the variable degree of intensity of the danger

The event of birth is the first situation of danger and the economic upheaval which it produces becomes the prototype of reaction to anxiety We have already traced the line of development which connects this first danger situation and determinant of anxiety with all the later ones and we have seen that they all retain a common quality in so far as they signify in some way a separation from the mother—at first only in a biological sense next as a direct loss of object and later as a loss of object indirectly incurred The discovery of this extensive concatenation is an undoubted achievement of Rank s constructive work Now the trauma of birth overtakes each individual with a different degree of intensity and the violence of his anxiety reaction varies with the strength of the trauma According to Rank whether the individual will ever learn to control his anxiety—whether he will become normal or neurotic—will depend upon the intensity

W tt i 9 6 —TR
S mpl ty th seal f truth —ED

of t.e m..ml a..nety that is thus prouuced n h.m.

It is not our business to criticize Rank s hvocte.es m de.ail here All we need to do is t consider hether it h lps to sol e the par t.cular problem before us His propo on t.at those persons become neurotic in whom the trauma of birth was so strong that they ha e never been able comp etely to b-re ct it is highly dubious from a theoret cal po nt of view We do not rig tly know what is meant by ab-reacting a trauma. Taken literally it implies t.at the more frequentl and the more intensely a neurot c person reproduces a ects of a ty the more closely will he appro ch t mental heal.h This conclus on s not tenable It was because t d.d n t tally w th th facts that I gave up the theory of ab-reactio wh ch had pla ed ch large part in the catharic meth od. To lay so m h stress on th variab ty t. the strength of the b rth trauma t to l e no room for the legitim t cla m f hereditary constitution as a. a t ological factor For this variability is an rganic f ct r whi h operates in an accidental fash on in relat on to th con r tution and is self dependent on ma m u er es hich m z t be called a c dental—as for instance upon tim ly as.istance in child b rth. Ra.k s theory ompl t ly ignores const t tional factors as well as phylogenet c ores. If how ever we were t try to fi d a place f r the constitutional facto by qualifying h.s s.at ment with th prov so l t us say that what s really important is the extent to which the indi dual reacts to the variab t. ten. ty f the trauma f b rth, we should be depriving his theory f ts s gn ficance a d hould be relegat ing the ew f t r t od ced by him to po ti n of m importa e the f ctor which decided wheth r eurosis h uld unerve or n t w uld lie in a diff rent and e m t in an unknown field.

Moreov the f ct that while m has the proc .s of b rth in mm w th th ther mammals he alone is privileged to posses special predispos ti n to ros is hardly f urabl t Rank theory But the m bj cti t hi theory that t floats in the a instead f being based pon a c rtai ed bservat ons No body f ev dence has been llected t sh w that difficult and protra ted birth doe in f ct c in d w th the dev l p-ment of eurosis or even that children born xhib t ea ly infantile appreh ns ess m trongly and er a l r period than the children. It m ght be rejo ed that pre cipita e labo r a d b rth t at are ea y for the *mother qu te poss ly l vol e a severe trauma* f r the child. B t we can s l po t out tha b rths wh ch l ad to a ph xia wo l be bound t g e clear evi ence of the results w ch are s pposed to f llow It shou d be on of the ad an ges of Ra k s act logical theory that it pos ulates a factor whose ex tence can be verified by observation And so long as no such attem t at n cat on has been m d it is impos b e t a sess the alue f that t eory

On t.e oth.r hand I ca k e fe myself w th the w that Ra k s theory con ra ts the aetiolog cal impor f th sexual in s cts as h t erto r cognized by psycho-a.a s s. For h theory only has ref rence to the po on of the ou ual s regard t the da ger s tuation s that it lea es it perfectly open to us to a um tha.. if a person has n been ab e t ma er his fir t ..ngers he is bound to succumb to lat si uations i nv i g sexual da ers and th s be dri en i o a neuros s

I d n t believe theref re that Ra k s at tempt has so ved the prob em of the c us tion of n uros s n r do I I leve tha we c n say as yet how m ch .. may have contrib ed to su h a so u ion If a i res gat n i o the e ect of d ficult b rth upon the pre. pos t on t neuro hould yield negat e res we shall rat the alue of hi contribu on low It is to be feared that our endea o rs t f d a s gle ta gibl *ult m te se* f neu c ll nes w ll go unrewarded The i eal sol t on which th med cal man no doul t st ll yearns fo would be to d c er som bac.l s wh h could be isolated a d b ed in a pure cu ure and wh ch when jected to a person wou l in ariably prod ce the same ill ess or t put it om what les fa ta tically to d monstrate the xi te e f cert chem cal substa ces th adm istrat on of which would create or abol h part cula n roses B t the probab l ty f sol t on of th s kind seems l ght

Psy ho-analys s lead to les mple a d satisf ctory con lus on What I ha e t say in this nect already l g s ce known and c tains oth g n w If the ego s c eeds in p otect g tself f om a da gerous insti c tual impulse thro h sa the proce f re pres. o t has certainly i h b ted d damaged th part cula part f th id conc rned but t has t th sam t m gi en t bit f ind penden d has reno ed b t f ts wn so *ere gnty This es table f m th* nature f repressio which is fundame tally an t

tempt at flight The repressed is now as it were outlawed it is excluded from the great organization of the ego and is only subject to the laws which govern the realm of the unconscious If now the danger situation changes so that the ego has no reason for wardin off a new instinctual impulse wh h [illegible] o come r[illegible] ue new impulse will run its cour e under an automatic influence—or as I should prefer to say under the influence of the repetition compulsion It will follow the same path as the earlier repressed impulse as thou h the danger situation that had been overcome still existed The fixating factor in repression then is the repetition compulsion of the unconscious id—a compulsion which in normal circumstances is only done away with by the mobile function of the ego The ego may occasionally manage to break down the barriers of repression which it has itself put up and to recover its influence over the instinctual impulse and direct its course in accordance with the changed danger situation But in point of fact the ego very seldom succeeds in doing this it cannot undo its repressions It is possible that the way the struggle will go depends upon quantitative relations In many cases one has the impression that the outcome is an enforced one the regressive attraction exerted by the repressed impulse and the strength of the repression are so great that the new impulse has no choice but to obey the compulsion to repeat In other cases the entrance of yet another element into the play of forces may be perceived the attraction exerted by the repressed instinctual prototype is reinforced by a repulsion brought to bear by objective difficulties which are opposed to the new impulse taking a different course

That this is the origin of fixation in repression and of the retention of danger situations which are no longer present day ones is confirmed by the fact of psycho analytic therapy —a fact which is modest enough in itself but which can hardly be over rated from a theoretical point of view When in the course of an analysis we have given the ego assistance and have put it in a position to abolish its repressions it recovers its power over the repressed id and can allow the instinctual impulses to run their course as though the old situations of danger no longer existed What we can do in this way is in general accord with the therapeutic achievements of medicine for as a rule we must be satisfied with brin ing about more quickly more certainly and with less expenditure of energy than would otherwise be the case a desired result which in favourable circumstances would have occurred of itself

We see from what has been said that it is quantitative relations—relations which are not directly observable but can only be inferred—which determine whether or no old situations of danger shall be preserved repressions on the part of the ego maintained and childhood neuroses find continuance Amon the factors that play a part in the causation of neuro es and that have created the conditions under which the forces of the mind are pitted agair t one another three emerge into prominence a biological a phylogenetic and a purely psychological factor

The biolo ical factor is the long period of time during which the young of the human species is in a condition of helplessness and dependence Its intra uterine existence eems to be short in comparison with that of mo t animals and it is sent into the world in a le s finished state As a result the influence of the objective world upon it is intensified and it is obliged to make an early differentiation between the e o and the id Moreover the dangers of the outer world have a greater importance for it so that the value of the object which can alone protect it against them and take the place of its former intra uterine life is enormously enhanced This biological factor then establishes the earliest situations of danger and creates the need to be loved which will accompany the child through the rest of its life

The existence of the second phylogenetic factor is based only upon inference We have been led to assume its reality by a remarkable feature in the development of the libido We have found that the exual life of man unlike that of most of the animals nearly related to him does not make a steady advance from birth to maturity but that after an early expansion up till the fifth year it undergoes a very decided interruption and that it then starts on its course once more at puberty beginning from the point at which it broke off in early childhood This has led us to suppose that something momentous must have occurred in the vicissitudes of the human species which has left behind this interruption in the sexual development of the individual as a kind of historical precipitate Th s factor owes its patho enic significance to the fact that the

maj rity of in nctual impul es belonging to n ntile sexualit are tr ted by the ego as d ers and warded off a su h so that the la r sexual impu ses of puberty wh ch in the n ural course of thi gs would be ego synton c run the ri k of succumb to the attraction f their infantile proto ypes a d following them in o repress on It is here that we come upon the most direct aet olo y f the neuroses. I is a curious th g that early contact w th the demands of sexuality should ha e a im ar effect on the e o as premature contact with the external world.

Th third, psychological factor res des in a defect of the mental apparatus which has to d with it differentiation i t d a d ego and which is therefore ultimatel attributable to the influence f the external world In ew of the dangers of objective real ty the ego is obliged t guard against certa n in t nctual impulses in the id and to treat them as da gers But t cannot prot ct tself f m internal in ... t can from

wou l either fa l in i purpose or wou l h e t be repeated an i r e r er of t mes. Thu it is becau e i incts are l ces In the r nature that the o has to m ke i s d fen e act on secure by a perma en e pend t re of energy Th action un ertaken to protect repres on i perceptibl e as ... in anal tic treatment Res t ce pres pposes the e ence of what I have cal ed an e t ca h xis An a ti-cath xis f th k l be t seen in ob ses onal neuro It a pe rs f the form of a alt ra on f the ego a a re ct on format on in the e o a d i e ced by the re nforcement f the a ti ud w ch is the oppos te of the in t nctual tren l that has t be repressed as is seen f r i a ce i pit cen sc ent ous es and cle l ess These re ct on format ons of bses onal neuros s are e sen tiall exaggerat ons f the norm l trai s of character wh h develop dur the latency period Th presen e of a t-ca hex in hy teria is much m re d ffcu t d ect ...

resisting its own organization a d by acqui escing in the format on of s mpt ms in ex chan e for ha ing impa red the instinct If the rejected in tin t ren ws its tt ck the ego is overtaken by all th se d ff cult es which are kn wn to us as neurot c ilin s

Further tha this I bel eve our kn wl dge of the nature a d causes of eurosis has ot as yet been ble to go

mistak bl a d i ma y instu ia c s so marked that it f es tself on our atte on as the pri c pal mpt m Th conf ct of am b alence n h steria f r n l resol ed by th mea s The subj ct s hatred f a person whom he loves i kept down by a exa ger ted amou t f tend rnes f him and apprehen si en s bo t h m B t the d fference between re ct on format ons in obses onal neu and in hysteria is that th la ter they d not ha e the uni ersal ty f a character tra t but re conf ed to part cular r lat on h ps A h s teric l woman for in t ce may be especially aff cti te with h r own ch ldren wh m at bott m sh hates but she w ll n t be a m re affectio te person than her women r even very fond f children in general The re t on f rm t n f h st ria cl gs tenaci u ly t a part cula obj ct a d nev pre d o r t a gen ral d spo tion f the eg wh as what is characteri t c f obses on l neur pre ely a preadi g o er f th s k d—a loosen

CHAPTER XI

APPE ICES

IN th course of th d scus on ou themes ha had to be put a d bef e they had been f ll dealt with They ha been brought to gethe in thi hapte de to r c e the atte t they deserv

A *Mod fi t on of Ea l l ews*

( ) Re tance and Ant Cathexis

An mportant element the theory of re pres is the v ew that p es s t an ev t that curs o ce but that it req re a perman t xpe d ture of gy If th s pendit re of rgy were t as th rep essed impulse whi h s be g fed ll the time f m t sou es of e rgy w ld ze the xt occasion to flow along th h els from whi h t has been forced as de and the rep essi n

chara ter of hysteria. A repressed t ctu l impulse can be acti ated (newly cath ted) from two d ect o s f om with th ou h re inf ement f om its intern l ource f cita ti n, and f om without thro gh the percept on

of an object that it desires The hysterical anti cathexis is mainly directed outwards against dangerous perceptions It takes the form of a special kind of vigilance which by means of restrictions of the ego causes situations to be avoided that would entail such perceptions or if they do occur manages to withdraw the subject s attention from them Some French analysts in particular Laforgue have recently given this action of hysteria the special name of *scotomisation* This technique of anti cathexis is still more noticeable in the phobias where interest is concentrated on removing the subject ever further from the possibility of making the feared perception The fact that anti cathexis should be orientated in an opposite direction in hysteria and the phobias from what it is in obsessional neurosis—though the difference is not an absolute one—seems to be significant It suggests that there is an intimate connection between repression and external anti cathexis on the one hand and between regression and internal anti cathexis (i e alterations in the ego through reaction formations) on the other The task of defending against a dangerous perception is incidentally common to all neuroses Various commands and prohibitions in obsessional neurosis have the same end in view

As has already been seen the resistance that has to be overcome in analysis proceeds from the ego clinging to its anti cathexes It is hard for the ego to direct its attention to perceptions and ideas which it has up till now made a rule of avoiding or to acknowledge as belonging to itself impulses that are the complete opposite of those which it has made its own Our campaign against resistance in analysis is based upon this view of the facts If the resistance is itself unconscious as so often happens owing to its connection with the repressed material we make that resistance conscious If it is conscious or when it has become conscious we bring forward logical arguments against it we promise the ego reward and advantages if it will give up its resistance There can be no doubt or mistake about the existence of this resistance on the part of the ego But we have to ask ourselves whether it covers the whole state of affairs in analysis For we find that even after the ego has decided to relinquish its resistances it still has difficulty in undoing the repressions and we have called the period of strenuous effort which follows after its praiseworthy decision the phase of *working through* The dynamic factor which makes a working through of this kind necessary and comprehensible is not far to seek It must be that after the ego resistance has been removed the power of the repetition-compulsion —the attraction exerted by the unconscious prototypes upon the repressed instinctual process—has yet to be overcome This factor might well be described as the *resistance of the unconscious* There is no need to be discouraged by these emendations in our theory They are to be welcomed if they do something towards furthering our knowledge and they are no disgrace to us so long as they enrich rather than invalidate our earlier views—by limiting some statement perhaps that was too general or by enlarging some idea that was too narrowly formulated

It must not be supposed that these emendations provide us with a complete review of all the varieties of resistance that are met with in analysis Further investigation of the subject shows that the analyst has to combat no less than five varieties of resistance emanating from three quarters—the ego the id and the super ego The id and the super ego supply one variety apiece while the ego is the source of three each differing in its dynamic nature The first of these three ego resistances is the resistance due to repression which we have already discussed and about which there is least new to be added Next there is the transference resistance which is of the same nature but has different and much clearer effects in analysis since it succeeds in establishing a relation to the analytic situation or the analyst himself and thus re animating a repression which should only have been recollected The third resistance though also an ego resistance is of quite a different nature It proceeds from the epinosic gain and is based upon an assimilation of the symptom by the ego It represents an unwillingness to renounce any gratification or relief that has been obtained The fourth variety belonging to the id is the resistance which as has just been seen necessitates *working through* The fifth belonging to the super ego and the last to be discovered is also the most obscure though not always the least powerful one It seems to originate from the sense of guilt or the need for punishment and it opposes every move towards success including therefore the patient s own recovery through analysis

(*b*) Anxiety from Transformation of Libido

The view of anxiety which I have put for

which these pages di er somewhat from the one I have hitherto be . Formerly I regarded anxiety as a general reaction of the ego t conditions o ter easure. I always sought to account for its appearance ... economic grounds and I assumed, on the strength of my investigations ... the actual neuroses, that libido (sexual excitement) which was rejected or not utilized by the ego found direct discharge in the form of anxiety. It cannot be denied that these various assertions did not go very well together ... any rate did not ... one another. Moreover they gave the impression of there being a specially intimate connection between anxiety and libido and this did not ... with the general character of anxiety as a reaction ... unpleasure.

The objection to this view arose from our coming to regard the ego as the sole seat of anxiety. It was one of the results of the ... attempted ... the mental apparatus which I made in *The Ego and the Id*. Whereas the old view made it natural to suppose that anxiety arose from the libido belonging to the repressed instinctual impulses, the new one tended to make the ego the source of anxiety. Thus it is question of id-anxiety (instinctual anxiety) versus ego-anxiety. Since the energy which the ego employed is desexualized, the new view tended to weaken the close connection between anxiety and libido. I hope I have at least succeeded in making the contradiction plain and in giving a clear idea of the point in doubt.

Rank's contention—which was originally my own—that the affect of anxiety is a consequence of the event of birth and a repetition of the situation then experienced, obliged me to review the problem of anxiety once more. But I could make no headway with his idea that birth is a trauma, states of anxiety a reaction of discharge to it and all subsequent affects of anxiety an attempt to abreact it more and more completely. I was ... to go beyond the anxiety reaction to the situation of danger that lay behind it. The introduction of this element opened up new aspects of the question. Birth was seen to be the prototype of all later situations of danger which overtook the individual under the new conditions arising from a changed mode of life and a growing mental development. The significance of birth in regard to danger was however reduced to its occupying this role of prototype. The anxiety felt at birth became the prototype of an affective state which had to undergo the same vicissitudes as the other affects. Two ... either ... it affects ... itself in ... reproduce ... of a ... tions which resembled the original situation and thus be a ... form of reaction in ... If ... emerged ... one ... it had been in the first situation ... the ego ... power over it ... reproduce ... its own ... and employ it as a warning of danger and as a means of se... the pleasure-unpleasure mechanism in motion. We thus gave the biological aspect of the ... of anxiety its due importance by recognizing anxiety as the general reaction to situations of danger, while we endorsed the part played by the ego as the seat of anxiety by allocating to it the function of producing the affect of anxiety according to its needs. Thus we attributed two sources of ... anxiety in later life. One was ... automatic and always due to economic causes and arose whenever a situation analogous to birth had established itself. The other was produced by the ego as soon as a situation of this kind merely threatened to occur in order that it might be avoided. In the second case the ego subjected itself to anxiety as though to a sort of inoculation, ... to go through a ... attack of the illness in order to escape its full strength. It vividly imagined the danger situation, as it were, with the unmistakable purpose of restricting that distressing experience to a mere indication, a signal. We have already seen in detail how the various situations of danger arise one after the other, retaining at the same time connected in this pattern.

We shall perhaps be able to proceed a little further in our knowledge of anxiety when we turn to the problem of the relation between neurotic anxiety and objective anxiety.

Our former hypothesis of a direct transformation of libido into anxiety possesses less interest for us now than it did. But if we do nevertheless consider this matter, we shall have to distinguish different cases. As regards anxiety evoked by the ego as a signal, it does not come into consideration; nor does it therefore in any of those danger situations which stimulate the ego to bring on repression. The libidinal cathexis of the repressed instinctual impulse is otherwise employed than in being transformed into anxiety and discharged as such, as is most ... seen in conversion hysteria. On the other hand further enquiry into the question of the danger situation will bring to our notice an instance of the production of anxiety which will, I think,

have to be accounted for in a different way

(*c*) Repression and Defence

In the course of discussing the problem of anxiety I have revived a concept or to put it more modestly a term of which I made exclusive use thirty years a o when I first began to study the subject but which I later abandoned I refer to the term *defensive process* I afterwards used the word *repression* but the relation between the two remained uncertain It will be an undoubted advantage I think to revert to the old term of *defence* provided we employ it explicitly as a general designation for all the techniques which the ego makes use of in conflicts which may lead to a neurosis while we retain the word *repression* for that special method of defence which the line of approach taken by our investigations made us better acquainted with in the first instance

Even a terminological innovation ought to justify its adoption it ought to reflect some new point of view or some extension of knowledge The revival of the idea of deferce and the restriction of that of repression takes into account a fact which has long since been known but which has received added importance owing to some new discoveries Our first observations of repression and the formation of symptoms were made in connection with hysteria We found that the perceptual content of excitatory experiences and the ideational content of pathogenic structures of thought were forgotten and debarred from being reproduced in memory and we therefore concluded that the keeping away from consciousness was a main characteristic of hysterical repression Later on when we came to study the obsessional neuroses we saw that in that illness pathogenic occurrences were not forgotten They remained conscious but they were isolated in some way that we could not as yet grasp so that much the same result was obtained as in hysterical amnesia Nevertheless the difference was great enough to justify the belief that the process by which instinctual impulses were set aside in obsessional neurosis could not be the same as in hysteria Further investigations have shown that in ob essional neurosis a regression of the instinctual impulses to an earlier libidinal stage takes place owing to the opposition of the ego and that this regression clearly works in the same sense as repression although it does not make repression unnecessary We have seen too that in obsessional neurosis anti-cathexis which is also presumably pre ent in hysteria plays a specially large part in protecting the ego by effecting a reactive alteration in it Our attention has moreover been drawn to a process of *isolation* (whose technique cannot as yet be elucidated) which has direct symptomatic manifestations of its own and to a procedure that may be called magical of *undoing* what has been done—a procedure about whose repudiating purpo e there can be no doubt but which has no longer any resemblance to the process of repression These observations provide good enough grounds for re introducing the old concept of defence which can cover all of the e processes with their same purpo e—namely the protection of the ego against instinctual demands—and for subsumin repression under it as a special instance The importance of this nomenclature is heightened if we consider the possibility that further investigations may show that there is an intimate connection between special forms of defence and particular illnesses as for instance between repression and hysteria In addition we may look forward to the possible discovery of yet another important relationship It may well be that before its sharp cleavage into an ego and an id and before the formation of a super ego the mental apparatus makes use of different methods of defence from those which it employs after it has attained these levels of organization

B *Supplementary Remarks on Anxiety*

The affect of anxiety exhibits one or two features the study of which promises to throw further light on the subject Anxiety has an unmistakable affinity with expectation it is anxiety *about* something It has a quality of indefiniteness and lack of object In preci e speech we use the word *fear* rather than *anxiety* if the feeling has found an object Moreover in addition to its relation to danger anxiety has a relation to neurosis which we have long been trying to elucidate The question arises why are not all reactions of anxiety neurotic—why do we accept so many of them as normal? And finally the problem of the difference between objective anxiety and neurotic anxiety awaits a thorough examination

To begin with the last problem The advance we have made is that we have gone behind reactions of anxiety to situations of danger If we do the same thing with objective anxiety

Fre d The Def ce N u Psychoses (1894)
ee p e 81 above

we shall have no difficulty in solving the question. Objective danger is a danger that is known, and objective anxiety is anxiety about a known danger of this sort. Neurotic anxiety is anxiety about an unknown danger. Neurotic danger is thus a danger that has still to be discovered. Analysis has shown that it is an instinctual danger. By bringing this danger which is not known to the ego into consciousness, the analyst makes neurotic anxiety no different from objective anxiety, so that it can be dealt with in the same way.

There are two reactions to objective danger. One, an affective reaction, is an outbreak of anxiety. The other is a protective action. The same will presumably be true of instinctual danger. We know how the two reactions can cooperate in an expedient way, the one giving the signal for the other to appear. But they can also behave in an inexpedient way: paralysis due to anxiety may set in, and the one reaction spread at the cost of the other.

In some cases the characteristics of objective anxiety and neurotic anxiety are mingled. The danger is known and objective but the anxiety in regard to it is over-great, greater than seems proper. It is this surplus of anxiety which betrays the presence of a neurotic element. Such cases, however, contain no new principle. For analysis shows that to the known objective danger is attached an unknown instinctual one.

We can find out still more. Not being content with tracing anxiety back to danger, we go on to enquire what the essence and meaning of a danger-situation is. Clearly, it consists in the subject's estimation of his own strength compared to the magnitude of the danger and in his admission of helplessness in the face of it—physical helplessness if the danger is objective and psychological helplessness if it is instinctual. In doing this he will be guided by the actual experiences he has had. (Whether he is wrong in his estimation or not is immaterial for the outcome.) Let us call a situation of helplessness of this kind that has been actually experienced a *traumatic situation*. We shall then have good grounds for distinguishing a traumatic situation from a danger-situation.

The individual will have made an important advance in his capacity for self-preservation if he can foresee and expect a traumatic situation of this kind entailing helplessness, instead of simply waiting for it to happen. Let us call a situation which contains the determinant for such expectation a *danger situation*. It is in this situation that the signal of anxiety is made. The signal announces: "I am expecting a situation of helplessness to set in", or: "The present situation reminds me of one of the traumatic experiences I have had before. Therefore I will anticipate the trauma and behave as though it had already come, while there is yet time to turn it aside." Anxiety is therefore on the one hand an expectation of a trauma, and on the other a repetition of it in a mitigated form. Thus the two features of anxiety which we have noted have a different origin. Its connection with expectation belongs to the danger-situation, whereas its indefiniteness and lack of object belong to the traumatic situation of helplessness—the situation which is anticipated in the danger-situation.

Taking this sequence, anxiety—danger—helplessness (trauma)—we can now summarize what has been said. A danger-situation is a recognized, remembered and expected situation of helplessness. Anxiety is the original reaction to helplessness in the trauma and is reproduced later on in the danger-situation as a signal for help. The ego, which has experienced the trauma passively, now repeats it actively in a weakened version, in the hope of being able itself to direct its course. It is certain that children behave in this fashion towards every painful impression they receive, by reproducing it in their play. In thus changing from passivity to activity they attempt to master their experiences psychologically. If this is what is meant by "*abreacting a trauma*" we can have nothing to urge against the phrase. But what is of decisive importance is the first displacement of the anxiety reaction from its origin in the situation of helplessness to an expectation of that situation, that is, to the danger-situation. After that come the later displacements, from the danger to the determinant of the danger—loss of the object and the modifications of that loss with which we are already acquainted.

The undesirable result of "spoiling" the small child is to increase the importance of the danger of losing the object (the object being a protection against every situation of helplessness) in comparison with every other danger. It therefore encourages the individual to remain in the state of childhood, the period of life which is characterized by motor and mental helplessness.

So far we have had no occasion to regard objective anxiety in any different light from neurotic anxiety. We know what the distinction is. An objective danger is a danger which threatens a person from an external object,

have to be accounted for in a different way

(c) Repression and Defence

In the course of discussing the problem of anxiety I have revived a concept or to put it more modestly a term of which I made exclusive use thirty years ago when I first began to study the subject but which I later abandoned I refer to the term *defensive process* I afterwards used the word *repression* but the relation between the two remained uncertain It will be an undoubted advantage I think to revert to the old term of *defence* provided we employ it explicitly as a general designation for all the techniques which the ego makes use of in conflicts which may lead to a neurosis while we retain the word *repression* for that special method of defence which the line of approach taken by our investigations made us better acquainted with in the first instance

Even a terminological innovation ought to justify its adoption it ought to reflect some new point of view or some extension of knowledge The revival of the idea of defence and the restriction of that of repression takes into account a fact which has long since been known but which has received added importance owing to some new discoveries Our first observations of repression and the formation of symptoms were made in connection with hysteria We found that the perceptual content of excitatory experiences and the ideational content of pathogenic structures of thought were forgotten and debarred from being reproduced in memory and we therefore concluded that the keeping away from consciousness was a main characteristic of hysterical repression Later on when we came to study the obsessional neuroses we saw that in that illness pathogenic occurrences were not forgotten They remained conscious but they were isolated in some way that we could not as yet grasp so that much the same result was obtained as in hysterical amnesia Nevertheless the difference was great enough to justify the belief that the process by which instinctual impulses were set aside in obsessional neurosis could not be the same as in hysteria Further investigations have shown that in obsessional neurosis a regression of the instinctual impulses to an earlier libidinal stage takes place owing to the opposition of the ego and that this regression clearly works in the same sense as repression although it does not make repression unnecessary We have seen too that in obsessional neurosi anti cathexis which is also presumably present in hysteria plays a specially large part in protecting the ego by effecting a reactive alteration in it Our attention h [illegible] ess of *isolat* [illegible] be elucidat[illegible] manifestations of its own and to a procedure that may be called ma ical of *undoing* what has been done—a procedure about whose repudiating purpo e there can be no doubt but which has no longer any resemblance to the process of repression These observations provide good enough grounds for re introducing the old concept of defence which can cover all of the e processes with their same purpo e—namely the protection of the ego against instinctual demands—and for subsuming repression under it as a special instance The importance of this nomenclature is heightened if we consider the possibility that further investigations may show that there is an intimate connection between special forms of defence and particular illnesses as for instance between repression and hysteria In addition we may look forward to the possible discovery of yet another important relationship It may well be that before its sharp cleavage into an ego and an id and before the formation of a super ego the mental apparatus makes use of different methods of defence from those which it employs after it has attained these levels of organization

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To begin with the last problem The advance we have made is that we have gone behind reactions of anxiety to situations of danger If we do the same thing with objective anxiety

F ud The Defe ce Neu o P ych es (1894) ee pa 81 above

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To begin with the last problem The advance we have made is that we have gone behind reactions of anxiety to situations of danger If we do the same thing with objective anxiety

[1] Fre d The Def ce Ne o P y h ses (894) see p ge 81 above

see her again and repeated consolatory experi ences to the contrary are necessary before he learns that her d sappearance is u ually fol

tal
g
to

h joy uncovering it again. In these cir um stances he can as it were feel lon ng unmixed with despair

In cor equence of the infa t s misunder standing of th f cts the situation of miss ng *his mother is not a dan er-s tuat on but a trau* ma one Or to put t m e correctl it is a traumatic s tuat on if he happen at the time t be feeling a need which he is the o e to f this

(hich is equated with loss f the bject it self) There is as yet no quest n of loss of love. It s only later on that experi nce teaches th child that the object can be present but angry with him and then lo of love on the part of the bject becomes new nd much m re enduring dan e and d term t of anxiety

The traumatic tuat o of mis g the mother di ers in important respect from the tra mati s tuation of b rth. At b rth no object existed and so o obj t could be missed Anx *iety was the nl react o that occurred S nc* then repeated tuations of gratificat on ha e resulted in sett g up the mothe as an obj t and this object whenever the f nt feels a eed re e es an intense the of l n g It is t thi ew pe t f thi gs that the reac t on of pain is ferabl Pain is thus the tual rea ti to loss f object d anxi ty is the rea tion t th dang which that loss ntails a d in ts furth d pl ement reaction t the da ge *of th loss* f bj t itself

We know ry littl bout pain e ther The onl f ct we re c rtain of s that pai *occurs* in th first in tan e a d as a regul thi when e t mulus which impinges o the periph ry b eaks through the p t ct e barrier gain t timuli and proceeds t a t lik co ti ual in s'inctual timulus again t whi h muscula a ti which is s rul eff ctiv because t ithdraws the pla that s being tim l ted from th timul s pow le s. If the pain doe t proceed f om a part f the sk n but f om n int rnal ga th s tuat on is t ll the same All that has happen d is that port on of the inner periphery has taken the place of the outer periphery The child ob iou ly has occa sion to undergo exper ences of pa n of this sort wh ch ha e no relat on to its experiences of need. Th s determ ant of the evelopment of pa ems however to have very l ttle s m larity w th the loss of an object And be s des the element which is essential to pain peripheral stimulat n is entirely absent in the chi d s s tuat n of l g g Yet it cannot be *for nothi g* that the common usage of speech sh uld have created the n ion of internal mental pa n and have treated the feeling of loss of object as equ valent to phys cal pa

When there is phys cal pain a h gh degree of what may be termed *are sn tic c thexis of the painful place* occurs Th cath xi conti ues to increase a d tends as it wer to empty the ego It is well known that, when i ternal or gans are gi ing pa n spatial and other im ges *of the aff cted part of th body* arise though that part is not represented in conscious id a tion on other occas o Again the rema kable truth that when the m d is d erted to some other interest by psychological means even the most intense phys cal pa s fail to arise (I must not v rema n unconscious in th s case) can be *accounted for by the fact* that th re is a concentrat on f cathexis on the psychical representati e of the part of th body which is gi ing pain I th k t i here that we shall find the point f analogy wh h has en *bled us to carry sensat ons of pa over t the* ment l sphere For the econ mic cond t ons that are produced by the intense cathe s of l g ng which is c ce trated o the mi sed or lo t object (a c thexis wh ch steadily mounts up because it cannot be appeased) are the sam a the eco om c cond tions that are pro duced by the cathexis of pain wh ch is concen trated on the injured part of the body Thus the element of th peripheral ca sat on f physi cal pain ca be left out of ccount The trans t on fr m phy cal pain to mental pa c r *respo ds to a cha g f om narciss stic c th xis* t bj t-cathexis. The object whose presenta t on is highly cathected by n ti ctual eed plays the same r l the part of th body wh ch cathected by an increase of t mulus The tin nat re f th cathect c process and the impo s bility of inhib ti it p od ce th same tate of me t l h lpl s es If th *feeling of unpleasure* which thus ar ses has the spec fic qual ty f pa (a qual ty which cann t be more exa tly d scribed) t d f mani festing itself th rea t e form f anxi ty

and a neurotic danger is one which threatens him from an instinctual demand In so far as the instinctual demand is something objective his neurotic anxiety too can be admitted to have an objective basis We have seen that the reason why there seems to be a specially close connection between anxiety and neurosis is that the ego defends itself against an instinctual danger with the help of the anxiety reaction just as it does against an external objective danger but that this line of defensive activity eventuates in a neurosis owing to an imperfection of the mental apparatus We have also come to the conclusion that an instinctual demand often only becomes an (internal) danger because its gratification would bring on an external danger i e because the internal danger represents an external one

On the other hand the external (objective) danger must have managed to become internalized if it is to be significant for the ego It must have been recognized as related to some situation of helplessness that has been experienced Man does not seem to have been endowed or has been endowed in but small measure with an instinctive recognition of the dangers that threaten him from without Small children are constantly doing things which endanger their lives and that is precisely why they cannot afford to be without a protecting object With regard to the traumatic situation in which the subject is helpless external and internal dangers objective dangers and instinctual demands converge Whether the ego is suffering from a pain which will not stop or experiencing an accumulation of instinctual needs which cannot obtain gratification the economic situation is the same and the motor helplessness of the ego finds expression in psychological helplessness

In this connection the puzzling question of the phobias of early childhood deserves to be mentioned once a ain Some of them such as the fear of being alone or in the dark or with strangers can be understood as reactions to the danger of losing the object Others like the fear of small animals thunderstorms etc. might perhaps be accounted for as vestigial traces of the congenital preparedness to meet objective dangers which is so strongly developed in other animals In man only that part of this archaic inheritance is appropriate which has reference to the loss of object. If his childhood phobias become fixated and grow stronger and persist into later years analysis shows that their content has become associated with instinctual demand and has come to stand for internal dangers as well

C *Anxiety Pain and Mourning*

So little is known about the psychology of processes of feeling that the tentative remarks I am about to make on the subject may claim a very lenient judgment The problem before us arises out of the conclusion we have reached that anxiety comes to be a reaction to the danger of losing the object. Now we already know one reaction to the loss of an object and that is mourning The question therefore is when does loss of object lead to anxiety and when to mourning? In discussing the subject of mourning on a previous occasion I found that there was one feature about it which remained quite unexplained This was its peculiar painfulness. And yet it somehow seems self evident that separation from an object should be painful Thus the problem becomes more complicated when does separation from an object produce anxiety when does it produce mourning and when does it produce it may be only pain?

Let me say at once that there is no prospect of answering these questions at present We must content ourselves with drawing certain distinctions and adumbrating certain possibilities

Our starting point will again be the one situation which we believe we understand—the situation of the infant when he is pre ented with a stranger instead of his mother He will exhibit the anxiety which we have attributed to the dan er of loss of object But hi anxiety is undoubtedly more complicated than this and merits a more thorough discussion That he does have anxiety there can be no doubt but the expression of his face and his reaction of crying indicate that he is feeling pain as well Certain things seem to be confused in him which will later on be separated out He cannot as yet distinguish between temporary absence and permanent loss As soon as he misses his mother he behaves as if he were never going to

It m y al ft h ppe th t ltho gh a d g [illegible]

M rn g and M l h l (19 7) Collect d P per IV

Thoughts for the Times on War and Death[1]

I. The Disillusionment of the War

WIPT as we are into the orte of this war t..e, our information on sided ourselves too tear to focus the mighty tran formations which have a.ready taken place or are beginning to tak place, and witho t a glimmering f the m..hoat f ture we re incapable of pprehend ng the significanc of the thronging mpres- sions and know not what al e to attach to t. judgments we form. We are constrained to bel.e. that never has any event been destruc t. e of so much that is aluable in the common wea..h f hum..nity r so misleading t many of the clea est intelligences or so d basing to t. highest that w know Science hers lf has lost her pas onless impartiality in their deep emb tterment her s rvant se k for weapons from her with which to tribute towards the d.feat of th enemy Th anth opologi t is

evils is dsproporti nat ly tro g and w are ot entitled t mpare them with the evils f other times f which we ha e not undergone t.e experience

The indi dual wh is n t himself ombat ant—and so heel in th gigant machin ry of war—feels c nsci us f disorient t and of an inhib tion in his powers d cti nt es I believe that he will w l om any indication however slight which may en bl him t find out what is w ong w th him lf t lea.t I pro- pose t distingui h tw am ng th m t potent f ct rs in the mental dist ess f lt by on combatants gain t which t t s ch he y task to struggl and to treat f them h re the disillusionment which this wa has evoked and th alt ed ttit de tow d. d th which this —lik every ther w —imposes

When I speak f d *illusionm* t ev ry at on know what I mean On eed t be a sentimentali t may pe th b l gical and psych logi l eces t. f suff ring in the economics f human lif and y t ondemn war both in its means a. d in its a ms, a. d de- v utly look forward to the cess tion of all wars True we ha e told oursel es that wars can never ceas so long as nat ons li e under such widely d ffering cond tions so long as the value of indi idual life is in each nation so ariously computed and so long as the an mos ties wh ch div de them represent such powerful in tinctual fo ces in the mind And we were prepared to find that wars between the primiti e and the ci lized peoples between those races whom a colour l ne d des nay wars w th a. d among the undeveloped nat onal ties of Europe or th e whose culture has perished—that for a co s derabl period such wars would occupy mankind But we permitted ours l es to ha e other hopes. We had expected the great ruling powers mong the white nations upon whom the leadersh p of the human spec es has fallen wh were kn wn to ha e cultivated w rld wide int est to whose creati e powers were due our techn cal d a ces in the direction of dominating nature as well as the artistic and sci tific acqui tions of the mind—peoples such as these we h d expected to succeed in d scov ering nothe way of settl ng misunderstand ings and c nflicts of interest Within each of these nat o s there p eva led h gh standards of accepted custom for th indi idual to wh ch his mann r of lif was bound to conf rm if h de- sired a share in c mmunal pri ileges These ordinances f equently too stringent exacted a great deal from him m h elf restraint much enunciation f in ti ctual gratification. He was especially fo b dden t mak use of the im mense d a tages to be gained by th pract se f lying and d cept on in competition with his f ll w men. Th vilized state regarded these accepted standards as the basis of its existence stern w re its p oceedings when an imp us hand w laid upon them f equent the p ouncement that to subj ct them even t examinat on by a rit cal intellig ce was en tirely impracticable It co ld be assumed there f e that the state itself would respect them n w ld contemplat undertaking any in fringem t of what it ackn wledg d as th basis of its own existence. T be sure t was evident

[1] C lle ted P per IV firs p blished earl in In Imag V I. reprinted in S mml g 4th Series 5

this may very likely be due to a certain factor which we have not sufficiently made use of in our explanatory efforts I refer to the high level of cathexis and attachment at which the unpleasurable processes we have been discussing take place

We know of yet another reaction of feeling to the loss of an object and that is mourning But we have no longer any difficulty in accounting for it Mourning occurs under the influence of reality testing for the latter function demands categorically from the bereaved person that he should separate himself from the object since it no longer exists Mourning is entrusted with the task of carrying out this retreat from the object in all those situations in which it was the recipient of a high degree of cathexis That this separation should be painful fits in with what we have just said in view of the high degree and insatiable nature of the cathexis of longing which is concentrated on the object by the bereaved person during the reproduction of the situations in which he must undo the ties that attach him to it

tion between civil and military sections of the population, the claims of pri ate property It tramples in blind fury on all that comes in its way as though there were to be no f ture a d goodwill among men after it has passed It rends all bonds of fellowship between the con tending peoples and threatens to lea e such a legacy of embitterment s will make any re newal of such bonds impossible for a long time to come.

M reover it has brought to light the almost unbel evable phenomenon of a mutual com prehension between th ci ilized nat ons so slight that the one can turn with hate a d loath ing upon th other Nay m re—that one of the great civilized nations is so universall un popular that the attempt can actually be m de to exclude it from the ci lized commun ty as *barbaric* although it long has proved ts fitness by the most magnificent co-operation in the work of ci ilization. We li e in the hope that the impartial decision of hist ry will furnish the proof that precisely this nation th s in whose tongue w w write this for whose ctory our dear ones are fighting was the one which least transgressed the laws of ci ilization—b t at such a time who shall dare present himself as the judge f his own cause

Nations are in a measure represented by the states which th y ha e f rmed these states by the governments which dminister them. Th individual in any gi en nation has this wa a terrible pportunity to c ince hims lf of hat would occas o lly trike him in peace time—that th tat has f b dden t th indi vidual the pract c f wrong-d ing not bec use it desired t bolish t but because it desires to monopoliz t like salt and tobacc The wa ring st t permit tself every uch misdeed every such ct f lence as would disgrac th indi dual man. It practises t only the cepted trata gems but als d liberat lying and deceptio gainst the enemy and this too in a measure which appears to surpass th usage f f rmer wars The tat exacts the utmost degree f bedien e and sa rifi e from ts tizens but at th sam time t eats them as children by maintaining an excess of secrecy and censo ship f ws and express ons f opini that rend rs th sp rits f those thus int llectually oppressed d fen less against every unf ur able turn f events and every sinister rumour It bsol es its lf from th guarantees and on tracts t had formed with ther states and makes unabashed onfession f ts rapac ty and lust f power which th private indi d ual is then called upon to sanction in the name of patriotism.

Nor may it be obj cted that the state cannot refra n from wrong-d g since that would place t at a disadvantage It is no less d ad an tageous as a general rule for the ind vi u l man to conf rm to the customs of moral ty and refrain from brutal and arb trary conduct and the state bu s ldom proves able to indemnify him for the sacrifi es it exacts It cannot be a ma te for astonis ment therefo e that this relaxat on f all the moral t es between the greater un ts of ma kind should ha e had a seducing influence on the moral ty f ind vid uals for our conscience is not the inflexible j dge that ethical teachers are wont t declare it, but in i s origin s *d ead of the commun ty* and nothing else When the community has no rebuke to make, there is an end of all suppression of the baser passions and men perpetrate deeds f cruel y fraud treachery and ba bar ity so ncompat ble with their c ilizat on that one w u d ha e held th m to be impossible

Well may that ci lized cosmopolitan there fore of wh m I spoke sta d h lples in a world grown strang to him—his all-embraci g patrimony disintegrated the common estates in it laid waste the f llow-c tizens embro led and debased

In critic sm of his disillus onment, nev rtheles certain thi gs must be sa d. Strictly peak in it is not justified for t consi ts in the destruct on of—an illusion! We welcome illus ons

and a e hattered gainst it.

Tw things in this war ha e evoked our sen e of disillus onment the destitut on shown in moral rel ti ns externally by the states which in th interior relat ns pose as the guardians of ccepted moral usage and the brutal ty in behavi ur shown by indi duals, whom as pa tak rs in th highest f rm f human ci ilization one wo ld not ha e credited with s ch thing

Let us begin with th second point and en dea our to f rmulate as succinctly as may be th point of ew which it is p posed to criti cize H w do w imagine the process by which an indi dual ttains to a high r plane of m ral ty? The first answer is ure to be He is good and nobl f om his very birth, his ery earliest beginnings We need t c sid this any f ther A cond an wer will suggest that we are concerned with a de elopme tal process and

that within these civilized states were mingled remnants of certain other races who were universally unpopular and had therefore been only reluctantly and even so not to the fullest extent admitted to participation in the common task of civilization for which they had shown themselves suitable enough But the great nations themselves it might have been supposed had acquired so much comprehension of their common interests and enough tolerance for the differences that existed between them that *foreigner* and *enemy* could no longer as still in antiquity be regarded as synonymous

Relying on this union among the civilized races countless people have exchanged their native home for a foreign dwelling place and made their existence dependent on the conditions of intercourse between friendly nations But he who was not by stress of circumstances confined to one spot could also confer upon himself through all the advantages and attractions of these civilized countries a new a wider fatherland wherein he moved unhindered and unsuspected In this way he enjoyed the blue sea and the grey the beauty of the snow clad mountains and of the green pasture lands the magic of the northern forests and the splendour of the southern vegetation the emotion inspired by landscapes that recall great historical events and the silence of nature in her inviolate places This new fatherland was for him a museum also filled with all the treasures which the artists among civilized communities had in the successive centuries created and left behind As he wandered from one gallery to another in this museum he could appreciate impartially the varied types of perfection that miscegenation the course of historical events and the special characteristics of their mother earth had produced among his more remote compatriots Here he would find a cool inflexible energy developed to the highest point there the gracious art of beautifying existence elsewhere the sense of order and fixed law—in short any and all of the qualities which have made mankind the lords of the earth

Nor must we forget that each of these citizens of culture had created for himself a personal Parnassus and School of Athens From among the great thinkers and artists of all nations he had chosen those to whom he conceived himself most deeply indebted for what he had achieved in enjoyment and comprehension of life and in his veneration had associated them with the immortals of old as well as with the more familiar masters of his own tongue None of these great figures had seemed to him alien because he had spoken another language—not the incomparable investigator of the passions of mankind nor the intoxicated worshipper of beauty nor the vehement and threatening prophet nor the subtle mocking satirist and never did he on this account rebuke himself as a renegade towards his own nation and his beloved mother tongue

The enjoyment of this fellowship in civilization was from time to time disturbed by warning voices which declared that as a result of long prevailing differences wars were unavoidable even among the members of a fellowship such as this We refused to believe it but if such a war indeed must be what was our imaginary picture of it? We saw it as an opportunity for demonstrating the pro ress of mankind in communal feeling since the era when the Greek Amphictyones had proclaimed that no city of the league might be demolished nor its olive groves hewn down nor its water cut off As a chivalrous crusade which would limit itself to establishing the superiority of one side in the contest with th [illegible] of dire st [illegible] to the de [illegible] for the wounded who must of necessity withdraw from the contest as well as for the phy[illegible]cians and nurses who devoted themselves to the task of healing And of course with the utmo[illegible] precautions for the non combatant classes of the population—for women who are debarred from war work and for the children who grown older should be enemies no longer but friends and co operators And again with preservation of all the international undertakings and institutions in which the mutual civilization of peace time had been embodied

Even a war like this would have been productive of horrors and sufferings enough but it would not have interrupted the development of ethical relations between the greater units of mankind between the peoples and the states

Then the war in which we had refused to believe broke out and brought—di illusionment Not only is it more sangu nary and more destructive than any war of other days because of the enormously increased perfection of weapons of attack and defence but it is at least as cruel as embittered as implacable as any that has preceded it It sets at naught all those restrictions known as International Law which in peace time the states had bound themselves to observe it ignores the prerogatives of the wounded and the medical service the distinc

to that portion of the instinctual life which remains untransformed is a very variable one.

Generally speaking, we are apt to attach too much importance to the innate part, and in addition to this we run the risk of overestimating the general adaptability to civilization in comparison with those instincts which have remained in their primitive state—by which I mean that in this way we are led to regard human nature as better than it actually is. For there is, besides, another factor which obscures our judgement and falsifies the issue in too favourable a sense.

The impulses of another person are naturally hidden from our observation. We deduce them from his actions and behaviour, which we trace to motives born of his instinctual life. Such a conclusion is bound to be, in many cases, erroneous. This or that action which is good from the civilized point of view may in one instance be born of a noble motive, in another not so. Ethical theorists class as good actions only those which are the outcome of good impulses; to the others they refuse their recognition. But society, which is practical in its aims, is little troubled on the whole by this distinction; it is content if a man regulates his behaviour and actions by the precepts of civilization, and is little concerned with his motives.

We have seen that the external compulsion exercised on a human being by his upbringing and environment, produces a further transformation towards good in his instinctual life—a turning from egoism towards altruism. But this is not the regular or necessary effect of the external compulsion. Education and environment offer benefits not only in the way of love, but also employ another kind of premium system, namely, reward and punishment. In this way their effect may turn out to be that he who is subjected to their influence will choose to "behave well" in the civilized sense of the phrase, although no ennoblement of instinct, no transformation of egoistic into altruistic inclinations, has taken place within. The result will, roughly speaking, be the same; only a particular concatenation of circumstances will reveal that one man always acts rightly because his instinctual inclination compels him so to do, and the other is good only in so far and for so long as such civilized behaviour is advantageous for his own egoistic purposes. But superficial acquaintance with an individual will not enable us to distinguish between the two cases, and we are certainly misled by our optimism into grossly exaggerating the number of human beings who have been transformed in a civilized sense.

Civilized society, which exacts good conduct and does not trouble itself about the impulses underlying it, has thus won over to obedience a great many people who are not thereby following the dictates of their own natures. Encouraged by this success, society has suffered itself to be led into straining the moral standard to the highest possible point, and thus it has forced its members into a yet greater estrangement from their instinctual dispositions. They are consequently subjected to an unceasing suppression of instinct, the resulting strain of which betrays itself in the most remarkable phenomena of reaction and compensation formations. In the domain of sexuality, where such suppression is most difficult to enforce, the result is seen in the reaction-phenomena of neurotic disorders. Elsewhere the pressure of civilization brings in its train no pathological results, but is shown in malformations of character, and in the perpetual readiness of the inhibited instincts to break through to gratification at any suitable opportunity. Anyone thus compelled to act continually in the sense of precepts which are not the expression of his instinctual inclinations, is living, psychologically speaking, beyond his means, and might objectively be designated a hypocrite, whether this difference be clearly known to him or not. It is undeniable that our contemporary civilization is extraordinarily favourable to the production of this form of hypocrisy. One might venture to say that it is based upon such hypocrisy, and that it would have to submit to far-reaching modifications if people were to undertake to live in accordance with the psychological truth. Thus there are very many more hypocrites than truly civilized persons—indeed, it is a debatable point whether a certain degree of civilized hypocrisy be not indispensable for the maintenance of civilization, because the cultural adaptability so far attained by those living today would perhaps not prove adequate to the task. On the other hand, the maintenance of civilization even on so questionable a basis offers the prospect of each new generation achieving a farther-reaching transmutation of instinct, and becoming the pioneer of a higher form of civilization.

From the foregoing observations we may already derive this consolation—that our mortification and our grievous disillusionment regarding the uncivilized behaviour of our world-compatriots in this war are shown to be un-

will probably assume that this development consists in eradicating from him the evil human tendencies and under the influence of education and a civilized environment replacing them by good ones From that standpoint it is certainly astonishing that evil should show itself to have such power in those who have been thus nurtured

But this answer implies the thesis from which we propose to dissent In reality there is no such thing as *eradicating* evil tendencies Psychological—more strictly speaking psychoanalytic—investigation shows instead that the inmost essence of human nature consists of elemental instincts which are common to all men and aim at the satisfaction of certain primal needs These instincts in themselves are neither good nor evil We but classify them and h
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and to some extent turned back upon their possessor Reaction formations against certain instincts take the deceptive form of a change in content as though egoism had changed into altruism or cruelty into pity These reaction formations are facilitated by the circumstance that many instincts are manifested almost from the first in pairs of opposites a very remarkable phenomenon—and one strange to the lay public—which is termed the *ambivalence of feeling* The most easily observable and comprehensible instance of this is the fact that intense love and intense hatred are so often to be found together in the same person Psychoanalysis adds that the conflicting feelings not infrequently have the same person for their object

It is not until all these *vicissitudes to which instincts are subject* have been surmounted that what we call the character of a human being is formed and this as we know can only very inadequately be classified as *good* or *bad* A human being is seldom altogether good or bad he is usually *good* in one relation and *bad* in another or *good* in certain external circumstances and in others decidedly *bad* It is interesting to learn that the existence of strong *bad* impulses in infancy is often the actual condition for an unmistakable inclination towards *good* in the adult person Those who as children have been the most pronounced egoists may well become the most helpful and self sacrificing members of the community most of our sentimentalists friends of humanity champions of animals have been evolved from little sadists and animal tormentors

The transformation of *bad* instincts is brought about by two co-operating factors an internal and an external The internal factor consists in an influence on the bad—say the egoistic—instincts exercised by erotism that is by the human need for love taken in its widest sense By the admixture of *erotic* components the egoistic instincts are transmuted into *social* ones We learn to value being loved as an advantage for which we are willing to sacrifice other advantages The external factor is the force exercised by upbringing which advocates the claims of our cultural environment and this is furthered later by the direct pressure of that civilization by which we are surrounded Civilization is the fruit of renunciation of instinctual satisfaction and from each newcomer in turn it exacts the same renunciation. Throughout the life of the individual there is a constant replacement of the external compulsion by the internal The influences of civilization cause an ever increasing transmutation of egoistic trends into altruistic and social ones and this by an admixture of erotic elements In the last resort it may be said that every internal compulsion which has been of service in the development of human beings was originally that is in the evolution of the human race nothing but an external one Those who are born today bring with them as an inherited constitution some degree of a tendency (disposition) towards transmutation of egoistic into social instincts and this disposition is easily stimulated to achieve that effect A further measure of this transformation must be accomplished during the life of the individual himself And so the human being is subject not only to the pressure of his immediate environment but also to the influence of the cultural development attained by his forefathers

If we give the name of *cultural adaptability* to a man s personal capacity for transformation of the egoistic impulses under the influence of the erotic we may further affirm that this adaptability is made up of two parts one innate and the other acquired through experience and that the relation of the two to each other and

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ere upon the emotional l fe Our int ll gence t.er teach us, can funct on reliably o ly when it is removed from the influences of strong emotional impulses otherwise it beha es mere ly as an trument of the will and del ers the in erence which the will requ res Thus their view logical arguments e mpotent gai st affective interest and that s why reaso ch in Fals aff's phrase are as plenty as blackberries p od ce o few ict ries in the conflict wi h int rests Psych analyt c expe nence ha if possible f rther confirmed th s statement It dail how that the hrewdest persons will all of a ud en beha e li e m beciles a soon as the reedf l ght is con fronted by an emotional res tan but will comp et ly regain their wo ted city once t.. resistance has been overcome Th lom al inf uations int whi h this wa has d uded our f ow-citizens man of them the best f t.eir kind are th refore a secondary phenom enon, a consequen e f emoti nal ex it men and are destined, we m y hope to disappear with it.

Havin, in this way come t und rstand once more ou f ll w-citizen who e w so greatl alien ed f om us we hall the mo e easil en dure th disillus onment wh h th n t ons those grea er units of the huma rac ha e caused s fo we shall perce e that the d mands w make upon them ou ht to be far more modest Perh ps they re ep od cing the course f indi dual evolut on and still toda represent ery prim tiv pha es in the organization and f rmati of high r un ties I is in greement w th this that th ed cat e f ctor f an xternal mp ls on towards mo-ral. w..ch w f und t be so fi ct e f t.e indi dual. is ba ly di ernible in them Tru w had hoped that the exten e c m-munit f in est est bli hed b c mmerce and p od tion would const t the germ f such compuls on but t oul seem that na ti ns till bey thei mmediat pa f m re readil tha th int rests Thei inter ests serv t em t most rat nalizat f their pas ns they parade th interest thei justification f sati fying thei pas ons Actuall why th national unit hould dis-dain, d te t abh on ar ther and that even when they t pe c is indeed mys ery I cann t tell why it is It s just th gh when it becomes questi n of umbe f peopl t to say milli all ind dual m ral c quirements were oblit rated and l th most primitiv the oldest th crudest mental at titudes were left Poss bly only future sta es in dev lopment will be able in any way to alter

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in ther a d between them nd th se w go ern them shou d also do somethin towards smoo hing the way for th s transformation.

II OUR ATTI UDE TOWARDS DEATH

The second f ctor to w ch I attribute our p esent ense f estra gement n th once lo ely a d congenial world is the d turbance that has t ken place in our att tud t wards death a at ribu e to wh h hitherto we ha e clung o f t.

Th s att tude was f r from stra g tf rward We were f c urse prepared t main ain that death w s the necessary outcome of l f that everyone owes d bt to N ure nd mu t ex pect to pay the reckonin —in hort that death w s natural undenia le and una dable In reality h wever we were ac u tomed t be ha as f it were otherwi W d played n unm stakable tendency to h l e death to elim nate t from l fe We tried to hu h t up indeed we even ha e the sa i g "To th k of som thing s we th k f death That i our own death of ours Our own de h is ind ed unimaginable nd whenever we make the t tem t to m gi e it we can perce that we really surv e spectators Hence th psy ho-analytic school co ld enture on t e ert on that at bott m o on believes i h own death to put the same th n in an th r wa in the *unconscious e ry one f us is con ced of* his wn immortal t

As to th death of a ther th ci ilized man will c ef lly a d peak r of s ch a possi-bilit i the hea n of the person concerned Child en alo d re a d th s restrict on un ba hed they threaten e a other w th the eventual ty f death nd even go so far as to tal f t befo e on whom they lov as for in ta e Dea Mamma t will be a p ty when y u re dead b t then I hall d th that Th ci ized adult can ha dl e en entert in th thought f th s death w th ut seeming t himself hard e l hearted unless of course ph s ian l wyer r something of th ort he ha to d l with death p f on-ll Lea t f ll will he perm t h m elf to thi k f th death f a other if w th that event some gain t himself in f eed m mea po tion

The Germa sa is used equivalent f cr d b l k ly—TR.

justified They were based on an illusion to which we had abandoned ourselves In reality our fellow citizens have not sunk so low as we feared because they had never risen so high as we believed That the greater units of humanity the peoples and states have mutually abrogated their moral restraints naturally prompted these individuals to permit themselves relief for a while from the heavy pressure of civilization and to grant a passing satisfaction to the instincts it holds in check This probably caused no breach in the relative morality within their respective national frontiers

We may however obtain insight deeper than this into the change brought about by the war in our former compatriots and at the same time receive a warning against doin them an injustice For the evolution of the mind shows a peculiarity which is present in no other process of development When a village grows into a town a child into a man the village and the child become submerged in the town and the man Memory alone can trace the earlier features in the new image in reality the old materials or forms have been superseded and replaced by new ones It is otherwise with the development of the mind Here one can describe the state of affairs which is a quite peculiar one only by saying that in this case every earlier stage of development persists alongside the later sta e which has developed from it the successive stages condition a co existence although it is in reference to the same materials that the whole series of transformation has been fashioned The earlier mental state may not have manifested itself for years but none the less it is so far present that it may at any time again become the mode of expression of the forces in the mind and that exclusively as though all later developments had been annulled undone This extraordinary plasticity of the evolution that takes place in the mind i not unlimited in its scope it might be described as a special capacity for retroversion—for regression—since it may well happen that a later and higher stage of evolution once abandoned cannot be reached again But the primitive sta es can always be re established the [illegible]

1 [illegible] with the idea of destruction of the life of mind and soul In reality the destruction relates only to later accretions and developments The es ence of mental disease lies in a return to earlier conditions of affective life and functioning An excellent example of the plasticity of mental life is afforded by the state of sleep which every night we desire Since we have learnt to interpret even absurd and chaotic dreams we know that whenever we sleep we cast off our hard won morality like a garment only to put it on again next morning This divestiture i naturally unattended by any danger because we are paralys d condemned to inactivity by the state of sleep Only through a dream can we learn of the regression of our emotional life to one of the earliest stages of development For instance it is noteworthy that all our dreams are governed by purely egoistic motives One of my En lish friends put forward this proposition at a cientific meeting in America whereupon a lady who was present remarked that that might be the case in Austria but she could maintain for herself and her friends that *they* were altruistic even in their dreams My friend although himself of English race was obliged to contradict the lady emphatically on the ground of his personal experience in dream analysis and to declare that in their dreams hi h minded American ladies were quite as egoistical as the Austrians

Thus the transformations of instinct on which our cultural adaptability is based may also be permanently or temporarily undone by the experiences of life Undoubtedly the influences of war are among the forces that can bring about such regression therefore we need not deny adaptability for culture to all who are at the present time displaying uncivilized behaviour and we may anticipate that the refinement of their instincts will be restored in times of peace

There is however another symptom in our world compatriots which has perhaps astonished and shocked us no less than the descent from their ethical nobility which has so greatly distressed us I mean the narrow mindedness shown by the best intellects their obduracy their inaccessibility to the most forcible arguments their uncritical credulity for the most disputable assertions This indeed presents a lamentable picture and I wish to say emphatically that in this I am by no means a bl nd partisan who finds all the intellectual hort comings on one side But this phenomenon is much easier to account for and much less disquieting than that which we have just considered Students of human nature and philosophers have long taught us that we are mistaken in regarding our intell gence as an independent force and in overlooking its depend

we draw our pers   onal mo..n towards two   ur rea ons w... death—the one w ch   er ascribe to prim ve pre   oric peo- ple and t.. other wh.. m every one of us ..ll ema.. b w.... conceals se f n..sible t conse...ness m t.. deepest lying ..a.. of our mental lif

Th   ..d formation man towards death is known t us f course only b m rences ... I believe that these processes h..e furnished us with t erably tru...

Prim..ve man assumed a very rema kable attitude towards death. It was far from con sistent, was indeed extrem ly con radictory On t.. o... h... he took dea h enough rec ...ed ... t.. termination o l.   ..d used ... t.. end ... t.. ot.. hand, he also de- ..ed death, red..ed t   ot...... The con tra.. on arose from t.. c rcum ta ce that h. took up radica.. different tt.udes t wards t.. death of another man of   tranger o an enemy a.d towards his own. The death f the other man h had   b ection t   mea..t t ... f crea ure hated, and primiti e ... had ..mes again bringing   ho H. was in tru..   ven ... be ... re cruel and more malign than ther a..mals He liked to kill ..d killed as matter of cours The instinct which is said to restrain t e ther animals from killing and devouring their own species we ..ed n t   trib   t him.

Hence the primitive h.. ry f mankind is filled with murder E en toda the his ry f the wo d which our hildren learn in   hool is essentially   series f race-m rders Th ... sense f gu.. which has been common t man since pre.. on times and which in many ... has been condensed in   t e doctrin   f ... is probab   .. out me f blood-...mes incurred by prim.. e man In m boo T m and T boo (19 3) I have f l- lowed l es given by W. Robertson Smith, Atkinson and Charles Darwin ttem ed to surmise t.. nature f this primal cri t and I think that even t   on emporary Christian doctrin enables us t ded ce t. If t.. Son f God w   ed t sacrifi h. l f t redeem mankind from original in then by th l w f t.. t... t   requital f lik f like that sin mu.. have been   kill..   murder No..n else ... could call f t   sa rifice f l f m ex pi...on And if t.. ...mal sin was an o ence against God th F..the the primal crim of mankind must have been   parricid   t.. killing f t.. p ..mal f...e   f t.. primitive human horde w ose m... e in memory was l... tr..s- figured in   a de

His own death was for prim.. ve man cer tainl ju as unimagin..   and unreal as is for any one of us toda But t ere was fo h.. a case in w   ch t   two ...osi e a udes to- wards dea h came in o co   and ...ed ... and this case was momen ous a..d productive of far reaching res   s. It occurred w en prim.. tive man saw someone w belonged to him die —his wi e his c.. d his friend, w om ..s urely he lo ed as we l e ours f love ca   be ... h... ... t... t l... to kill Then ... ... had t learn that on can i deed die one- ... ... his ad... ... ... sel ... each of t ese l ed ones was in revo ed for each of t ese l ed ones was in very tru h a part of his own beloved ego But even so on th other ha..d, su h death had a ... for him, .. each of t e loved persons some... .. .. had re- ...ed The law f ....le   e of fee..   w h t ...s da governs o   em ...onal rela ... w h those w om we love mos had a   vered a very much wider ... in prim... e periods Thus these beloved dead had also been enem es a d strangers w   had aro sed ... him a ...re of hostile feeling

Philosop   rs have declared t... ... ... tual en.gma presen ed t p...   ... by the ... ...

loso   rs think too p..loso ca   a..d g   ( ) ... ... on to t.. pr...   ... ... I would t..ref re l.. ... d correct ... ... primi.. man would ha e triumphed, w h ... ... his bra.. ... ... death ... ... eff..ctual en ... a d r e very death, but t e conflict f fee.. t t.. death of loved yet withal alien d ha ed pers s was what disengaged the ... of inquiry   man. Of this conflict f feeli.. psyc   ... w   t ... ...

f himself dead So he devised a compromise he conceded the f ct of dea h even his own death b.. denied t th ... ...ca.ce of a.. ... ... h he had had o m   f r contest ing where the d h of h enem had been con cerned. D ring his con em ..tion f his lo ed

See "The I fa t.. Recurrence f T..emism," T ... and T boo

See "T boo and the Ambivalence f Emo ions" T..em and Taboo

is connected This sensitiveness of ours is of course impotent to arrest the hand of death when it has fallen we are always deeply affected as if we were prostrated by the overthrow of our expectations Our habit is to lay stress on the fortuitous causation of the death —accident disease infection advanced age in this way we betray our endeavour to modify the significance of death from a necessity to an accident A multitude of simultaneous deaths appears to us exceedingly terrible Toward the dead person himself we take up a special attitude something like admiration for one who has accomplished a very difficult task We suspend criticism of him overlook his possible misdoings issue the command *De mortuis nil nisi bene* and regard it as justifiable to set forth in the funeral oration and upon the tombstone only that which is most favourable to his memory Consideration for the dead who no longer need it is dearer to us than the truth and certainly for most of us is dearer also than consideration for the living

The culmination of this conventional attitude towards death among civilized persons is seen in our complete collapse when death has fallen on some person whom we love—a parent or a partner in marriage a brother or sister a child a dear friend Our hopes our pride our happiness lie in the grave with him we will not be consoled we will not fill the loved one s place We behave then as if we belonged to the tribe of the Asra who must die too when those die whom they love

But this attitude of ours towards death has a powerful effect upon our lives Life is impoverished it loses in interest when the highest stake in the game of living life itself may not be risked It becomes as flat as superficial as one of those American flirtations in which it is from the first understood that nothing is to happen contrasted with a Continental love affair in which both partners must constantly bear in mind the serious consequences Our ties of affection the unbearable intensity of our grief make us disinclined to court danger for ourselves and for those who belong to us We dare not contemplate a great many undertakings which are dangerous but quite indispensable such as attempts at mechanical flight expeditions to far countries experiments with explosive substances We are paralysed by the thought of who is to replace the son with his mother the husband with his wife the father with his children if there should come disaster The tendency to exclude death from our calculations brings in its train a number of other renunciations and exclusions And yet the motto of the Hanseatic League declared *Navigare necesse est vivere non necesse'!* (It is necessary to sail the seas it is not necessary to live)

It is an inevitable result of all this that we should seek in the world of fiction of general literature and of the theatre compensation for the impoverishment of life There we still find people who know how to die indeed who are even capable of killing someone else There alone too we can enjoy the condition which makes it possible for us to reconcile ourselves with death—namely that behind all the vicissitudes of life we preserve our existence intact. For it is indeed too sad that in life it should be as it is in chess when one false move may lose us the game but with the difference that we can have no second game no return match In the realm of fiction we discover that plurality of lives for which we crave We die in the person of a given hero yet we survive him and are ready to die again with the next hero just as safely

It is evident that the war is bound to sweep away this conventional treatment of death. Death will no longer be denied we are forced to believe in him People really are dying and now not one by one but many at a time often ten thousand in a single day Nor is it any longer an accident To be sure it still seems a matter of chance whether a particular bullet hits this man or that but the survivor may easily be hit by another bullet and the accumulation puts an end to the impression of accident Life has in truth become interesting again it has regained its full significance

Here a distinction should be made between two groups—those who personally risk their lives in battle and those who have remained at home and have only to wait for the loss of their dear ones by wounds disease or infection It would indeed be very interesting to study the changes in the psychology of the combatants but I know too little about it We must stop short at the second group to which we ourselves belong I have said already that in my opinion the bewilderment and the paralysis of energies now so generally felt by us are essentially determined in part by the circumstance that we cannot maintain our former attitude towards death and have not yet discovered a new one Perhaps it will assist us to do this if

[1] Say nothing but good of the dead —ED

when the lust for killing was in the blood as possibly it is to this day with ourselves. The ethical strivings of mankind, of which we need not in the least depreciate the strength and the significance, are an acquisition accompanying evolution; they have then become the inherited possession of those human beings alive today, though unfortunately only in a very uneven measure.

Let us now leave the primitive man, and turn to the unconscious in our own mental life. Here we depend entirely upon the psycho-analytic method of investigation, the only one which plumbs such depths. We ask what is the attitude of our unconscious towards the problem of death. The answer must be: Almost exactly the same as primitive man's. In this respect, as in many others, the man of prehistoric ages survives unchanged in our unconscious. Thus our unconscious does not believe in its own death; it behaves as if immortal. What we call our *unconscious* (the deepest strata of our minds, made up of instinctual impulses) knows nothing whatever of negatives or of denials—contradictories coincide in it—and so it knows nothing whatever of our own death, for to that we can give only a negative purport. It follows that no instinct we possess is ready for a belief in death. This is even perhaps the secret of heroism. The rational explanation for heroism is that it consists in the decision that the personal life cannot be so precious as certain abstract general ideals. But more frequent, in my view, is that instinctive and impulsive heroism which knows no such motivation, and flouts danger in the spirit of Anzengruber's Hans the Road-Mender: "Nothing can happen to me." Or else that motivation serves but to clear away the hesitation which might delay an heroic reaction in accord with the unconscious. The dread of death, which dominates us oftener than we know, is on the other hand something secondary, being usually the outcome of the sense of guilt.

On the other hand, for strangers and for enemies, we do acknowledge death, and consign them to it quite as readily and unthinkingly as did primitive man. Here there does, indeed, appear a distinction which in practise shows itself decisive. Our unconscious does not carry out the killing; it merely thinks it and wishes it. But it would be wrong entirely to depreciate this psychical reality as compared with actual reality. It is significant and pregnant enough. In our unconscious we daily and hourly deport all who stand in our way, all who have offended or injured us. The expression "Devil take him!" which so frequently comes to our lips in joking anger, and which really means "Death take him!" is in our unconscious an earnest deliberate death-wish. Indeed our unconscious will murder even for trifles; like the ancient Athenian Law of Draco, it knows no other punishment for crime than death; and this has a certain consistency, for every injury to our almighty and autocratic ego is at bottom a crime of *lèse-majesté*.

And so, if we are to be judged by the wishes in our unconscious, we are, like primitive man, simply a gang of murderers. It is well that all these wishes do not possess the potency which was attributed to them by primitive men; in the cross-fire of mutual maledictions mankind would long since have perished, the best and wisest of men and the loveliest and fairest of women with the rest.

Psycho-analysis finds little credence among laymen for assertions such as these. They reject them as calumnies which are confuted by conscious experience, and adroitly overlook the faint indications through which the unconscious is apt to betray itself even to consciousness. It is therefore relevant to point out that many thinkers who could not have been influenced by psycho-analysis have quite definitely accused our unspoken thoughts of a readiness, heedless of the murder-prohibition, to get rid of anyone who stands in our way. From many examples of this I will choose one very famous one.

In *Le Père Goriot* Balzac alludes to a passage in the works of J. J. Rousseau where that author asks the reader what he would do if—without leaving Paris and of course without being discovered—he could kill, with great profit to himself, an old mandarin in Peking by a mere act of the will. Rousseau implies that he would not give much for the life of this dignitary. "*Tuer son mandarin*" has passed into proverb for this secret readiness even on the part of ourselves today.

There is as well a whole array of cynical jests and anecdotes which testify in the same sense, such as, for instance, the remark attributed to a husband: "If one of us dies, I shall go and live in Paris." Such cynical jokes would not be possible unless they contained an unacknowledged verity which could not be countenanced if seriously and baldly expressed. In joke—we know—even the truth may be told.

See "The Omnipotence of Thought," *Totem and Taboo*.

"To kill his mandarin."—ED.

one s corpse he invented ghosts and it was his sense of guilt at the satisfaction mingled with his sorrow that turned these new born pirits into evil dreaded demons The changes wrou ht by death sug ested to him the disjunction of the individuality into a body and a soul—first of all into several souls in this way his train of thought ran parallel with the process of dis integration which sets in with death The en during remembrance of the dead became the basis for assuming other modes of existence gave him the conception of life continued after apparent death

These ubsequent modes of existence were at first no more than appendages to that life which death had brought to a close—shadowy empty of content and until later times but sli htly valued they showed as yet a pathetic inadequacy We may recall the answer made to Odv eu by the soul of Achilles

Erst in tl e life on the earth no less than a god we revered th e
Il e the Achaeans and now in the realm of the dead as a monarch
Here dost tl ou rule then why should death thus grie e thee Achilles?
Thus did I speak forthwith then answering thus he addressed me
Speak not smoothly of death I beseech O fa mous Odysseus
Better by far to remain on the earth as the thrall of another
E en of a portionless man tl at hath means right scanty of living
Rather than reign sole king in the realm of the bodiless phantoms

Or in the powerful bitterly burlesque render ing by Heine where he makes Achilles say that the most insi nificant little Philistine at Stuckert-on the Neckar in being alive is far h ppier than he the son of Peleus the dead hero the prince of shadows in the nether world

It was not until much later that the different religions devised the view of this after life as the more desirable the truly valid one and de graded the life which is ended h d

s imation all with the purpose of depriving death of its meaning as the termi nation of life So early did the denial of death which above we de i nated a convention of civilization actually originate

Beside the corpse of the beloved were gen erated not only the idea of the soul the belief in immortality and a great part of man s deep-rooted sen e of guilt but also the earliest ink ling of ethical law The first and most porten tous prohibition of the awakening conscience was Tl ou shalt not kill It was born of the reaction against that hate gratification which lurked behind the grief for the loved dead nd was gradually extended to unloved strangers and finally even to enemies

This final extension is no lon er experienced by civilized man When the frenzied conflict of this war shall have been decided every one of the victorious warriors will joyfully return to his home his wife and hi children undelayed and undisturbed by any thou ht of the enemy he has slain either at clo e quarter or by dis tant weapons of destruction It i worthy of note that such primitive races as still inhabit the earth who are undoubtedly clo er than we to primitive man act differently in this re pect or did so act until they came under the influ ence of our civilization The savage—Austral ian Bushman Tierra del Fuegan—is by no means a remorseless murderer when he re turns victorious from the war path he may not set foot in his villa e nor touch h s wife until he has atoned for the murders committed in war by penances which are often prolon ed and toilsome This may be presumed of course to be the outcome of superstition the av ge till goes in fear of the avenging spirits of the lain But the spirits of the fallen enemy are nothing but the expre sion of his own conscience un easy on account of his blood guiltiness be hind this superstition lurk a vein of e hical sensitiveness which has been lo t by u civi lized men

Pious souls who cheri h the thought of our remoteness from whatever is evil and base will be quick to draw from the early appearance and the urgency of the prohibition of murder gratifyin conclusions in re ard to the force of these ethical stirrin s which must consequentl have been implanted in us Unfortunately this argument proves even more for the oppo ite contention So powerful a prohibition can only be directed against an equally powerful im pul e What no human soul de ires there is no need to prohibit it is automatically excluded The very emphasis of the commandment *Tl o i shalt not kill* makes it certain that ve pr n from an endless ancestry of murderers with

Od y s y XI 484 49 l ted by H B C tt ll

Cf *T t m d T b*

Cf th b ll t g m t f F q ted f *T t m d T b*

Civilization and Its Discontents

I

THE impres n forces it elf upon one that men mea ure by false standard that everyone eeks pow r succes riches fo him elf and adm res others wh ttain them wh le undervalu ng the truly precious things n life And yet in mak ng any ge eral judgment of this kind one i n danger of forgetting th m nifold ari ty of humanity a d its mental life There are certain men from wh m the r co temporaries do not withhold eneratio alth u h the r greatness rest o ttributes and achievements wh h are complet l f e en to th aim nd ideals of the m de One m ht well be li ed to suppose that fter all t is only a m r ty who appreciat th se great m wh l the majority cares othin f r th m But the d crepa cy bet en me s p nio s d the r beha ur is so wide and the r d sres many ided that th es re pr bably ot mple

On f thes ex epti nal men call h mself m fri d in his l tters t me I had se t h m my li tl book whi h t e t of reli a an ill on and h answ ed that h g eed nt rely with my ew o relig b t that he w s sorry I h d n t pr pe ly appreci ted the ulti mate so rc f li u se t me ts Th con s t in a pecul feelin wh h neve lea es him personall wh h h fi d ha ed b ma y thers and whi h h m y uppos m lli s m re L expe It s a f ling which he uld lik to call se sat f *ternity* a feel g as f som thing limi d s unbounded some th o ani It h say a pu ly ubj c ti xperie c n t u l f bel ef t m plies sura of pe nal imm rtality but t th so f th rel gio p rit nd s

Where that is impos ble—I am afra d the ocean c feeling too will defy th s kind of cla ficati —noth g rema ns but t turn to the deat o al content which mo t read ly a so ciates itself with th f lin If I ha e un r stood my fri d ar ght he mea s th same th as that co ol t on offered by a original a l omewhat unconventional writ r to h he c templati u c e O t f this world w cannot fall So it is a feelin of i l ol ble connection of belongi g inseparably t the e ternal wo ld as a whol To me personall I may remark th s seems m th ng more in the n t re of an intellectu l judgme t no it s true w thout any cc mpan feel to e but with o e of a k nd wh ch characterizes other equally far reach g ref ctio as well I could ot in my own person co ce myself of the pr m ry nature f uch a feeling But I can th t accou t deny that it in f ct occurs i oth r people O e can ly w nd r wh th r t has been c rre tly i terpret d d wh ther s ent tled t be ck wledged s the *fons et* *rig* of the whole eed fo r lig on

I ha e oth g t gest wh ch could ef fect elv ettle the s lut o f th s pr bl m The de that ma should rece ve int mat o f his c nne t o w th the ur ou din wo ld by a d rect feel ng wh ch ims from the utset at rving this purpo ounds o strange nd is o inc gru u w th the tructu e of our psy hol gy th t o e is j t fied in attempting a psy h n lytic that s g n t c expla at on f ch a feeling Whereupo the f llow ng l nes f th ght pr t th msel es Normall there s thin w are m re cert n of than the feel wn ego It s ems to u an

ground of this o ea c feeling lon th ugh ject all beli f and ll ll ns

These views xpres ed by my fri d wh m I s gre tly h d wh him lf o e in poetry des ribed th m gi f illusi put m in difficult po t on I annot dis e this an feeling in myself It n t easy t deal ci tifically w th feelings One m y t empt to describe their phy ological gns

th ia e rel ti of th eg to the d But t wa d the o te w ld, at n rate the ego seem t keep

Chris ia Grabbe *H b l J aus der W lt werd wir ht f llen H r nd mal darin.* Source d igin.—ED.

As for primitive man so also for us in our unconscious there arises a case in which the two contrasted attitudes towards death that which acknowledges it as the annihilation of life and the other which denies it as ineffectual to that end conflict and join issue—and this case is the same as in primitive ages—the death or the endangered life of one whom we love a parent or partner in marriage a brother or sister a child or dear friend These loved ones are on the one hand an inner possession an ingredient of our personal ego but on the other hand are partly strangers even enemies With the exception of only a very few situations there adheres to the tenderest and closest of our affections a vestige of hostility which can excite an unconscious death wish But this conflict of ambivalence does not now as it did then find issue in theories of the soul and of ethics but in neuroses which afford us deep insight into normal mental life as well How often have those physicians who practise psycho analysis had to deal with the symptom of an exaggeratedly tender care for the well being of relatives or with entirely unfounded self reproaches after the death of a loved person The study of these cases has left them in no doubt about the extent and the significance of unconscious death wishes

The layman feels an extraordinary horror at the possibility of such feelings and takes this repulsion as a legitimate ground for disbelief in the assertions of psycho analysis I think mistakenly No depreciation of our love is intended and none is actually contained in it It is indeed foreign to our intelligence as also to our feelings thus to couple love and hate but Nature by making use of these twin opposites contrives to keep love ever vigilant and fresh so as to guard it against the hate which lurks behind it It might be said that we owe the fairest flowers of our love life to the reaction against the hostile impulse which we divine in our breasts

To sum up Our unconscious is just as inaccessible to the idea of our own death as murderously minded towards the stranger as divided or ambivalent towards the loved as was man in earliest antiquity But how far we have moved from this primitive state in our conventionally civilized attitude towards death!

It is easy to see the effect of the impact of war on this duality It strips us of the later accretions of civilization and lays bare the primal man in each of us It constrains us once more to be heroes who cannot believe in their own death it stamps the alien as the enemy whose death is to be brought about or desired it counsels us to rise above the death of those we love But war is not to be abolished so long as the conditions of existence among the nations are so varied and the repulsions between peoples so intense there will be must be wars The question then arises Is it not we who must give in who must adapt ourselves to them? Is it not for us to confess that in our civilized attitude towards death we are once more living psychologically beyond our means and must reform and give truth its due? Would it not be better to give death the place in actuality and in our thoughts which properly belongs to it and to yield a little more prominence to that unconscious attitude towards death which we have hitherto so carefully suppressed? This hardly seems indeed a greater achievement but rather a backward step in more than one direction a regression but it has the merit of taking somewhat more into account the true state of affairs and of making life again more endurable for us To endure life remains when all is said the first duty of all living beings Illusion can have no value if it makes this more difficult for us

We remember the old saying *Si vis pacem para bellum* If you desire peace prepare for war

It would be timely thus to paraphrase it *Si vis vitam para mortem* If you would endure life be prepared for death.

lowest. Yet we st'll find all the mple forms alive today Th great saurians are extinct and ha e m de way for the mammals but a t p cal representat e of th m the crocod le is till living among us The analogy may be too remote and t is also weakened by the fact that the surviving l wer species are n t as a rule the true a cestors of the present-day more highly developed types. The intermediate members ha mostly d ed ou nd are known to s only thro gh econstru tion In the realm of mind, on the other hand the prim tive t pe is so commonly preserved alongs de the transf rmat ons which ha e de eloped out of it that t is superfluous to g e in tances in proof of it. When this happens t i u ually the result of a bifurcat n in development One quantit tive part of an att tud r an impu has surv ved unchan ed wh le another has undergone further dev lopment

This brings us very close to the mo e general problem of conserva on in the mind which ha so fa hardl been d scus ed but is so interesting d important that we may take the opportun ty to pay it ome ttent on even though relevance is not immediate Since the t m when we recognized the rro f upholding tha ordinary forgetting sign fied destructi a nihilation f the mem ry trace we ha been lned t the oppos t ew that nothing one f rmed th m d could ever perish, that everythi urvi es in some w o the and is capable und r certain cond tions f bei b ought t light ga n, as f instan e when regres on extends b ck f en ugh One might try t pictu e t ones lf w s this a umption signifie by c mparis n taken f om an the fi ld. Let us choose the h ry f th E rnal C ty an examp e. H t rians tell us that th ldest R me f all wa th *Rom q drat* fen ed ettlement on th Palatine Then f llowed th phas of the Septim tium when th col nies on the different hill united togeth then the town which wa bounded by th Servian wall a d Lt t l, fter ll th transformat ns in the pe ods f th ep blic and th earl Caesars the cit which th Empero Au lian enclosed by h walls W will t f low the changes t c t y went through an furth b t will a oursel es what traces of these early tages m r h tory a vis t t Rom m y till fi d toda f he goes equipped with th m com plete hist rical and t pographical knowledge Ex ept for a few gaps he will ee t e wall of Aurelian lmost unchanged. He can find sec tions of the Serv an r m n rt at certain po nts where it ha been exca a ed and brought to l ht. If he knows enough—mo e than present day archaeol gy—he may pe haps trace out in the tructure of the town th whole c urse f this wall and the outline of *Roma quad ata* Of the b ld gs which once o cup ed th s ancient groun l plan he w ll f d noth g or but meagre fragments f r the u t r lon r W th the best i format on abo t Rome of the republic n era the utmost he co d ach eve woul d be to ind cate the te where the temp es a d publ c buildings f th t period stood These pl ces are n w occup ed by ruins but the ru s are n t tho e of the earl bu ld ings themsel es but f re tor t ons of them in la er t mes fter f res d demo ons It is hardly neces ary t ment n that all these remains f a cient R me e found woven into the f bric f a great m r pol s wh ch has arisen n the la t few centur s nce the Rena ance Th re is a ured mu h th t is anc ent till bur ed in the so l or unde the modern buildings of the town This is the way in which we find ant quit es survi in in h toric cities lik R me

Now let us m ke the f nt t c s ppos on that Rome were not a h m dw ll pla e but a mental ent t wi h just a long a d varied a past h tory that is t w ch noth g one c n tructed had peri hed a d all the l ter stages of de elopment had rv ed long d the lates Th s w ld mean that in Rom the palaces of the Ca ars were t ll ta din on the P la d the Se m of Sep m us Se eru was t l tower to it old he ght that the be t f l t tues were t ll st ding in the c lon ade of th Castl of St An l they wer un to ts ge by the G ths and s o But mo e st ll wh re the Palazz Caff ell tands th e w uld al o be with ut th being remo ed th Tem le of Jup t Ca t inus not m rely i its late t f rm moreo r s the R ma f the Caesars saw t but l i ts ea liest h pe wh n t till wore an Etru can des gn and was ad rned w th te a-cott a t hxae Where the Coli eum stands now we o d at the same time dmire Nero Golden Hous n th Piazza of the Pantheon we ho ld fi d t only th Pan theon f today as bequeathed t u by H drian but on the same te ls Agrippa s orig nal edifi ind ed th sam ground w uld support the church f ta M ria opra Mi

Acco J Th C w d Ancien H y V L VII (5) The Found ng f Rome by Hu h Las

itself clearly and sharply outlined and delimited There is only one state of mind in wh h f l nd n it oi being in love threatens to obliterate the boundaries between ego and object Against all the evidence of his s nses the man in love declares that he and his be loved are one and is prepared to behave as if it were a fact A thing that can be temporarily effaced by a physiological function must also of cour e be liable to disturbance by morbid processes From pathology we have come to know a large number of states in which the boundary line between ego and outer world be come uncertain or in which they are actually incorrectly perceived—cases in which parts of a man s own body even component parts of his own mind perceptions thou hts feelings appear to him alien and not belonging to him self other cases in which a man ascribes to the external world thin s that clearly originate in himself and that ought to be acknowledged by him So the ego s co nizance of itself is sub ject to disturbance and the boundaries between it and the outer world are not immovable

Further reflection shows that the adult s ense of hi own ego cannot have been the same from the beginning It must have und rgone a de velopment which naturally cannot be demon strated but which admits of reconstruction with a fair de ree of probability When the infant at the breast receives stimuli he cannot as yet distinguish whether they come from his ego or from the outer world He learns it grad ually as the result of various exigencies It must make the stron est impression on him that many sources of excitation which later on he will recognize as hi own bodily organs can provide him at any time with sensations wherea others become temporarily out of his reach—amongst these what he wants most of all his mother s breast—and reappear only as a result of his cries for help Thus an *object* first presents itself to the ego as something ex isting *outside* which is only induced to appear by a particular act A further stimulus to the growth and formation of the ego so that it be comes something more than a bundle of sensa tions i e recognizes an *outside* the external world is afforded by the frequent unavoidable and manifold pains and unpleasant sensations which the pleasure principle still in unre stricted domination bids it abolish or avoid The tendency arises to di ociate from the e o everything which can give ri e to pain to cast it out and create a pure pleasure ego in con trast to a threatenin outside not self The limits of this primitive pleasure e o cannot escape readjustment through experience Much that the individual wants to retain becau e it is pleasure iving i nevertheless part not of the e o but of an object and much that he wishes to eject because it torments him yet proves to be inseparable from the ego arising from an inner source He learns a method by which through deliberate use of the ensory organs and suitable mu cular movements he can distinguish between internal and external —what is part of the ego and what ori inates in the outer world—and thus he makes the fir t step towards the introduction of the reality principle which is to control his development further This capacity for distinguishing which he learns of course serves a practical purpose that of enabling him to defend himself again t painful sen ations felt by him or threatening him Against certain painful excitations from within the ego has only the same means of defence as that employed a ainst pain coming from without and this is the starting point of important morbid disturbances

In this way the ego detaches itself from the external world It is more correct to ay Originally the ego includes everything later it detaches from itself the external world The ego feelin we are aware of now is thus only a shrunken vesti e of a far more exten sive feelin —a feeling which embraced the universe and expressed an inseparable con nection of the ego with the external world If we may suppose that thi primary ego-feelin has been preserved in the mind of many people—to a greater or lesser extent—it would co exist like a sort of counterpart with the narrower and more sharply outlined ego feeling of maturity and the ideational content belonging to it would be precisely the notion of limitless extension and oneness with the universe—the same feeling as that de scribed by my friend as oceanic But have we any right to assume that the original type of feelin survives along ide the later one which has developed from it?

Undoubtedly we have there is nothing un usual in such a phenomenon whether in the psychological or in other spheres Where ani mal are concerned we hold the view that the most highly developed have arisen from the

Cf the co d r ble v l m of w k th t p c d t f m th t f F (*St ge th Dev l p t of the S of R l ly* 19 3) p t Fed rn s co tr b t o s 1926 927 a d l t r

are able to produce new sensations and diffused feelings in themsel es wh ch he regards as regressi ns to primordial deeply buried men tal states. He sees in them a phys olo^ical foundation, so to speak of much of the wisdom of mysticism. The e would be connec tions to be mad here with many bscure modifications of me tal life such as trance and ecstasy But I am mo ed to exclaim in the wo ds f Schiller s di er

Wh bre th s o erhead n the rose-l ted light may be glad!

II

In my *Future of a Illusion* I was concerned much l s with the deepe t sources of re ligious feeling than with what the o dinary man understands by his r ligion that sys tem of doctrines and pledges that o the one hand explains the riddle of this world to him with an en iable completene s and on the ot er a sures him th t solicitous Provi den e is watching o e him and w ll m ke up to him in a futu e xistence f r any sh rt comings in this life The ordinary man can not imagin this Providence in any other form but that of a greatly exalted f ther for only such one ould understand the needs of the son of men, or be softened by their prayers and pla ted by the gns of their remorse Th *whole thing* is so patently infant le so in ongruous with reality that t one whose ttit de to humanity is friendly t is painful to think that th great majority f m rtals will never be ble t rise above this ew f life It is even m humiliating t disco r what large umbe f those li e today who must see that this religion is n t tenabl yet try t defend t in h by inch, as f w th series of p tiable rearguard tions. One w uld like to count oneself among the believ rs so as t dm ni h th philosoph rs wh try to presen the God f lig n by bstituting f him an impers nal shadowy abstract prin ciple and say 'Thou halt t take th nam f th Lord thy God in in! Som of the great men f the past did the sam b t that is o justification fo us w know why they had t d o

W will ow go ba k to th di ry man and his rel ^ion—th nly lig n that ought t bear th nam Th w ll kn wn w d of one f ur gr t and wis poets c me t mi d in whi h h xp es es h ew f th l tion of religion t t nd cienc They run

He who has Science and has Art
Rel gio too has he
Who has not Science has not Art
Let h m rel g ous be!

On the one hand these words contrast re ligion with the two highest ach evements of man and o the other they declare that in respect of their value in life they can repre sent or replace each other If we wi h to de pri e even the ordin ry man too of his re ligion we shall clearly not ha e the authority of the poet on our s de We will seek to get in touch w th the mea ing of h s utterance by a special way Life as we fi d it is too hard fo us t enta ls too much pain too many disappointments impossible tasks. We can not do without palliati e remed es We can not dispense w th auxiliary con tructions as Theod r Fontane a d There are perhaps three of these means pow rful divers ons of inte est which lead us to care l ttle about our misery substitut e gratification wh ch lessen it and intoxicat g substances wh ch make us insen t e to t. Something of this kind is ind spensable Voltai e is aim ng at a di ers on of interest when he brings h s *Candide* to a close w th th ad ce that people should cultivate their gardens scient fic wo k anothe defl ction of the same kind.

served for h rself in mental life. The in *toxicating s bstances affect our body* It r its chem cal processes It is not so simple to find the place where religion belongs in this s ries We mu t look further afield

The q estion What is the purpose of hu man lif ? has been a ked times without num ber it has never rece ed a satisfactory a swer pe haps it does ot adm t of h an answe Many a quest oner has added that f t should ppear that life has n purpo then it would lose all al e fo him. But these th eats alter thing It looks on the con trary as though on had right t dism s this quest fo it seems to p esuppos that belief in the superi rity of the human ra w th wh h w e alre dy o familia in its th xp es Nobody sks wh t is th

9 (London Hogarth Pres s)

Goethe *Z hmen Xenie* IX (*Ged hte au dem N hl*)

W lh lm Busch I *Die f m Helene* says he same thi lo level 'The man who has cares has bra dy too

nerva and the old temple over which it was built And the observer would need merely to shift the focus of his eyes perhaps or change his position in order to call up a view of either the one or the other

There is clearly no object in spinning this fantasy further it leads to the inconceivable *or even to absurdities* *If* we try to represent his torical sequence in spatial terms it can only be done by juxtaposition in space the same space will not hold two contents Our attempt seems like an idle game it has only one justification it shows us how far away from mastering the idiosyncrasies of mental life we are by treating them in terms of visual representation

There is one objection thou h to which we must pay attention It questions our choosing *in particular the past history* of a *city* to liken to the past of the mind Even for mental life our assumption that everything past is pre served holds good only on condition that the organ of the mind remains intact and its structure has not been injured by traumas or inflammation Destructive influences compara ble to these morbid agencies are never lack ing in the history of any town even if it has had a less chequered past than Rome even if like London it has hardly ever been pillaged by an enemy Demolitions and the erection of new buildings in the place of old occur in cities which have had the most peaceful existence therefore a town is from the outset unsuited for the comparison I have made of it with a mental organism

We admit this objection we will abandon our search for a striking effect of contrast and turn to what is after all a closer object of comparison the body of an animal or human being But here too we find the same thing The early stages of development are in no sense still extant they have been absorbed into the later features for which they supplied the material The embryo cannot be demon strated in the adult the thymus gland of child hood is replaced after puberty by connective tissue but no longer exists itself in the mar row bone of a grown man I can it is true trace the outline of the childish bone structure but this latter no longer survives in itself—it lengthened and thickened until it reached its final form The fact is that a survival of all the early stages alongside the final form is only possible in the mind and that it is im possible for us to represent a phenomenon of this kind in visual terms

Perhaps we are going too far with this con clusion Perhaps we ought to be content with the assertion that what is past in the mind *can* survive and need not necessarily perish. It is always possible that even in the mind much that is old may be so far obliterated or absorbed—whether normally or by way of exception—that it cannot be restored or re animated by any means or that survival of it is always connected with certain favourable conditions It is possible but we know nothing about it We can only be sure that it is more the rule than the exception for the past to survive in the mind

Thus we are entirely willing to acknowledge that the oceanic feeling exists in many people and we are disposed to relate it to an early sta e in ego feeling the further question then arises what claim has this feeling to be re arded as the source of the need for religion

To me this claim does not seem very for cible Surely a feeling can only be a source of energy when it is itself the expression of a strong need The derivation of a need for religion from the child s feeling of helplessness and the longing it evokes for a father seems to me incontrovertible especially since this feel ing is not simply carried on from childhood days but is kept alive perpetually by the fear of what the superior power of fate will bring I could not point to any need in childhood so strong as that for a father s protection Thus the part played by the oceanic feeling which I suppose seeks to reinstate limitless narcis sism cannot possibly take the first place The derivation of the religious attitude can be followed back in clear outline as far as the child s feeling of helplessness There may be something else behind this but for the present it is wrapped in obscurity

I can imagine that the oceanic feeling could become connected with religion later on That feeling of oneness with the universe which is its ideational content sounds very like a first attempt at the consolations of religion like another way taken by the ego of denying the dangers it sees threatening it in the external world I must again confess that I find it very difficult to work with these in tangible quantities Another friend of mine whose insatiable scientific curiosity has im pelled him to the most out-of the way re searches and to the acquisition of encyclo-paedic knowledge has assured me that the Yogi by their practices of withdrawal from the world concentrating attention on bodily func tions peculiar methods of breathing actually

pain are tho e wh h aim an influencing the organism itself I the last analysis ll pain is bu sensati n it only exists in so f r as we feel it, and we feel i only in con equence of certain characterist cs f our organism

The crudest of these methods of influencing t bod but al o the most effecti e s the chem cal one that of intoxication I *do not* think an one entirely understands their opera tion, b t it is a f ct that th re are certain substances foreign to the body which when present in the blood r tis ues d ectly cau e us p easurable ensations b t al o o chang the condi ons of our pe cepti ty that we be com nsen ble of di agree bl sensat o s The two effects t only take place simultane ously they seem to be closel bound up with ea h other B t there must be s b tances in the chemical compo tion of our bod es which can d the same, f r we kn w of at l ast one morbid state that of ma ia in wh ch a condi tion similar to th s intoxicat o ari es w th-out any drug be ng bs bed. Besides this our ormal mental l fe hows ari t s ac c ding to which pleasu e experienced with more or less a e and alon with this goes dimin hed or i cre ed ens tiv t to pa n. It is greatly t be egretted th t this to c aspect f mental proces es h s o f r eluded cient fi res ch The ser ces rend red by intoxicating bstance in th truggle fo happiness and in w di g off misery rank o high benefit that b th indi duals and ra es ha e gi en them an est bli hed po tion withi thei l bido-eco omy It is t m rely t immediat gain in ple re wh h ne es to th m b t also mea ure of th t ind pend e f th t w ld whi h s o so l cra ed. Men kn w that w th the h lp they can g t f m drownin th ca es they ca t any tim slip way f om the pp f e lity d fi d f g in a w ld t th n whe e painful feelin d n t ent We wa e that t ju t th p pert which nsut t s th dange and injuri us es f int xicating ubsta ces In rtain ci um t ces they a e *to blam* wh valuabl e e gies which c uld ha e been ed to imp th l t of hum n ty e useles ly w sted.

Th mpli ted truct e f ur mental pparatus adm t h wev of a wh l seri s of th kinds of infl enc Th gratificat on of instinct happin s b t wh th outer w ld l t us t rve f us t f cti of ou needs they be m the ca e of ery great suffering. So the hope is born that by influencin the e impul es one may escape me measure of suffer g This type of de-*fence* a a n t pa n no lon er relates to the sen ory apparatus it seeks to control the internal sou ces of our needs them el es An extreme form of it con i ts in nih a ion of the s nct as t u ht by the w d m of the Ea t and practi ed by the Yogi When it succeeds it is true it in ol es g ing up a l other acti ties s well (sacrificing the whole of l fe) a d aga b another p th the o ly h ppiness it brings is that of peace The same way is taken when the a m is les ex treme a d *only* control of il e i t cts is sou ht. When th s is s the h gher m ntal systems wh ch recognize the real t -principle h ve th upper hand The m f grat f cat on is by n means aband ed in this cas a er ta n degree of pr ection again t suffe ng is secured in that l ck of atisfact on causes less pa wh n the tincts are kept i check than when they are unbr dled. On the other ha d th s bri gs with it an undeniable re d tion in the d gree of enj yment obta nable *The feel n f happi ess* produced by t lal ge ce of w ld unt med cra in is i comp rably m i tense than is the sati fy g of a cu bed des e The irres s bl y of per *erted mpul pe h ps the charm of f r* b dden th gs gen ll may in this w y be expla ed eco om call

An her m thod of gu rding aga pa n

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of tra ferring the *u ctual aims* t n d r ct ons th t they cannot be fru trated by the ter wo ld. Subl mat n of the i t cts l d a a d in th s Its s ccess is gr ate t when a man kno s how to he ghten ffic tly hi capacity for bta ing plea ure from men t l a d t lle tual w k F t has l ttle pow r *g in t h m then* Th k nd of s t f ct on su h s th rtist jo in c eat in embody in h s ph t es the scientist s sol ing p bl ms or d o erin truth has a pecial qu lity wh ch we hall certainly one d y be bl t defi e m tap ych l meall U t l then w can nly say m tapho cally it e ms to us *h gher* and *f e* b t c mpa ed w th that f grat fy gro s prim t t tts its te s tv tempe ed and d ffu ed it does not wh lm phy cally The weak point f th s m thod h ever i th t t is ot g e ally appl c bl it is ly a ilable to the few

purpose of the lives of animals unless peradventure they are designed to be of service to man But this too will not hold for with many animals man can do nothing—except describe classify and study them and countless species have declined to be put even to this use by living and dying and becoming extinct before men had set eyes upon them So again only religion is able to answer the question of the purpose of life One can hardly go wrong in concluding that the idea of a purpose in life stands and falls with the religious system

We will turn therefore to the less ambitious problem what the behaviour of men themselves reveals as the purpose and object of their lives what they demand of life and wish to attain in it The answer to this can hardly be in doubt they seek happiness they want to become happy and to remain so There are two sides to this striving a positive and a negative it aims on the one hand at eliminating pain and discomfort on the other at the experience of intense pleasures In its narrower sense the word *happiness* relates only to the last Thus human activities branch off in two directions—corresponding to this double goal—according to which of the two they aim at realizing either predominantly or even exclusively

As we see it is simply the pleasure principle which draws up the programme of life s purpose This principle dominates the operation of the mental apparatus from the very beginning there can be no doubt about its efficiency and yet its programme is in conflict with the whole world with the macrocosm as much as with the microcosm It simply cannot be put into execution the whole constitution of things runs counter to it one might say the intention that man should be *happy* is not included in the scheme of *Creation* What is called *happiness* in its narrowest sense comes from the satisfaction—most often instantaneous—of pent up needs which have reached great intensity and by its very nature can only be a transitory experience When any condition desired by the pleasure principle is protracted it results in a feeling only of mild comfort we are so constituted that we can only intensely enjoy contrasts much less intensely states in themselves Our possibilities of happiness are thus limited from the start by our very constitution It is much less difficult to be unhappy Suffering comes from three quarters from our own body which is destined to decay and dissolution and cannot even dispense with anxiety and pain as danger signals from the outer world which can rage against us with the most powerful and pitiless forces of destruction and finally from our relations with other men The unhappiness which has this last origin we find perhaps more painful than any other we tend to regard it more or less as a gratuitous addition although it cannot be any less an inevitable fate than the suffering that proceeds from other sources

It is no wonder if under the pressure of these possibilities of suffering humanity is wont to reduce its demands for happiness just as even the pleasure principle itself changes into the more accommodating reality principle under the influence of external environment if a man thinks himself happy if he has merely escaped unhappiness or weathered trouble if in general the task of avoiding pain forces that of obtaining pleasure into the background Reflection shows that there are very different ways of attempting to perform this task and all these ways have been recommended by the various schools of wisdom in the art of life and put into practice by men Unbridled gratification of all desires forces itself into the foreground as the most alluring guiding principle in life but it entails preferring enjoyment to caution and penalizes itself after short indulgence The other methods in which avoidance of pain is the main motive are differentiated according to the source of the suffering against which they are mainly directed Some of these measures are extreme and some moderate some are one sided and some deal with several aspects of the matter at once Voluntary loneliness isolation from others is the readiest safeguard against the unhappiness that may arise out of human relations We know what this means the happiness found along this path is that of peace Against the dreaded outer world one can defend oneself only by turning away in some other direction if the difficulty is to be solved single handed There is indeed another and better way that of combining with the rest of the human community and taking up the attack on nature thus forcing it to obey human will under the guidance of science One is working then with all for the good of all But the most interesting methods for averting

[1] C th e w m u th t th g h d t b a s a tra f h ppy d ys Th s m y be x a g at o all the same

rather it pa es that by heedles.lv and holds fast to th deep-rooted passionate stri ing for a positive fulfilment of happiness Perhaps it reall comes nearer to this goal than any other method. I am speaking of course of that way of life which makes lo e the centre of all things and ant cipates all happiness from loving and being loved This att tude is fam l iar enough to all of us o e of the forms in which l e manifests itself sexual lo e gi es us our most intense experience of an o er elming pleasurable sen ation a d so fur nishes a p ototype f r ou stri ngs after happiness. What is m e natural than that we should persi t in seeking happ ness along the path by which we first encountered it? The weak de of this way of living is clearly evi dent and were it not for this no human being would ever h ve thought of abandon ng this path to happiness in f our of any oth r We re ever o d fenceless against suffering as hen we lo e eve so forlornly unhappy as when w ha lo t our love-object or ts lov B t this does not complete the story of that way of life which bases happiness on lov th re is much more to be sa d about it

We may here go on to cons der the inter esting case in which happiness life is sought

hardly ever regarded as beautiful the qual ty of beauty eems on the other hand to attach to certa n econd ry sexual characters

In p te of the incompleteness of these con s derat o s I w'll enture on a few remarks in conclusion of this d cussion The goal towards wh ch the pleasure principle impels us —of becoming hap y— s not atta nable yet we may not—nay cannot—gi e up the effort to come nearer to realization of it by some mean or other Very d fferent paths m y be taken towards it some pursue the posit e aspect of the a m atta nment of p ea ure others the negat ve a oidance of pa n By none of these ways can we ach eve all that we desire In th t mod fied sense in whi h

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bt in in the e ternal wo ld and n w i i e w ll find it necessary to make himself independ ent of it finally too on th bel ef he ha in himself of his power to alter it in accorda ce with his w hes. E en at this stage the mental const tution of the ind vidual will play a deci s e part as de from any external cons dera t

a goal in life thi aesth tic attitude offers little prot tion gain t th men of suffe ing b t t is abl to compensate f r a great deal Th enjoyment of beauty produces a particula mildly intoxi ting kind of sensa tion. Th e is ry ev dent use in bea ty the ec ss ty of t f cultu al purpo es is t ppa t and yet ci ilizat on could not do with t t. The ci ce of esthet cs vesti gates th conditi ns in which things e regarded as be utiful t can gi e o expl ti of the n tu e rigin of bea ty s sual t lack of result is o ealed under a flood of esounding and meaningless words U f rtun tely psycho-analy is too has les t say bout bea ty than abo t mo t things Its d ri ation from th ealms f xu l sensa tion is all that seems c rtain th l ve of beauty is pe fect example f feeli g with an inhib ted im. *B ty* and *tt t on* are first f all th ttributes f exual object It ema k ble that th genital th msel es th sight f which is always exciting are

capable. When any ch ce is pursued to an extrem it penalizes tself that it exposes the i di dual t the dang rs acc mpany g any o e exclus e life- te est which may always

e quart lo e S cess is ne er certai it depe ds on th co-operati n of ma y f ctors pe haps on no e mo e than the capac ty f the m tal constitution to adapt t lf to the o t w ld and then utilize this last f r obtaini g pleasure. A v e who is born with a spec lly unf urabl nsti ctual constitution

It presupposes special gifts and dispositions which are not very commonly found in a sufficient degree And even to these few it does not secure complete protection against suffering it gives no invulnerable armour against the arrows of fate and it usually fails when a man s own body becomes a source of suffering to him

This behaviour reveals clearly enough its aim—that of making oneself independent of the external world by looking for happiness in the inner things of the mind in the next method the same features are even more marked The connection with reality is looser still satisfaction is obtained through illusions which are recognized as such without the discrepancy between them and reality being allowed to interfere with the pleasure they give These illusions are derived from the life of phantasy which at the time when the sense of reality developed was expressly exempted from the demands of the reality test and set apart for the purpose of fulfilling wishes which would be very hard to realize At the head of these phantasy pleasures stands the enjoyment of works of art which through the agency of the artist is opened to those who cannot themselves create Those who are sensitive to the influence of art do not know how to rate it high enough as a source of happiness and consolation in life Yet art affects us but as a mild narcotic and can provide no more than a temporary refuge for us from the hardships of life its influence is not strong enough to make us forget real misery

Another method operates more energetically and thoroughly it regards reality as the source of all suffering as the one and only enemy with whom life is intolerable and with whom therefore all relations must be broken off if one is to be happy in any way at all The hermit turns his back on this world he will have nothing to do with it But one can do more than that one can try to re create it try to build up another instead from which the most unbearable features are eliminated and replaced by others corresponding to one s own wishes He who in his despair and defiance sets out on this path will not as a rule get very far reality will be too stron for him He becomes a madman and usually finds no one to help him in carrying throu h his delusion It is said however that each one of us behaves in some respect like the paranoiac substituting a wish fulfilment for some aspect of the world which is unbearable to him and carrying this delusion through into reality When a large number of people make this attempt together and try to obtain assurance of happiness and protection from suffering by a delusional transformation of reality it acquires special significance The religions of humanity too must be classified as mass delusions of this kind Needless to say no one who shares a delusion recognizes it as such

I do not suppose that I have enumerated all the methods by which men strive to win happiness and keep suffering at bay and I know too that the material might have been arran ed differently One of these methods I have not yet mentioned at all—not because I had forgotten it but because it will interest us in another connection How would it be possible to forget this way of all others of practising the art of life! It is conspicuous for its remarkable capacity to combine characteristic features Needless to say it too strives to bring about independence of fate—as we may best call it—and with this object it looks for satisfaction within the mind and uses the capacity for displacing libido which we mentioned before but it does not turn away from the outer world on the contrary it takes a firm hold of its objects and obtains happiness from an emotional relation to them Nor is it content to strive for avoidance of pain—that goal of weary resignation

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wo k he at least s c ly atta h d to l ly t l ty h
l ty th hum n mm ity W k no l s p t of
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17) Lecture xxiii p 593 above.

their emenier ct..ure were unable to achere La er eroenen e has corrected this ome n on ma.. poin s in several ..ta ces ... ease of If was d e t the bounty of nat re ... possib ies of ready sati f ctio for ... reat human needs b t was err neous ... and t the absence of the compl ca ed ... ons of civiliza on. Th li t of the two ... it

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e priva on that society imposes on t ... in virtue of its cul ural ideals and t was supposed that a return to grea er possibil ies of happiness would ensue if these s dards were abol ... ed o greatly relaxed.

And there ex s an lement of disappo t ... in add ion. In the last generat on man has made extraordinary strides in knowledge of the natural sc ences a d technical pp cat on of them, and has est bished his dom n on over nature in a wa never bef re mag ed. The details of this forward progress re un ersally known it unnecessary t enumera them. ...kind is proud f t exp o ts and has a rich to be. B men are beginning to pe ceive that all this ewly w power ove space a d time this co quest f the fo ces of nature the ful fillment f ... old longings has not incre sed the amount of pleasure they can btain in lif has not made them feel ny happi er. The valid onclusion from this is merely that power over nature is ot the onl condit on of human happiness, just t is t the onl goal of civiliza tion ort... a d there o ground fo ... fer ... that ... technical progress is w rthless from the andpoint f happiness. It prompts one t exclaim I t ot then posit ve pleas-ure unequivocal gain in happiness t be a... t hea when er I lik th e f a child liv... hundreds f m..es way o t know directl friend f mine rrives t his destina tion that he has om well a d saf ly through the long a d troublesom voyage. And s it othing that medical cienc has su ceeded in en rmously reducin th m rtalit f y ung children, th dangers f infection for wome in childbirth, and ed, in very con. derab pro-longing t... rage length f huma lif And there is still long list ... uld dd t these benefits that we owe t th m h-despised ra f scientific and practical progress—b t a crit cal, pessimistic vo ce makes tself heard, say ing that most of these ad a ages follow the model of those cheap pl asures" in the anec d te One gets th s enjoyment by ick g one s bare leg ou e the bedclo hes on a co d win ter s n ht and then drawing it in again If there were no railwa to make li t of d s t ces m child would never have left home and I should no need the telephone to hear his vo ce If there were no ... sel ... ros ... the ocean, m friend wo d never have embarked on h s voyage a d I shou d n t need the t le graph to rel eve m anxi ty about h m What is the use of reducing the mortality of c ... ren when it s precise y th s reduction wh ... im poses the gre est moderat o on u in beget ting them o that taken all round we d ... re rear more c il ren than in the da s before the re n of hygiene while t the same t me we ha e crea ed d fficul ... co d ... ns for sexual l fe in marriage a d probabl co t racted the benefi al effects of natural select on And what do we gain b l ... life when it is full of hardship and starved of jo s a d so wretched that we can o l welcome dea h as our d li erer?

It seems t be certa n that our present-da civ ... zat on does no inspire in us a feel ... g of well be ... g but t is very diffic... to f rm an ... what ... portun t es for happ ness or unhappi ness w hould find in them. This m thod f con. dering the problem wh h appears to be obje tive bec use t ignores th ... ariaties f subjective sen ... s of course the most subjecti possible for by appl ... one sub-stitutes one s own mental attitude f r the un known ttitude of o her men H ... ess on the contrary is s mething essentiall bjec tive Howev r w ma shrink in horr t the th ught of rtain tuati ns that f t galley la es in ant qu f the peasa t n the Thirty Years W of the ctims of th Inqu s tion of the Jews awaiting a pogrom it is still impos ibl for us to feel o rsel es int the pos t of these people t imagine the diff ences which would be brou bout by con t tut onal btuseness of feeling, gradual st pe-f ct t... cessat on of all a ticipation a d by ll th grosse and more subtle ways in whi h ... bility t both pleasurabl and painful ens ... ns can be ind ced. Mo eover on oc a ons when th most ext eme f rms of

and whose libido components do not go through the transformation and modification necessary for uccessful achievement in later life will find it hard to obtain happiness from his exter nal environment especially if he is faced with the more difficult tasks One last possibility of dealing with life remains to such people and it offers them at least substitute gratifications it takes the form of the flight into neurotic illness and they mostly adopt it while they are still young Those who e efforts to obtain hap piness come to nou ht in later years still find consolation in the pleasure of chronic intoxica tion or else they embark upon that despairing attempt at revolt—psychosis

Religion circumscribes the e measures of choice and adaptation by urging upon everyone alike its single way of achieving happiness and guarding against pain Its method consists in decrying the value of life and promulgating a view of the real world that is distorted like a delusion and both of these imply a preliminary intimidating influence upon intelligence At such a cost—by the forcible imposition of men tal infantilism and inducing a mass-delusion—religion succeeds in saving many people from individual neuroses But little more There are as we have said many paths by which the hap piness attainable for man can be reached but none which is certain to take him to it Nor can religion keep her promises either When the faithful find themselves reduced in the end to speaking of God s *inscrutable decree* they thereby avow that all that is left to them in their sufferings is unconditional submission as a last remaining consolation and source of hap piness And if a man is willing to come to this he could probably have arrived there by a shorter road

III

OUR discussion of happiness has so far not taught us much that is not already common knowledge Nor does the prospect of discover ing anything new seem much greater if we go on with the problem of why it is so hard for mankind to be happy We gave the answer before when we cited the three sources of human sufferings namely the superior force of nature the disposition to decay of our bodies and the inadequacy of our methods of regulating human relations in the family the community and the state In regard to the first two our judg ment cannot hesitate it forces us to recognize the e sources of suffering and to submit to the inevitable We shall never completely subdue nature our body too is an organism itself a part of nature and will always contain th seeds of dissolution with its limited power of adaptation and achievement The effect of this reco nition is in no way disheartening on the contrary it points out the direction for our efforts If we cannot abolish all ufferin yet a great deal of it we can and can miti ate more the experience of several thousand years has convinced us of this To the third the social source of our distres es we take up a different attitude We prefer not to re ard it as one at all we cannot see why the systems we have ourselves created should not rather ensure protection and well being for us all To be sure when we consider how unsuccessful our efforts to safeguard a ainst sufferin in this particular have proved the su picion dawns upon us that a bit of unconquerable nature lurks concealed behind this difficulty as well—in the shape of our own mental constitution

When we start to consider this pos ibility we come across a point of view which is so amazing that we will pause over it According to it our so called civilization itself is to blame for a great part of our misery and we should be much happier if we were to give it up and go back to primitive conditions I call this amaz ing because—however one may define culture—it is undeniable that every means by which we try to guard ourselves against menaces from the several sources of human distress is a part of this same culture

How has it come about that so many people have adopted this strange attitude of ho tility to civilization? In my opinion it arose from a background of profound long standing discon tent with the existing state of civilization which finally crystallized into this judgment as a result of certain historical happenings I be lieve I can identify the last two of these I am not learned enou h to trace the links in the chain back into the history of the human pe cies At the time when Christianity conquered the pagan religions some such antagonism to culture must already have been actively at work It is clo ely related to the low estimation put upon earthly life by Christian doctrine The earlier of the last two historical develop ments was when as a result of voyages of discovery men came into contact with primi tive peoples and races To the Europeans who failed to observe them carefully and misunder stood what they saw these people eemed to lead simple happy lives—wanting for nothing—such as the travellers who visited them with

t an

duce further great ad ances in th s re lm of c ure probably inconcei able now and will increase man s like es to a god still m re But w t aim of our tud in m nd we will not f get ll the s me that th human being of to day is ot happy with all his l keness to a god.

Thus we recognize that a country has at tained high lev l f civ lizat on when we fi d t everythin m tha can be helpf l in exp the earth fo man s ben fit and in pro ecting him against nat re—everyth ng in short, that is u eful to him— s culti ted and e ectiv ly prot cted. In uch a country the course f ri ers which thre ten to o erfl w their banks is regulated th r waters gu ded through canals to places whe they are needed Th soil is ind tri l cult at d nd planted with the vegetation su ted to t the mi eral wealth is brought up as du usly f om the depths and wrought into the implements and utensils that are req red. Th means of com mun cations e freq ent rap d and reliable wild and dangerous an mal ha e been exter mina ed the breedi g of tamed and d mest cated o es p ospers B t we demand othe things bes des thes f ci izat d c n l enough, w expe t t find them exi ng in th same countries As f w wished to re pudiate th first requ t w mad w ount it also as p oof of a high level of c lizat on w en we ee that th industry of th inh bit ants is pplied s w ll t things wh h a n t in the lea usef l d o the o trary eem t be u l ss g when the pa ks and gardens in a town, which are necessary as pla grounds and a reservo rs al bear flowerm pants or when the wi d ws f dw ll gs are dorned with fl ers W oo become ware that th us less thing which w equir of ci il zat on is be uty w expect cultured people t vere beauty whe t is f und in t e and t creat t in th handiwo k s f as they are bl But this is f f m exhausting wh t w requir of civilizat Bes des we expect to ee th sign f leanlines and orde We d n t think highly f the cult ral lev l of an Eng h ountry t n in th tim f Shakes pe h w read th t the e wa tall dun heap in fro t f his f ther' hou e in Stratford w are indignant and call t 'b barous' which is the opposit of civilized when w fi d the paths in th W en Wald littered w th paper Dirt f any kind eems to us in mpat'bl with

tend our demands for clean a body al o a d are am ed bject able odour emana ed f om the per on of the Roi Sol il we sh ke o r heads when we are sl own the tiny wa h basin o the Isola Bella wh ch N poleon used for h s daily ablutions Ind ed we are no surprised if anyone employs th use of soap as a d r ct mea ure of civil zation It is the same w th order wh h l ke clea l ness relates entirely to man s hand work But whereas we cannot expect cleanl ness in nature order has o the contrary been imi tated from na u e man s observations of th great a tronom cal period cit es not onl furn hed him with a model but f rmed the ground plan of h s first

a oided The ben fits of order are incontest able t enables us to use sp ce and t me to the best ad ant e wh le sa expend ture of mental energy On would be justi fed in expecting that it would ha e i grained it If f om the tart a d w thout oppo ition into all h m n act t es and o m y w ll w der that th s has n t hampered a d that o the co trary human beings man fe t a i born te dency to neg gence irregularity and u trustworth ess the r wo k a d ha e to be laboriou l tra ed t im tate the example f their cele tial model

B uty cle l ess nd o de cle rly occupy a pe ul ar po t among the requ ements of ci lizat o No o will m ta n that they are es ential to l f as the act it es a med at cont ll the f s of n tu a d as other fact s wh ch we h e y t t menti n a d t o o would wilingl relegate them to the background s tri l m tters Bea ty an in ta ce which pl ly h ws th t cult e is t mpl ut l t n in ts a ms fo the lack of beaut thing we c t tol rate in c li at Th t l tarian ad n ta f ord r e q te pp re t with re ard t l lin we ha e t emember th t t s requ ed of us b h giene and w may urmi e that en before th d y f t fic p phyl xi the c nec ti between th tw was n t alto eth suspected by mankind B t thes im d endea ours of culture re not ent rely to be xpl d t l t n line th mu t be om thing l e at w k bes des

Acc ding t g ral opinio how ver there

suffering have to be endured special mental protective devices come into operation It seems to me unprofitable to follow up this aspect of the problem further

It is time that we should turn our attention to the nature of this culture the value of which is so much disputed from the point of view of happiness Until we have learnt something by examining it for ourselves we will not look round for formulas which express its essence in a few words We will be content to repeat that the word *culture* describes the sum of the achievements and institutions which differentiate our lives from those of our animal forebears and serve two purposes namely that of protecting humanity against nature and of regulating the relations of human beings among themselves In order to learn more than this we must bring together the individual features of culture as they are manifested in human communities We shall have no hesitation in allowing ourselves to be guided by the common usages of language or as one might say the *feeling* of language confident that we shall thus take into account inner attitudes which still resist expression in abstract terms

The beginning is easy We recognize as belonging to culture all the activities and possessions which men use to make the earth serviceable to them to protect them against the tyranny of natural forces and so on There is less doubt about this aspect of civilization than any other If we go back far enough we find that the first acts of civilization were the use of tools the gaining of power over fire and the construction of dwellings Among these the acquisition of power over fire stands out as a quite exceptional achievement without a prototype while the other two opened up paths which have ever since been pursued by man the stimulus towards which is easily imagined By means of all his tools man makes his own organs more perfect—both the motor and the sensory—or else removes the obstacles in the way of their activity Machinery places gigantic power at his disposal which like his muscles he can employ in any direction ships and aircraft have the effect that neither air nor water can prevent his traversing them With spectacles he corrects the defects of the lens in his own eyes with telescopes he looks at far distances with the microscope h — the I m of hi has c sitory p ssions just as the gramophone does with equally transient auditory ones both are at bottom materializations of his own power of memory With the help of the telephone he can hear at distances which even fairy tales would treat as insuperable writing to begin with was the voice of the absent dwellings were a substitute for the mother s womb that first abode in which he was safe and felt so content for which he probably yearns ever after

It sounds like a fairy tale but not only that this story of what man by his science and practical inventions has achieved on this earth where he first appeared as a weakly member of the animal kingdom and on which each individual of his species must ever again appear as a helpless infant—O inch of nature!—is a direct fulfilment of all or of most of the dearest wishes in his fairy tales All these possessions he has acquired through culture Long ago he formed an ideal conception of omnipotence and omniscience which he embodied in his gods Whatever seemed unattainable to his desires—or forbidden to him—he attributed to these gods One may say therefore that these gods were the ideals of his culture Now he has himself approached very near to realizing this ideal he has nearly become a god himself But only it is true in the way that ideals are usually realized in the general experience of humanity Not completely in some respects not at all in others only by halves Man has become a god by means of artificial limbs so to speak quite magnificent when equipped with all his accessory organs but they do not grow on him and they still give him trouble at times

Cf T/ F t / Illu P

t ta t w th fi t g n mp lse wh he cam t p m pe t of t d p t t t fy n f t l pl s lege d that we po s le ve t w th t am f The h t g upw d l k t gues w d bt th t fl mes ha ph ll c se P tt g t fi by g lly f lt t wh h s l t d c d th l t f bl s f G ll t g— r in L ll p t d R b l G g t —th f p s ted s l t w th m joym t f m s- c l pote y h m ual lry Wh r w the fi t t d y h m lf th s pl d p th fi e wa bl t t k t w th h m d b k t t h own s ce By u b g th fi f his wn l p s h w bl t tam fi f f t re Th s g t c lt l t ry w th a w d f f a g f m g t ficat of tl t F th t s s f ma h d pl d w m by th h th a the gua d a f the fi h h d t ke pt bec h natomy makes t mpos ble f h to y ld t s ch

a t mpt t It f m k ble h w gul ly lytic fi d g t t fy t th cl se ect betwee the d s f mb u fi e d th al rotism.

freedom aga...t t..e will of th mu..t ude. A great part of the ...ruggles of mankind cen...rs round the sing... ta k of findin some expedient (i e satisfying) solution between these indi... ...al claims ...d those of the c...ilized com ...unity it is one of the probl...ms of man s fat... whether this solut on can be arri...ed at in some particula... f...m of cultur or whether the con... flict will prove irreconcilab e

W have obtained a lear impression of the general picture presen ed by cu ture t ough ...though t e common ... ew ...s t wh ch aspects ...f human lif ...re to be ca ed cul ural but t true that so far we have d covered no h that is ... common knowledge We ha e how ...ver ... ta...e ... am ... tim ... guarded ... e ...es ...must ... ...cent ... the ma... oncep ...n that ci... ...ization is synonymous with becom...n ... perfect... is t... path by wh... h man is ... rdain d to reach perfect...n. B t now a cert in po t ... f ...ew presses for ... on derat on ... wi l lead pe...aps in another direct on Th ... ev ut on of cu.ture seems to us ... peculia ...kind ... f process pa ...ing over human t... f wh h se...eral ... spect ... trike us as f mila ... W ... can describe th s p oce s in terms f t... modifi t on ... t ... ffe ts on the known huma in...tin tual d...po t on ... wh ch ... t is t... eco... ...ni ... ta k ... f ... r li...es ... t ... t sf... Som... of these instinct be ... m ... b o bed as ... were ... that someth...n... appears ...n pl... ce of t...em which in an ... d ...dual w call ... *karacter* *trai*. Th... m s... em ... kab ... exampl e ... f this process is f und ... espect ... f th anal ... rot ...m of young huma beings Th ... prim ... ry ... terest in t...e excret ...ry function ... t ... orga ... and prod ucts is ...hanged in th ... course ... f th ... growth ... int... group ... f tra...ts that we know w ll— thriftiness ord... lines ... d cleanl ess—valu ble and w ... l m ... qualities in themsel ...es wh ch, howev... may be intensified t...ll they ...n...bl... dominat th ... perso ... lit ... and prod ce what w... call th ... nal ch racter H w this happens we d ... t know but th re s n ... doubt ... bout the ... ccuracy of thi... c ... lus on Now we ha e seen that ... rd ... d cleanlines ... re es...entiall... cu...t...ral demands although th ... n cessity ... f them f ... surv...al is ... t partic...ularl ... appa ent, any m re than th ... ...uitability ... s sources ... f pleasure At thi... point we mu t be ... truck f... the first tim ... with th ... similarity between the proces ... of cultural development and that of t... lib dinal dev lopment in an ... di...idual. O...er instincts ha...e t ... be ind ... ed to ... han... the cond ...on of t e ...rati at ... to f d ... along other path ... proce ... wh ch ... u ua... dent cal w h what we k ow s ... wel as ... limat on (f the a...m of an i... ...nct) but wh ch c...n ...onot mes be d fferent ... ed from th ... u... Limat on of t... t ...ct is an e pecia ... con ... ... s f ature ... f cu...ural evo ut ...n ... this ... s th t makes it pos ble f r the h...r ... er mental ... ...ens tons scien fic ... rt ... t c ... ideological act ... ... e to play such an importa t par ... n ci ... ...z d life If on were t ... ld to a fi...st impre ... on on... would be temp ed to say th t ... l ... m ... t on is a fate wh ch ha ... been fo ced upon ... n t ncts by culture alone But ... better to re... t ... r th a whil lo...ger Th...d ... d la tl ... a d t s seems mo... important of all ... mos be to ... ...e ... re the e ... ent t ... wh ch c...il a ...ion is b uilt up ...n renunciat on of in ...tinctual grati...cat on the degree t ... wh ch the ex...tence ... f c ... ...a... tion pres...ppose ... the non-grat cat on (...up... tion pres...ion, repre ... on ... somet ...n ... else) of powerful in... ... ctual urge...c e ... This *c ... t ... al pr... at on* domin tes th ... whol e f ld of s cial r lat on ... between h...ma... be ...s ... we k...ow al ready that it is the cause of the an...agon...m aga... t wh h all ci ... lizat on has t f...ht It ... ts hard tasks f ... u ... scientific w ...rk too we ha e ... great de l t ... expa.in here It is not ea ... to und rst...nd how ... can become poss...bl ... to w th hold sati f ct on from an in ... inct ... N ... r s i b... an mea s wi ... out ri ... to do ... o ...f the demo... ...a... t on s n t m d ... good economicall ... o e may be certain of produ...in ... erious d sorders

But now ... f we w h t ... know what us ... it is to us t ... h ...e recogn zed the ev l ... on of cul ture as ... spec l pro ess ... comparable to the normal gr wth of ... ... d ...dual to maturit... we m t clea l ... ta...k an ther pro...lem a d put th question Wh t ...re the i...fluences t ... wh ch the evoluti ...n of cult re owes its origin how did it arise a d what d termi ed it ... course

IV

TH s ta...k ... eem ... too b ... a or ... e m ... w ll confess ones lf diffid t. H ... f ll ws wh t ... t... I ha...e been ... bl ... to ... licit ... bout it.

Once prim...ti...e man had mad ... the d... ...ery that ... t lay in h ... own hands—speaking literally —to improve h s l t ... n e rth by work n ... it cann t ha...e been a matter ... f i...diff ... n ... to him wheth r a... th r m ... worked with him o... against him The ... ther ... cqui ed the ... lue of

Cf Characte... and Anal Erotism (...08) *Collect d P pers* II ... lso ... merous ... ontributions to the ...ject by Ernes Jones ... nd others.

is one feature of culture which characterizes it better than any other and that is the value it sets upon the higher mental activities—intellectual scientific and aesthetic achievement—the leading part it concedes to ideas in human life First and foremost among these ideas come the religious systems with their complicated evolution on which I have elsewhere endeavoured to throw a light next to them come philosophical speculations and last the ideals man has formed his conceptions of the perfection possible in an individual in a people in humanity as a whole and the demands he makes on the basis of these conceptions These creations of his mind are not independent of each other on the contrary they are closely interwoven and this complicates the attempt to describe them as well as that to trace their psychological derivation If we assume as a general hypothesis that the force behind all human activities is a striving toward the two convergent aims of profit and pleasure we must then acknowledge this as valid also for these other manifestations of culture although it can be plainly recognized as true only in respect of science and art It cannot be doubted however that the remainder too correspond to some powerful need in human beings—perhaps to one which develops fully only in a minority of people Nor may we allow ourselves to be misled by our own judgments concerning the value of any of these religious or philosophical systems or of these ideals whether we look upon them as the highest achievement of the human mind or whether we deplore them as fallacies one must acknowledge that where they exist and especially where they are in the ascendant they testify to a high level of civilization

We now have to consider the last and certainly by no means the least important of the components of culture namely the ways in which social relations the relations of one man to another are regulated all that has to do with him as a neighbour a source of help a sexual object to others a member of a family or of a state It is especially difficult in this matter to remain unbiased by any ideal standards and to ascertain exactly what is specifically cultural here Perhaps one might begin with the statement that the first attempt ever made to regulate these social relations already contained the essential element of civilization Had no such attempt been made these relations would be subject to the wills of individuals that is to say the man who was physically strongest would decide things in accordance with his own interests and desires The situation would remain the same even though this strong man should in his turn meet with another who was stronger than he Human life in communities only becomes possible when a number of men unite together in strength superior to any single individual and remain united against all single individuals The strength of this united body is then opposed as *right* against the strength of any individual which is condemned as *brute force* This substitution of the power of a united number for the power of a single man is the decisive step toward civilization The essence of it lies in the circumstance that the members of the community have restricted their possibilities of gratification whereas the individual recognized no such restrictions The first requisite of culture therefore is justice—that is the assurance that a law once made will not be broken in favour of any individual This implies nothing about the ethical value of any such law The further course of cultural development seems to tend toward ensuring that the law shall no longer represent the will of any small body—caste tribe section of the population—which may behave like a predatory individual towards other such groups perhaps containing larger numbers The end result would be a state of law to which all—that is all who are capable of uniting—have contributed by making some sacrifice of their own desires and which leaves none—again with the same exception—at the mercy of brute force

The liberty of the individual is not a benefit of culture It was greatest before any culture though indeed it had little value at that time because the individual was hardly in a position to defend it Liberty has undergone restrictions through the evolution of civilization and justice demands that these restrictions shall apply to all The desire for freedom that makes itself felt in a human community may be a revolt against some existing injustice and so may prove favourable to a further development of civilization and remain compatible with it But it may also have its origin in the primitive roots of the personality still unfettered by civilizing influences and so become a source of antagonism to culture Thus the cry for freedom is directed either against particular forms or demands of culture or else against culture itself It does not seem as if man could be brought by any sort of influence to change his nature into that of the ants he will always one imagines defend his claim to individual

ently on his chosen love-object and thus ex poses him most painful sufferings if he is rejected by it or loses it through death or defection. The wise men of all ages have conse quently warned us emphatically against this way of life; but in spite of all it retains its attraction for a great number of people.

A small minority are enabled by their con stitution nevertheless to find happiness along the path of love; but far reaching mental trans formations of the erotic function are necessary before this is possible. These people make them selves independent of their objects' acquies cence by transferring the main value from the fact of being loved to their own act of loving; they protect themselves against loss of it by attaching their love not to individual objects but to all men equally, and they avoid the un certainties and disappointments of genital love by turning away from its sexual aim and modi fying the instinct into an impulse with an inhibited aim. The state which they induce in themselves by this process—an unchangeable, undeviating, tender attitude—has little super ficial likeness to the stormy, vital excitements of genital love from which it is nevertheless de rived. It seems that Saint Francis of Assisi may have carried this method of using love to pro duce an inner feeling of happiness as far as anyone; what we are thus characterizing as one of the procedures by which the pleasure-princi ple fulfils itself has in fact been linked up in many ways with religion; the connection be tween them may lie in those remote fastnesses of the mind where the distinctions between the ego and objects and between the various ob jects become matters of indifference. From one ethical standpoint, the deeper motivation of which will later become clear to us, this in clination towards an all-embracing love of oth ers and of the world at large is regarded as the highest state of mind of which man is capable. Even at this early stage in the discussion I will not withhold the two principal objections we have to raise against this view. A love that does not discriminate seems to us to lose some of its own value, since it does an injustice to its object. And secondly, not all men are worthy of love.

The love that instituted the family still re tains its power; in its original form it does not stop short of direct sexual satisfaction, and in its modified form, as aim-inhibited friendli ness, it influences our civilization. In both these forms it carries on its task of binding men and women to one another, and it does this with greater intensity than can be achieved through the interest of work in common. The careless and undifferentiated way in which the word *love* is employed by language has its genetic justifica tion. In general, people give this name to the relation between a man and a woman whose genital desires have [illegible] but [illegible] rents [illegible] in and children, brothers and sisters, in a family is also called love, although to us this relation means the description of *aim-in hibited love* or *affection*. Love with an inhibited aim was indeed originally full sensual love and in men's unconscious minds is so still. Both of them, the sensual and the aim-inhibited forms, reach out beyond the family and create new bonds with others who before were strangers. Genital love leads to the forming of new fam ilies; aim-inhibited love to *friendships*, which are valuable culturally because they do not entail many of the limitations of genital love— for instance, its exclusiveness. But the inter relation between love and culture loses its sim plicity as development proceeds. On the one hand love opposes the interests of culture; on the other culture menaces love with grievous restrictions.

This rift between them seems inevitable; the cause of it is not immediately recognizable. It expresses itself first in a conflict between the family and the larger community to which the individual belongs. We have seen already that one of culture's principal endeavours is to cement men and women together in larger units. But the family will not give up the individual. The closer the attachment between the mem bers of it, the more they often tend to remain aloof from others and the harder it is for them to enter into the wider circle of the world at large. That form of life in common which is phylogenetically older and is in childhood its only form resists being displaced by the type that becomes acquired later with culture. De tachment from the family has become a task that awaits every adolescent, and often society helps him through it with pubertal and ini tiatory rites. One gets the impression that these difficulties form an integral part of every proc ess of mental evolution—and indeed at bot tom, of every organic development, too.

The next discord is caused by women, who soon become antithetical to cultural trends and spread around them their conservative influ ence—the women who at the beginning laid the foundations of culture by the appeal of their love. Women represent the interests of the

members of his family One may suppose that the founding of families was in some way connected with the period when the need for genital satisfaction no lon er appearing like an occasional guest who turns up suddenly and then vanishes without letting one hear any thing of him for long intervals had settled down with each man like a permanent lodger When this happened the male acquired a mo tive for keeping the female or rather his sex ual objects near him while the female who wanted not to be separated from her helpless young in their interests too had to stay by the stronger male In this primitive family one essential feature of culture is lacking the will of the father the head of it was unfettered I have endeavoured in *Totem and Taboo* to show how the way led from this family life to the succeeding phase of communal existence in the form of a band of brothers By overpowerin the father the sons had discovered that sev eral men united can be stronger than a single man The totemic stage of culture is founded upon the restrictions that the band were oblige to impose on one another in order to maintain the new system These taboos were the first *right* or law The life of human beings in com mon therefore had a twofold foundation i e the compulsion to work created by external necessity and the power of love causing the male to wish to keep his sexual object the fe male near him and the female to keep near her that part of herself which has become detached from her her child Eros and Ananke were the parents of human culture too The first re ult of culture was that a larger number of human beings could then live to ether in common. And since the two great powers were here co operating together one might have expected that further cultural evolution would have pro ceeded smoothly towards even greater mastery over the external world as well as towards greater extension in the numbers of men shar ing the life in common Nor is it easy to under stand how this culture can be felt as anything but satisfying by those who partake of it

Before we go on to enquire where the dis turbances in it arise we will let ourselves di gress from the point that love was one of the founders of culture and so fill a gap left in our previous discussion We said that man having found by experience that sexual (genital) love afforded him his greatest gratification o that it became in effect a prototype of all happiness to him must have been thereby impelled to seek his happiness further along the path of sexual relations to make genital erotism the central point of his life We went on to say that in so doing he becomes to a very dangerous degree dependent on a part of the outer world

Th o g c p i d c ty f th se u l p oces has pe st d t i t but ts effe t m tal s xu l tat h be n alm st r e s d Th s ch g s c n cted p ma ly w th th d m h g mp t e of the olf ctory st mul by m s of wh h the m st l p ces p d ced se l c tement n th m d of the m le Th f ct n was tak ver by ual st m l wh h c uld ope at pe ma e tly st ad f int rm tt ntly like the olfacto y es The t b wh h act d s ba i ag t a phas of d l p m t that h d been s p d all ts th r mot t a p bably f s c d ry tu (Cf C D Daly H d myth l g d K t t k mpl x Im g V l XIII 19 7) Th p e rep t d a d ff t l el when the g ds of a f go e ltu l ep h e ch g d t dem s the t Th d m u t n i mp t e of olf ctory st m l s m t lf how t b a co qu f m s t g him It from the a th of h s dopt of a p ght g t h h made h g tals th t b fo e h d b n o e d v ble d d f p t ctl a d so k d f l gs of ham M s e e t post e th fo wo ld p se t th b n g of th mome tou p c s f cultu al e lut The h f d l pm t w ld u f om th wa d th gh th d m t o th mp t nce f olf ct ry t m l d th lat f v m n t th p d t a t m wh n u l t mul b c m p m t th ge t l bec m bl f th t ll al tat be am ts t d the f m ly as f ded and so t th th h ld of h m l t e Th s s o ly the t al p l t b t t imp t t e gh to be wo th h k g f lly by th d t obt g m g the m l l s ly all d t ma

Th th mp l e f m stak ble l f t t w k h b ub q tly j st fi d by ld t o f hyg b t h d e th le f d th n

a th m b p ts f th h ld they ry E m p t t

d t d by th t g d peil d f m th body that e took th lf t ry t m l ft m h d er ct d h mself f m th d fo f s wh h f o wh c t o of In spite of

f h w t y t but f ly th t f th ly d g bl t him Th m wh t l t f thers. h t th f ff d th wh doe t l mi t d at f th m— f t wh h h w comm t d m t f bl t m f b mpl fed the be mp h bl t that m It w ld b p th t th m h ld se th m l w ld f d s d d f bl m t f th f l f d t mpt f m th gh tw f th h cu th th t th y t res f m ll d h t t cs i e c m t d sec dly that they h ro f of th se u l f t ns ot a hamed

ters. This may be an error it is hard to decide

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wreck
Th co.rect re h leas f rthest, howe is thi
—a l here we come back be rem h i be foo
so p. 78—the bel f se uality ed no merely
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ren es so consequen mon m n f
the rect pos re nd he low ran value of the
sense f smell so ta mc the sexual func
tion has bee associated h re is no suscep

po ed he is ne o fundamenta ndency
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de se d ations to the importance f actory
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other onab es nd on w one resonance here.
(Cf the reports f folklore en mire ion obtained by
Iwan Bloch "Questionnaire appearing unde he ti-
tle of I ber den Geruchsinn in der vi sexua in
various volumes I Friedrich Krauss' A tr popby-
lese.)

V

PSYCHO-ANALYTIC work has shown that these fru trat ons i respect of sexual l fe are e pe ciall unendurable to the so-called neurotics among u These perso s ma uf cture subst e gratificat ons f r them l es the r s mp m wh ch how er re e her pa nful in msel es or bec me the cau e of suffen g wing to the d ffi ul es they crea e with th erson s environment and soc et at large It s ea to u derstand the latter fact but the former pre ents us w th a new pro lem But culture dema ds o her sacrifices be des that of sexual grat fications.

We have regarded the d fficulties in th de velopment of ci ilizat on as part of the gen eral d fficulty acc mpa g all e olu ion f r we ha e traced them to th i ertia of l bido its di ncl nat on to rel qu h an old pos t on in fa our of new one It i mu h th same thing if we sa that t e co. f ct between c lization and sexual t is caused by the circum tance that sexual love i a relat ons p between two people n which a th rd can o l be superflu u or d t rb g whereas ci iliza on is founded on rela ons between larger groups of persons When a love r lation h p is at ts he ht o room is l ft for an i t rest in the s rroun g word t pa r o l ers re uf fic ent unto themsel es do n t e en need th chid they ha e in c mmon t m k them happy In n oth r ca e does Eros o pla nl betra t e core of h be g h aim of m k ing one out of ma bu w en he has ach eved the pro e b l wa th ugh th lo e f two hum n be es h i n t w l g t go further From all t is we m t well imagine that a c l ed commun c u d con t of p rs f u d unls such a th l b d al sat ed n each o her d L ed t all the o hers b work a d comme tere t If th were so cu re wou d n t need t lew m from ex l ty B t u h desirab tat of things does n t exist and ever h s exi ed in tunlt cul ture i t content with uch l m ted t es a these w see that t e d a ours to b nd th members f the commun to one anoth l lib nal t e s well that t makes use of every m an a d f ours every aven e by wh ch po e ful den ficat ons ca be created m th m d that t exact a h vy toll of m inhibited L d in order t t then com mu t es by bonds of friend h p between the members. Re trict on upon se u l l f a e un o dable f this bject i t be attained But we cann t see the ecess ty that f rces culture

family and sexual life the work of civilization has become more and more men's business it confronts them with ever harder tasks compels them to sublimations of instinct which women are not easily able to achieve Since man has not an unlimited amount of mental energy at his disposal he must accomplish his tasks by distributing his libido to the best advantage What he employs for cultural purposes he withdraws to a great extent from women and his sexual life his constant association with men and his dependence on his relations with them even estrange him from his duties as husband and father Woman finds herself thus forced into the background by the claims of culture and she adopts an inimical attitude towards it

The tendency of culture to set restrictions upon sexual life is no less evident than its other aim of widening its sphere of operations Even the earliest phase of it the totemic brought in its train the prohibition against incestuous object choice perhaps the most maiming wound ever inflicted throughout the ages on the erotic life of man Further limitations are laid on it by taboos laws and customs which touch men as well as women Various types of culture differ in the lengths to which they carry [illegible]

[illegible] obeys the laws of psychological economic necessity in making the restrictions for it obtains a great part of the mental energy it needs by subtracting it from sexuality Culture behaves towards sexuality in this respect like a tribe or a section of the population which has gained the upper hand and is exploiting the rest to its own advantage Fear of a revolt among the oppressed then becomes a motive for even stricter regulations A high water mark in this type of development has been reached in our Western European civilization Psychologically it is fully justified in beginning by censuring any manifestations of the sexual life of children for there would be no prospect of curbing the sexual desires of adults if the ground had not been prepared for it in childhood Nevertheless there is no sort of justification for the lengths beyond this to which civilized society goes in actually denying the existence of these manifestations which are not merely demonstrable but positively glaring Where sexually mature persons are concerned object choice is further narrowed down to the opposite sex and most of the extra genital forms of satisfaction are interdicted as perversions The standard which declares itself in these prohibitions is that of a sexual life identical for all it pays no heed to the disparities in the inborn and acquired sexual constitutions of individuals and cuts off a considerable number of them from sexual enjoyment thus becoming a cause of grievous injustice The effect of these restrictive measures might presumably be that all the sexual interest of those who are normal and not constitutionally handicapped could flow without further forfeiture into the channel left open to it But the only outlet not thus censured heterosexual genital love is further circumscribed by the barriers of legitimacy and monogamy Present day civilization gives us plainly to understand that sexual relations are permitted only on the basis of a final indissoluble bond between a man and woman that sexuality as a source of enjoyment for its own sake is unacceptable to it and that its intention is to tolerate it only as the hitherto irreplaceable means of multiplying the human race

This of course represents an extreme Everyone knows that it has proved impossible to put it into execution even for short periods Only the weaklings have submitted to such comprehensive interference with their sexual freedom and stronger natures have done so only under one compensatory condition of which mention may be made later Civilized society has seen itself obliged to pass over in silence many transgressions which by its own ordinances it ought to have penalized This does not justify anyone however in leaning toward the other side and assuming that because it does not achieve all it aims at such an attitude on the part of society is altogether harmless The sexual life of civilized man is seriously disabled whatever we may say it sometimes makes an impression of being a function in process of becoming atrophied just as organs like our teeth and our hair seem to be One is probably right in supposing that the importance of sexuality as a source of pleasurable sensations i e as a means of fulfilling the purpose of life has perceptibly decreased Sometimes one imagines one perceives that it is not only the oppression of culture but something in the nature of the function itself that denies us full satisfaction and urges us in other direc

Th[illegible] sh[illegible]t st[illegible]ry wh[illegible]h I [illegible]ed [illegible] by [illegible] John Galsworthy [illegible] called "The Apple Tree" It sh[illegible]w[illegible] [illegible] ery mov[illegible]g [illegible] here is [illegible] pl[illegible]ce [illegible] present-day civilized l[illegible]f[illegible] [illegible] simpl[illegible] [illegible] between two h[illegible]m[illegible]n be[illegible]g[illegible]

tons. This may be an error t is hard t decd

The f low g considera ons would port the view expressed bove 31 n. oo is an mal w th unequivocal b se ual d po on. The ind idual represents a f sion f t symmetrical hal es f hich, acc rding to ma authorities, one is purely male the other female. It is equally pos ble that each half was originally hermaphroditic. Sex is a biological fact which... hard to evaluate psychologically. Although ... ance in mental life. We are

understanding and ... rance manifested by the peasant wo ... who complained that her husband did not love her any more because he had not beaten her for a week.

The conjecture which leads further, however, is that ... here we come back to the remark in the footnote on p. 98 — the whole of sexuality and not merely ... is threatened ... the erect posture ... the low ... value of the sense of smell so that ... me the sexual function has been associated with ... nce no ... up ...

po ed he existence of fundamental tendency f ... wards rejecting sexual life. All neurotics and many others too take exception to the fact that ... [We are born among urine and faeces.] The genital ... sense ... many people cannot ... which spoils sexual intercourse for them. Thus we should find as the deepest root of the sexual repression that marches with culture the organic defence ... the erect posture ... the earliest type of animal ... results of scientific researches that coincides in ... ness with the expressed vul ... At the present time nevertheless, these results are but unconfirmed possibilities not yet scientifically substantiated. Nor should we forget that ... de able d minution in the importance of ... and there exist even in Europe races who prize ... as ... the strong genital odour so ... unreasonable ... and who will not renounce them. (Cf. the reports ... information obtained by Iwan Bloch "Questionnaire" appearing under the title ... *Geruch der sexual* ... various volumes of Friedrich S. Krauss' *Anthropophyteia*.)

V

PSYCHO-ANALYTIC work has shown that these frustrations in respect of sexual life are especially unendurable to the so-called neurotics among us. These persons manufacture substitute-gratifications for themselves in their symptoms which, however, are either painful in themselves or become the cause of suffering owing to the difficulties they create with the person's environment and society at large. It is easy to understand the latter fact, but the former presents us with a new problem. But culture demands other sacrifices besides that of sexual gratifications.

We have regarded the difficulties in the development of civilization as part of the general difficulty accompanying all evolution, for we have traced them to the inertia of libido, its disinclination to relinquish an old position in favour of a new one. It is much the same thing if we say that the conflict between civilization and sexuality is caused by the circumstance that sexual love is a relationship between two people, in which a third can only be superfluous or disturbing, whereas civilization is founded on relations between larger groups of persons. When a love-relationship is at its height no room is left for any interest in the surrounding world; the pair of lovers are sufficient unto themselves, do not even need the child they have in common to make them happy. In no other case does Eros so plainly betray the core of his being, his aim of making one out of many; but when he has achieved it in the proverbial way through the love of two human beings, he is not willing to go further.

From all this we might well imagine that a civilized community could consist of pairs of individuals such as this, libidinally satisfied in each other, and linked to all the others by work and common interest. If this were so, culture would not need to levy energy from sexuality. But such a desirable state of things does not exist and never has existed in actuality; culture is not content with such limited ties as these; we see that it endeavours to bind the members of the community to one another by libidinal ties as well, that it makes use of every means and favours every avenue by which powerful identifications can be created among them, and that it exacts a heavy toll of aim-inhibited libido in order to strengthen communities by bonds of friendship between the members. Restrictions upon sexual life are unavoidable if this object is to be attained. But we cannot see the necessity that forces culture

along this path and gives rise to its antagonism to sexuality It must be due to some disturbin influence not yet detected by us

We may find the clue in one of the so called *ideal standa ds* of civilized society It runs Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself It is world renowned undoubtedly older than Christianity which parades it as its proudest profession yet certainly not very old in his torical times men still knew nothing of it We will adopt a naive attitude towards it as if we were meeting it for the first time Thereupon we find ourselves unable to suppress a feelin of astonishment as at something unnatural Why should we do this? What good is it to us? Above all how can we do such a thing? How could it possibly be done? My love seems to me a valuable thing that I have no right to throw away without reflection It imposes obligations on me which I must be prepared to make sacrifices to fulfil If I love someone he must be worthy of it in some way or other (I am leaving out of account now the use he may be to me as well as his possible significance to me as a sexual object neither of these two kinds of relationship between us come into question where the injunction to love my neighbour is concerned) He will be worthy of it if he is so like me in important respects that I can love myself in him worthy of it if he is so much more perfect than I that I can love my ideal of myself in him I must love him if he is the son of my friend since the pain my friend would feel if anythin un toward happened to him would be my pain—I should have to share it But if he is a stranger to me and cannot attract me by any value he has in himself or any significance he may have already acquired in my emotional life it will be hard for me to love him I shall even be do ing wrong if I do for my love is valued as a privilege by all those belonging to me it is an injustice to them if I put a stranger on a level with them But if I am to love him (with that kind of universal love) simply because he too is a denizen of the earth like an insect or an earthworm or a grass snake then I fear that but a small modicum of love will fall to his lot and it would be impossible for me to give him as much as by all the laws of reason I am entitled to retain for myself What is the point of an injunction promulgated with such so lemnity if reason does not recommend it to us?

When I look more closely I find still further difficulties Not merely is this stranger on the whole not worthy of love but, to be honest I must confess he has more claim to my hos tility even to my hatred He does not seem to have the least trace of love for me does not show me the sli htest consideration If it will do him any good he has no he itation in injurin me never even asking himself whether the amount of advantage he gains by it bears any proportion to the amount of wrong done to me What is more he does not even need to get an advantage from it if he can merely get a little pleasure out of it he thinks nothin of jeering at me insultin me slandering me showin his power over me and the more e cure he feels himself or the more helpless I am with so much more certainty can I expect this behaviour from him toward me If he behaved differently if he showed me consid eration and did not molest me I should in any case without the aforesaid commandment be willing to treat him similarly If the hi h sounding ordinance had run Love thy nei h bour as thy neighbour loves thee I should not take objection to it And there is a second commandment that seems to me even more in comprehensible and arouses still stronger op position in me It is Love thine enemies When I think it over however I am wrong in treating it as a greater impo ition It is at bot tom the same thin

I imagine now I hear a voice gravely adjur ing me Just because thy nei hbour is not worthy of thy love is probably full of enmity towards thee thou shouldst love him as thy self I then perceive the case to be like that of *Credo quia absurdum*

Now it is of course very probable that my neighbour when he is commanded to love me as himself will answer exactly as I have done and reject me for the same reasons I hope he will not have the same objective grounds for doin o but he will hope so as well Even so there are variations in men s behaviour which ethics disregarding the fact that they are de termined classifies as *good* and *evil* As long as

A gr t poet m y pe mit h m lf at l t jest, to g tt ce t p ych l g cal t ths th t re h ly d Th H M e s th t pe bl d p t My w h re h mbl dw ll g w th th t h d oof b t g od bed g od food m lk d b tt f th f eshest flow rs t my w d w m fi tall t ee bef my doo d f th g d G d w t t m ke m mpl t ly h ppy h w ll g t m th j y f ee g m f my e m h g g f m th se t ee W th my hea t f ll f deep m t I h ll f g th m bef re th y die ll th w g th y d d m th l f t me—tru m t f g m b t t t l th y re h o ght t c t —H *G d ken und E fälle* I b l t beca se it is bs d —E

these undeniable variations have not been abolished *conformity to th highe t eth cal* andards constitutes a betrayal of the i ter — — nuts a direct premium on e of capi eech orted loud heard *Que*

m sieurs l s ass ssins c mmencent

Th bit of truth behind all this—one so eagerly den ed—is th t men are not gentle friendly cre t res wi hi g for love who simply defend them el es f they a e attacked but that a pow ful meas re of de i e fo ggres sion has to be re koned as part of th in ti c tual endowment The result s that the r e gh bour is t th m not only po ble helper or sexual bj ct b t al o a tempt tion to them t gratify the r ggress ene o him t ex pl t his capacity fo w k without r compense to use him s xually without his onsent to seize his pos essio t huml t him to cause him pain to t rt e and kill him *Homo homin l pus* who ha th ou ge to disp te it in the f ce of all the ev d ce n his wn life a d in history? This aggr s cruelty u ually lies in w t fo som p oc t o o el e t steps int the serv ce f some other pur pose the aim of which m ght w ll ha e been hieved by mild r measures In cir cum tances th t f o t when th se fo ces in L m d wh ch ord ly inh b t t cease t operate t l o ma fests t elf po ta eously and reve l men a sa ge bea ts t h m th tho bt of p n the r own k d al en An wh lls t mind the t oc t e of th ea ly m gr t f the a n by the Hun o by the o-called Mo g l unde Jenghiz Khan and T m l f the sa k of J ru al m by th p Cr ders even in deed the horr rs f th last W ld W will ha e t bow h s head humbly b f the truth f th view of man

Th xisten f this tend cy t ggres o hich we can detect urs l es and ri htly presum to be p esent in th rs th f ctor th t disturbs ou rel t ons with e ghb s and m kes t e e sary f cultu t st tut i s h gh demand C viliz d c tv perpetu lly men ed with d integrati th h th s primary ho tility f m t w d one an ther

The r interests in th ir common work would not hold them together the passions of instinct are stronger than reasoned interests Culture has to call up every poss ble reinforcement in order to erect barriers again t the aggressive ld h manifestations ls. d n inhibited love relation hips ne ce it ic tions on sexual life and hence too its ideal comma d to love one s nei hbour as oneself which is re lly just fied by the fact that noth ng so c mpletely at variance with orig nal

upon tself the right to employ violence ga t crim nals b t the law is not able to lay hands on the more d creet a d subtle forms l which human aggressions are expres ed The time c mes when e ry one of us has to aba don the ill sory nt cipations with wh ch *in our yo th* we regarded our fellow men and when we real ize how much hardsh p nd suffering we ha e been c used *t l fe through the r ill will* It would be unfa r however to reproach culture with try ng to l m nate all d put s and c m pet ti fr m human c cerns These th gs are undo btedly d pensable but oppos t on is not ne essarily enm ty nly t may be misused to m ke opening for t

The Commun sts bel eve they ha e found a way of del ering us f om th s e l Man is whole heartedly good and fri dly to hi ne gh bour they say but the s stem of private property h s c rrupted h s ture The po es s on of pri ate property g s power to the ind du l a d thence the temptat on ari es to ill tre t h s n ghbou the man wh is excl ded from the po ess on f p perty is obl g d to

d sappe r i m amo g e ne s w uld b sat fied o e would have any rea on t g rd an ther as n m all w uld will ingly u dert k th wo k wh ch eces ary I ha e n co c rn with any o omic criti ism of the commun t ystem I cann t enqu re int wh ther th abolit f pri ate property is dvantageous and exped ent B t I am able

Le the m rd rers begi !—ED

Man is to man w lf—E

A yo who ha bee th gh the m sery f po rty in his yo th and ha d red th ndiff rence and

to recognize that psychologically I
on an
pr
sio iments a strong one undoubtedly but assuredly not the strongest It in no way alters the individual differences in power and influence which are turned by aggressiveness to its own use nor does it change the nature of the instinct in any way This instinct did not arise as the result of property it reigned almost supreme in primitive times when possessions were still extremely scanty it shows itself already in the nursery when possessions have hardly grown out of their ori inal anal shape it is at the bottom of all the relations of affection and love between human beings—possibly with the single exception of that of a mother to her male child Suppose that personal rights to material goods are done away with there still remain prerog atives in sexual relationships which must arouse the trongest rancour and most violent enmity among men and women who are otherwise equal Let us suppose this were also to be re moved by instituting complete liberty in sexual life so that the family the germ cell of culture ceased to exist one could not it is true foresee the new paths on which cultural development might then proceed but one thing one would be bound to expect and that is that the in effaceable feature of human nature would follow wherever it led

Men clearly do not find it easy to do without satisfaction of this tendency to a gression that is in them when deprived of satisfaction of it they are ill at ease There is an advanta e not to be undervalued in the existence of smaller communities through which the aggressive in stinct can find an outlet in enmity towards those outside the group It is always possible to unite considerable numbers of men in love towards one another so long as there are still some remaining as objects for ag ressive mani festations I once interested myself in the peculiar fact that peoples whose territories are adjacent and are otherwise closely related are always at feud with and ridiculin each other as for instance the Spaniards and the Por tuguese the North and South Germans the English and the Scotch and so on I gave it the name of *narcissism in respect of mino differences* which does not do much to explain it One can now see that it is a convenient and relatively harmless form of satisfaction for aggressive tendencies through which cohesion amongst the members of a group is made easier The Jewish people scattered in all directions as they are have in this way rend ered services which deserve recognition to the development of culture in the countries where they settled but unfortunately not all the massacres of Jews in the Middle Ages sufficed to procure peace and security for their Chris tian contemporaries Once the apostle Paul had laid down universal love between all men as the foundation of his Christian community the inevitable consequence in Christianity was the utmost intolerance towards all who remained outside of it the Romans who had not founded their state on love were not given to lack of religious toleration although religion was a concern of the state and the state was per meated throu h and throu h with it Neither was it an unaccountable chance that the dream of a German world dominion evoked a com plementary movement towards anti-semitism and it is quite intelligible that the attempt to establish a new communi tic type of culture in Russia should find psycholo ical support in the persecution of the bourgeoi One only wonders with some concern however how the Soviets will manage when they hav exterminated their bourgeois entirely

If civilization requires such sacrifices not only of sexuality but also of the aggressive tendencies in mankind we can better under stand why it should be so hard for men to feel happy in it In actual fact primitive man was better off in this respect for he knew nothing of any re trictions on his instincts As a set off against this his prospects of enjoyin his happiness for any length of time were very slight Civilized man has exchanged some part of his chances of happines for a measure of security We will not forget however that in the primal family only the head of it enjoyed this instinctual freedom the other members lived in slavish thraldom The antithesis be tween a minority enjoying cultural advantages and a majority who are robbed of them was therefore mo t extreme in that primeval period of culture W th regard to the primitive human types living at the present time careful in

og nce of th wh h e p es s sh ld b empt fr m th p o th t h h s no d t d
i g f g dwill t w d th d v m d t
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n h lp

religion has revealed that their instinctual f h o means to be en ned on a count of

our present tate of civilization ... adequately providing us with what we require t make us happy in lif and f r th mount t suffering of a probabl avoidable nature it lays us open to—in doing our utmost to lay bare the roots of its deficiencies by our un ... criticisms, we are undoubtedl exercising our just right a d n t sh wing ourselves enemies f culture. We may expect that in the course of time chan es will be carried out in our civilization so that t becomes more satis fy ng to our needs and no longer open to the reproaches we ha e made again t it. But per haps we shall also accustom ourselves to the idea that there are cert in difficul es nherent in the ery nature of c lture wh ch will no y ld to any eff rts at reform. Over and above the ... ation of putting restrictions upon our instincts wh h we ee to be es tabl we a e eminently threatened with the dangers of a state one may call *la m sir psychol g q e* of groups This d er is most menac g wh re the social f ces f c hes n con t pred minantly of identifications of th ind dual in the group with on an the wh l t leading personalit es f il to equ the gnificance that uld fall to them in the proces f g p- formation Th ate of civilization in Am rica t the present day ffers good pportunity for udying this injur us effect f ci ilizat on wh ch w ha reason to d ead. But I will res t the temptation to ent upon a criticism of American culture I ha e des re t give the impression that I would employ Am rican methods myself

VI

NEVER bef e in any of m p e ous writings ha I had the feelin so tron ly as I ha e w that what I am describing s c mm n kn w edge tha I am equis t oning paper and ink, and m d e course the labour of c mpos tors and p nters in order to expound things that in t em l es re ob as F this e son if

We shall see that th s is no so that i is merely a matter of com to closer quarters with a conclus on to wh ch we lon ago com mitted oursel es and f llow it out to its logical con equences Th wh e of anal t c theory has evolved grada ll enough, but the theory of in incts has groped its way f rward under greater difficult es than any other part of t And yet a theory of in tincts was so in dispen ble for the rest that s mething had to ... perplexit ... n t ... th t hunger and love make the ... Hunger would serve to represent those inst ncts which a m at preservat on of the indi idual ... h h ... on trast between ego in t cts and obj ct in ti cts. For th energy of the latt r ins ncts and ex lu s ly for them I introduced the term *l b o* an ant thes s was thus formed between the ego in tincts and the l b dinal i stincts directed toward objects i.e love i its widest ense One of these bject instinct s the sadistic cer tainly tood out from the rest in that its a m was so ery unl ng moreo er it clea ly all ed tself in many of its aspect with the eg i tincts and its cl e kin hip with in tincts f ma ery w thout an l b d al purpose co d not be c cealed, but these amb iu ties c uld

ros ppea ed th outcome of a strug e between the interests of elf preservat n and the claim of lib do struggle in wh ch the ego wa ict rious, but t th price of great suffer ing a d renunciatio s

E ery anal st will admit that n e of this even now read like tatemen long ce recognized a erro eous All the sam mod fica tions had to be mad as our researches ad van ed *from the epres ed to the repres n* from th object instincts to th go A cardinal point in this advance was the introduction f th oncept f nar issism, i the idea that lib d cathect th ego itself that its first dwell in place was in the ego and that the l tt r rem s to som extent ts permanent head quart rs This n cis t lib do turns i the d rect on of obj cts th be ming bject lib do d can tran f rm i elf ba k into na ci istic lib d Th oncept of na cis m made it po sible to c n d the traum tic

Cf. *G oup Psych logy* etc., p 66 abo e.

neuroses as well as many diseases bordering on the psychoses and also the latter themselves from the psycho analytic angle It was not necessary to abandon the view that the transference neuroses are attempts on the [illegible] the ego to [illegible] concept o[illegible] the ego in [illegible]ound to be libidinal as well it seemed for a time inevitable that libido should become synonymous with instinctual energy in general as C G Jung had previously advocated Yet there still remained in me a kind of conviction for which as yet there were no grounds that the instincts could not all be of the same nature I made the next step in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (19[illegible]0) when the repetition compulsion and the conservative character of instinctual life first struck me On the basis of speculations concerning the origin of life and of biological parallels I drew the conclusion that beside the instinct preserving the organic substance and binding it into ever larger units there must exist another in antithesis to this which would seek to dissolve these units and reinstate their antecedent inorganic state That is to say a death instinct as well as Eros the phenomena of life would then be explicable from the interplay of the two and their counteracting effects on each other It was not easy however to demonstrate the working of this hypothetical death instinct The manifestations of Eros were conspicuous and audible enough one might assume that the death instinct worked silently within the organism towards its disintegration but that of course was no proof The idea that part of the instinct became directed towards the outer world and then showed itself as an instinct of ag ression and destruction carried us a step further The instinct would thus itself have been pressed into the service of Eros in that the organism would be destroying something animate or inanimate outside itself instead of itself Conversely any cessation of this flow outwards must have the effect of intensifying the self destruction which in any case would always be going on within From this example one could then surmise that the two kinds of instincts seldom—perhaps never—appear in isolation but always mingle with each other in different very varying proportions and so make themselves unrecognizable to us Sadism long since known to us as a component instinct of sexuality would represent a particularly strong admixture of the instinct of destruction into the love impulse while its counterpart masochism would be an alliance between sexuality and the destruction at work within the self in consequence of which the otherwise imperceptible destructive trend became directly evident and palpable

The assumption of the existence of a death instinct or a destruction instinct has rou ed opposition even in analytical circles I know that there is a great tendency to ascribe all that is dan erous and hostile in love rather to a fundamental bipolarity in its own nature The conceptions I have summarized here I first put forward only tentatively but in the course of time they have won such a hold over me that I can no longer think in any other way To my mind they are theoretically far more fruitful than any others it is possible to employ they provide us with that simplification without either ignoring or doing violence to the facts which is what we strive after in scientific work I know that we have always had before our eyes manifestations of the destruction instinct fused with erotism directed outwards and inwards in sadism and masochism but I can no longer understand how we could have overlooked the universality of non erotic aggression and destruction and could have omitted to give it its due significance in our interpretation of life (It is true that the destructive trend that is directed inwards when it is not erotically tinged usually eludes our perceptions) I can remember my own defensive attitude when the idea of an instinct of destruction first made its appearance in psycho analytical literature and how long it took until I became accessible to it That others should have shown the same resistance and still show it surpri es me less Tho e who love fairy tales do not like it when people speak of the innate tendencies in mankind towards aggression destruction and in addition cruelty For God has made them in his own image with his own perfections no one wants to be reminded how hard it is to reconcile the undeniable existence—in spite of all the protestations of Christian Science—of evil with His omnipotence and supreme goodness The devil is in fact the best way out in acquittal of God he can be used to play the same economic role of outlet as Jews in the world of Aryan ideals But even so one can just as well hold God responsible for the existence of the devil as for the evil he personifies In view of

Th[illegible] c[illegible] t[illegible] d[illegible]ct[illegible] betwee[illegible] th[illegible] t[illegible]eles[illegible] t[illegible] d[illegible] cy [illegible]f E[illegible] t[illegible] sp[illegible]ead[illegible] e[illegible] f[illegible] the[illegible] d[illegible]th[illegible] g[illegible] [illegible] rv[illegible] t[illegible] ature of th[illegible] [illegible]ts h[illegible] e bec[illegible]m[illegible] ry[illegible] t[illegible]ce [illegible]bl[illegible] t[illegible] w[illegible]ld[illegible] erv[illegible] s th[illegible] sta[illegible]t[illegible] g p[illegible] t[illegible] f[illegible] q[illegible] int[illegible] f[illegible] ther p[illegible]blems.

these difficulties it is expedient for every man to make humble obeisance on suitable occasions in honour of the high-minded nature of men; it will make him to become universally beloved and much shall be forgiven unto him on account of it.

The name *libido* can again be used to denote the manifestations of the power of Eros in contradistinction to the energy of the death instinct. We must confess that it is more difficult for us to detect the latter and, to a great extent, we can merely conjecture its existence as a background to Eros, also that it eludes us wherever it is not betrayed by a fusion with Eros. In sadism, where it bends the erotic aim to its own will and yet at the same time gratifies the sexual craving completely, we can obtain the clearest insight into its nature and its relation to Eros. But even where it shows itself without any sexual purpose, even in the blindest frenzy of destructiveness, one cannot ignore the fact that satisfaction of it is accompanied by an extraordinarily intense narcissistic enjoyment, due to the fulfilment it brings to the ego of its oldest omnipotence-wishes. The instinct of destruction, when tempered and harnessed (as it were, inhibited in its aim) and directed towards objects, is compelled to provide the ego with satisfaction of its needs and with power over nature. Since the assumption of its existence is based essentially on theoretical grounds, it must be confessed that it is not entirely proof against theoretical objections. But this is how things appear to us now in the present state of our knowledge; future research and reflection will undoubtedly bring further light which will decide the question.

In all that follows I take up the standpoint that the tendency to aggression is an innate, independent, instinctual disposition in man, and I come back now to the statement that it constitutes the most powerful obstacle to culture. At one point in the course of this discussion the idea took possession of us that culture was a peculiar process passing over human life and we are still under the influence of this idea. We may add to this that the process proves to be in the service of Eros, which aims at binding together single human individuals, then families, then tribes, races, nations, into one great unity, that of humanity. Why this has to be done we do not know; it is simply the work of Eros. These masses of men must be bound to one another libidinally; necessity alone, the advantages of common work, would not hold them together. The natural instinct of aggressiveness in man, the hostility of each one against all and of all against each one, opposes this programme of civilization. This instinct of aggression is the derivative and main representative of the death instinct we have found alongside of Eros, sharing his rule over the earth. And now, it seems to me, the meaning of the evolution of culture is no longer a riddle to us. It must present to us the struggle between Eros and death, between the instincts of life and the instincts of destruction, as it works itself out in the human species. This struggle is what all life essentially consists of and so the evolution of civilization may be simply described as the struggle of the human species for existence. And it is this battle of the Titans that our nurses and governesses try to compose with their lullaby-song of Heaven!

VII

WHY do the animals kin to ourselves not manifest any such cultural struggle? Oh, we don't know. Very probably some of them—bees, ants, termites—had to strive for thousands of centuries before they found the way to those State institutions, that division of function, those restrictions upon individuals which we admire them for today. It is characteristic of our present state that we know by our own feelings that we should not think ourselves happy in any of these communities of the animal world, or in any of the roles they delegate to individuals. With other animal species it may be that a temporary deadlock has been reached between the influences of their

[1] In Goethe's Mephistopheles we have a quite convincing identification of the principle of evil with the instinct of destruction:

> *All entities that [illegible]*
> *Deserve their end—[illegible]*
>
> *So all that you name sin, destruction—*
> *[illegible]*
> *That is my element [illegible]*

As his adversary the devil himself cites not what is holy and good, but the power in nature working towards the creation and renewal of life—that is, Eros.

> *From air, from [illegible] germs [illegible]*
> *[illegible] forth [illegible] free*
> *[illegible] warm [illegible]*
> *Had I [illegible] creation*
> *[illegible] for me*

Our present point of view can be roughly expressed in the statement that libido participates in every instinctual manifestation, but that not everything in that manifestation is libido.

And we may probably add more precisely that its form was necessarily determined after some event which still remains to be discovered.

environment and the instincts contending with in them so that a cessation of development has taken place In primitive man a fresh access of libido may have kindled a new spurt of energy on the part of the instinct of destruction There are a great many questions in all this to which as yet we have no answer

Another question concerns us more closely now What means does civilization make use of to hold in check the aggressiveness that opposes it to make it harmless perhaps to get rid of it? Some of these measures we have already come to know though not yet the one that is apparently the most important We can study it in the evolution of the individual What happens in him to render his craving for aggression innocuous? Something very curious that we should never have guessed and that yet seems simple enough The aggressiveness is introjected *internalized* in fact it is sent back where it came from i e directed against the ego It is there taken over by a part of the ego that distinguishes itself from the rest as a super ego and now in the form of *conscience* exercises the same propensity to harsh aggressiveness against the ego that the ego would have liked to enjoy against others The tension between the strict super ego and the subordinate ego we call the *sense of guilt* it manifests itself as the need for punishment Civilization therefore obtains the mastery over the dangerous love of aggression in individuals by enfeebling and disarming it and setting up an institution within their minds to keep watch over it like a garrison in a conquered city

As to the origin of the sense of guilt analysts have different views from those of the psychologists nor is it easy for analysts to explain it either First of all when one asks how a sense of guilt arises in anyone one is told something one cannot dispute people feel guilty (pious people call it sinful) when they have done something they know to be *bad* But then one sees how little this answer tells one Perhaps after some hesitation one will add that a person who has not actually committed a bad act but has merely become aware of the intention to do so can also hold himself guilty and then one will ask why in this case the intention is counted as equivalent to the deed In both cases however one is presupposing that wickedness has already been recognized as reprehensible as something that ought not to be put into execution How is this judgment arrived at? One may reject the suggestion of an original—as one might say natural—capacity for discriminating between good and evil Evil is often not at all that which would injure or endanger the ego on the contrary it can also be something that it desires that would give it pleasure An extraneous influence is evidently at work it is this that decides what is to be called good and bad Since their own feelings would not have led men along the same path they must have had a motive for obeying this extraneous influence It is easy to discover this motive in man s helplessness and dependence upon others it can best be designated the *dread of losing love* If he loses the love of others on whom he is dependent he will forfeit also their protection against many danger and above all he runs the risk that this stronger person will show his superiority in the form of punishing him What is bad is therefore to begin with whatever causes one to be threatened with a loss of love because of the dread of this loss one must desist from it That is why it makes little difference whether one has already committed the bad deed or only intends to do so in either case the danger begins only when the authority has found it out and the latter would behave in the same way in both cases

We call this state of mind a *bad conscience* but actually it does not deserve this name for at this stage the sense of guilt is obviously only the dread of losing love *social* anxiety In a little child it can never be anything else but in many adults too it has only changed in so far as the larger human community takes the place of the father or of both parents Consequently such people habitually permit themselves to do any bad deed that procures them something they want if only they are sure that no authority will discover it or make them suffer for it their anxiety relates only to the possibility of detection Present day society has to take into account the prevalence of this state of mind

A great change takes place as soon as the authority has been internalized by the development of a super ego The manifestations of conscience are then raised to a new level to be accurate one should not call them conscience and sense of guilt before this At this point

O f m ded f R se f mo s m d E n bl pers w f t i f

t g a ph f I fl All th t has bee d b j g d t sc d g lt m r is mm k wl dg d p t cally d p ted

the dread d[illegible]covery cea es to opera e and also care for all any d[illegible]eren e between d[illegible]ng evil and wis[illegible] t[illegible] d[illegible] m e nothing is h d den from the super-ego not even thoughts. The seri [illegible] of th[illegible] tuat on has [illegible] ed [illegible] the f t[illegible] new auth rity the super-ego has [illegible] far a we know fo ill-trea [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] mitted to be re li ed, ma i[illegible] fests itself so that on the w[illegible] e thi[illegible] remain as they were t the beginning. The super-ego torments t[illegible] sinful ego w h the s m feelings of dre and w[illegible] es for opportun[illegible] es whereby the outer wo ld can be made to punish h[illegible]

At this second t[illegible] e f development, con science exhib[illegible] s a peculiarity which was absent [illegible] first and is [illegible] t very easy to ccount fo That is the more righteous a man i th stricter and more suspicious will his conscience be so th[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] pressel those people who have carried h[illegible] es fart[illegible]es wh re proach them[illegible] [illegible]es w h the deepest s fulness. This means that virtue forfe[illegible]s some of her promised reward th[illegible] [illegible] e and abstemi ous ego does [illegible]t enjoy the tru t and confidence of its men or a[illegible]d, a[illegible] t seem[illegible] tri es in vain t earn it. Now t t[illegible] om peopl will be ready to [illegible] that these difficulties are [illegible] [illegible] A reli[illegible] [illegible] nt and [illegible]lant co [illegible] is the very [illegible]gn of a [illegible]t[illegible]ous m[illegible] and [illegible] may proclaim themselves sinners they are n t so wrong in v ew f th tempta tions [illegible] instinctual gratifica ons to whi h they are peculiarl [illegible] as w[illegible] an w temptation d b[illegible] increase under c[illegible] tan [illegible], whereas they [illegible] de[illegible] a[illegible] v rat tempora [illegible] if they re som t mes gratified. Th[illegible] field c ethics is rich in p b em and another f t[illegible] f [illegible] w f[illegible] d b e is tha[illegible] mis[illegible] [illegible] external deprivat on greatly in [illegible] t[illegible] strength f c nscience [illegible] th super-ego A long as things go well with man h[illegible] o[illegible] [illegible] is lenient and l[illegible]s the ego do all kinds f [illegible] when som ca[illegible]am t befall [illegible] [illegible] on within discov rs his s[illegible] [illegible] th standa ds of his conscience [illegible] between es on him[illegible] lf and pun[illegible]hes [illegible] with penances. Whol peoples h[illegible]

acted in this way a d [illegible] do o But th[illegible] is ea[illegible]y explained from the original infantil stage of con c ence wh ch a we thus see is not abandoned after th[illegible] [illegible] project on [illegible] to the super-ego but pers ts alo[illegible]s de a d behind the latter Fate is felt to be a [illegible] t[illegible]e for the agency of the parents adver[illegible] means th t one [illegible]s no longer loved b[illegible] th[illegible]s h[illegible] e t power of all, a d threatened b th[illegible]s los of lo e one humbles [illegible]self aga[illegible]n before the representa[illegible] e of th parents in the super-ego wh ch in happier days one had tried to d[illegible] [illegible] d This becomes especially clear when dest[illegible] y [illegible] looked upon in the [illegible] religious [illegible] as th express on of God s w l a[illegible]d n th[illegible] else. The people of I[illegible] l believed themsel es to be God's fa[illegible] ourit e ch[illegible] l en and when t e great F ther hurled v[illegible] at on after vis tat on upon them t till never [illegible] them [illegible] this bel f o caused them to d[illegible] bt His power and H[illegible] s ju tice they pro ceeded [illegible] to bri[illegible] their proph ts into the wo ld to decla e their [illegible] inful ess to them a[illegible]d out f their sense of gu t they constructed th[illegible] [illegible]ringent comma dments of th[illegible]r priestl re ligion. It is cu[illegible]ous how d[illegible] [illegible] a sa[illegible] beha es If h[illegible] h[illegible]s had h[illegible]d f rt[illegible]ne he does no [illegible]

Hence w[illegible] kn w of two sources fo feel[illegible]s of guilt th t aris[illegible] g from the dread of [illegible] h[illegible] rit and the la er one from the dread of the super ego Th firs one compels us to ren unce i[illegible] stinctual gratifica on t[illegible] o her presses over and bove this towards punishment, ince the persistence f forb dden wi[illegible] es cann t be con cealed from the [illegible]-ego W ha e also heard how the sever[illegible] of the super-ego th rigour of con cience is to be explained. It s[illegible]mply carries on the [illegible] f xternal [illegible] [illegible]ty wh ch it has s[illegible] ceeded and to ome e ter re placed. W see now h w renunciat on o in stinctual gratification is rela ed t th sen e f guil Originall [illegible]t s true renunciation is th consequen[illegible] f dread of external authori y one gi es up plea[illegible] res so n t to los t l e Ha[illegible] [illegible] mad th[illegible]s renunciation on [illegible] is quits with a th rity [illegible] t [illegible]peak no feeling of guilt should remain. B[illegible] with the dread of th super ego th ca[illegible] is different Renunciat[illegible] f gra ficatio does n t suffice here fo the w[illegible]h persists and is not capab f being hidden from the super-ego [illegible] f th renuncia[illegible] m de feel[illegible]gs guil will be experienced a d this is a grea[illegible] disadvantag [illegible]onomicall of the [illegible]ction f the super-ego or as on m[illegible] y

This increased sens[illegible] [illegible] f moral [illegible] consequence of [illegible] has been illustrated by M[illegible] k Twa[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ory [illegible] I ever S[illegible] [illegible] I am [illegible] the story himself [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] f his lec[illegible] [illegible] he had [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and asked [illegible] the [illegible] ory [illegible] the [illegible] This

of the formation of conscience Renunciation no longer has a completely absolving effect virtuous restraint is no longer rewarded by the assurance of love a threatened external unhappiness—loss of love and punishment meted out by external authority—has been exchanged for a lasting inner unhappiness the tension of a sense of guilt

These inter relations are so complicated and at the same time so important that in spite of the dangers of repetition I will consider them again from another angle The chronolo ical sequence would thus be as follows first instinct renunciation due to dread of an aggression by external authority—this is of course tantamount to the dread of loss of love for love is a protection against these punitive *aggressions Then follows the erect* [illegible] internal [illegible] due to [illegible] In the [illegible] it is the equivalence of wicked acts and wicked intentions hence comes the sense of guilt the need for punishment The aggressiveness of conscience carries on the aggressiveness of authority Thus far all seems to be clear but how can we find a place in this scheme for the effect produced by misfortune (i e renunciations externally imposed) for the effect it has of increasing the rigour of conscience? How account for the exceptional stringency of conscience in the best men those least given to rebel against it? We have already explained both these peculiarities of conscience but probably we still have an impression that these explanations do not go to the root of the matter and that they leave something still unexplained And here at last comes in an idea which is quite peculiar to psycho analysis and alien to ordinary ways of thinking Its nature enables us to understand why the whole matter necessarily seemed so confused and obscure to us It tells us this in the beginning conscience (more correctly the anxiety which later became conscience) was the cause of instinctual renunciation but later this relation is reversed Every renunciation then becomes a dynamic fount of conscience every fresh abandonment of gratification increases its severity and intolerance and if we could only bring it better into harmony with what we already know about the development of conscience we should be tempted to make the following paradoxical statement Conscience is the result of instinctual renunciation or Renunciation (externally imposed) gives rise to conscience which then demands further renunciations.

The contradiction between this proposition and our previous knowledge about the genesis of conscience is not in actual fact so very great and we can see a way in which it may be still further reduced In order to state the problem more easily let us select the example of the instinct of aggression and let us suppose that the renunciation in question is always a renunciation of aggression This is of course merely a provisional assumption The effect of instinctual renunciation on conscience then operates as *follows* every impulse of aggression which we omit to gratify is taken over by the super ego and goes to heighten its aggressiveness (against the ego) It does not fit in well with this that the original aggressiveness of conscience should represent a continuance of the rigour of external authority and so have nothing to do with renunciation But we can get rid of this discrepancy if we presume a different origin for the first quantum of aggressiveness with which the super ego was endowed

When authority prevented the child from enjoying the first but most important gratifications of all aggressive impulses of considerable intensity must have been evoked in it irrespective of the particular nature of the instinctual deprivations concerned *The child must* necessarily have had to give up the satisfaction of these revengeful aggressive wishes In this situation in which it is economically so hard pressed it has recourse to certain mechanisms well known to us by the process of identification it absorbs into itself the invulnerable authority which then becomes the super e o and comes into possession of all the aggressiveness which the child would gladly have exerci ed against it The child s ego has to content itself with the unhappy role of the authority—the father—who has been thus degraded It is as so often a reversal of the original situation If I were father and you my child I would treat *you* badly The relation between super ego and ego is a reproduction distorted by a wish of the real relations between the ego before it was subdivided and an external object That is also typical The essential difference however is that the original severity of the super ego does not—or not so much—represent the severity which has been experienced or anticipated from the object but expresses the child s own aggressiveness towards the latter If this is correct one could truly assert that conscience is formed in the beginning from the suppression of an aggressive impulse

and strengthened as time goes on by *each fresh* ren ns of the ki d.

Now which f these two theories is the true one The ea li r which seemed genet cally o ma...lable or the new one which rounds off our theories in such a welcom manner? Clear ly they are both j t fied and by the ev dence too f *direct observati n* they d not contra dict each other and eve co c d t one po nt f r the child's revengeful aggress enes will be in part provok d by the amount of puni h m... agres o that it ant c pates from the f her Experience has hown, however that the seve ty which a child s upe -ego develops in way orre po ds t the severity of the treatment t has itself experienced It seems to be independent of the latte a child which has been ery leniently treated can acquire a ery strict co science But t wo ld also be wrong to exagg rate this independence it is not difficult t as ure o eself that strict upbringin also has a stron influ nce n the f rmation of child s super-ego It c mes to this that the formati n f the super-e and the development of consc e e e determined in part by inn te const t tion l f ctors and in part by the infl enc of th actual enviro ment and that is in no w y urprising—on th c trary t is th in ari ble aetiological dition f ll such pro es es

It m y also b said that when a hild eacts to the first great instinct al depri ations with an ex es e gr s eness and a orrespo d in stri tness f ts super-ego it is ther by f llowing a phylogen t c p ototype unheedful f what reactio would in reality be ju tified f the f th f primiti tim wa ertainly t rrifying and on may safely ttribut th utm t degree f ggres en to him The diffe en s betw en the two theories f the genesis f o ce ar thus till f rther di minished if one pas es from ind 'u l to ph lo enet c development. But then on the otl er hand we find a new important dif rence between the two proces es We cannot d sregard the co clus on that man s sen e of gu lt has its orig n in the Oed pus complex and was ac qu red when the f ther was killed by the as oci at on of the broth rs At that time the agres-si n was not s ppressed but carried out a d it is this same act of agress on whose suppres-s on in the child we regard as the ource of feelin s of gu lt N w I should not be sur pri ed if a reader were to cry out a nly So it makes no d fference whether one does kill o e s father or does not one gets a feel ng of guilt in e ther ca e! *Here I should th nk* one may be allowed ome doubts E ther it is not true that guilt is evoked by upp essed aggres-eness or el e the whole story about the f th r murder s a rom nce, and primeval man d d not kill his fath r any more often than people do n wada s Bes des this f it is n t a rom nce but a plausible p ece of h tory it would only be an in t nce of what we all ex pect to happen, *namely that one feels guilty* because o e has really done someth n which cannot be justifi d And what we are all wa t ing f r i f r psycho-analys to gi e us an explanat on of this rea t n which at any rate is s meth ng that happens every d y

This is true and we must make good the omis on Th e is no great mystery about t e ther When one has feel s of gu lt after *one has committed some crime and because of* it thi feeling hould more prope ly be called *emo e* It r lates o ly t th one act and cl a ly t presupposes that *on c e ce* the ca pa ty for feel s f gu lt was l eady in ex tence before the deed Rem rse of this kind ca th *refo e ne er* help us t find out the ourc of ons ence and feelings of guilt in general. In these ev ryday instances th course of events s us lly as foll ws an *instinctual* eed cqui es th t ength to chieve fulfilment in sp te of con cien the trength of which al has ts limits whereupon the inev table reduct of th n ed fte satisfaction esto es th ea li bal e of f es Psycho-analysis is quite ju tified therefore in ex l ding the ca e f sens f guilt th u h remorse from this discus on however f equently t may oc cu and howev r great ts importance *m y* be pract lly

B t if man s sense of guilt g es b k to the m rder of the f ther that was undoubtedly an insta f *rem* e and y t r we to uppose

As has h l bee emphasized by M la Klein and the E gl h wr rs.

f h *P ych nal der G per al kk*

Franz Al xande has in nect on w th A h-horn dy f dissocial behaviou childre d s-cussed the w ma types t pathogenic me hod f tra g tha f ess seve ty d f spo li g. Th ndul lenien nd indulgen f the fosters th dev lop-men f ve trict supe -e bera se in l ce f the

that there were no conscience and feelings of guilt before the act on that occasion? If so where did the remorse come from then? This instance must explain to us the riddle of the sense of guilt and so make an end of our difficulties And it will do so as I believe This remorse was the result of the very earliest primal ambivalence of feelings towards the father the sons hated him but they loved him too after their hate against him had been satisfied by their aggressive acts their love came to expression in their remorse about the deed set up the super ego by identification with the father gave it the father's power to punish as he would have done the aggression they had performed and created the restrictions which should prevent a repetition of the deed And since impulses to aggressions against the father were repeated in the next generations the feelings of guilt too persisted and were further reinforced every time an aggression was suppressed anew and made over to the super ego At this point it seems to me we can at last clearly perceive the part played by love in the origin of conscience and the fatal inevitableness of the sense of guilt It is not really a decisive matter whether one has killed one's father or abstained from the deed one must feel guilty in either case for guilt is the expression of the conflict of ambivalence the eternal struggle between Eros and the destructive or death instinct This conflict is engendered as soon as man is confronted with the task of living with his fellows as long as he knows no other form of life in common but that of the family it must express itself in the Oedipus complex cause the development of conscience and create the first feelings of guilt When mankind tries to institute wider forms of communal life the same conflict continues to arise —in forms derived from the past—and intensified so that a further reinforcement of the sense of guilt results Since culture obeys an inner erotic impulse which bids it bind mankind into a closely knit mass it can achieve this aim only by means of its vigilance in fomenting an ever increasing sense of guilt That which began in relation to the father ends in relation to the community If civilization is an inevitable course of development from the group of the family to the group of humanity as a whole then an intensification of the sense of guilt—resulting from the innate conflict of ambivalence from the eternal struggle between the love and the death trends—will be inextricably bound up with it until perhaps the sense of guilt may swell to a magnitude that individuals can hardly support One is reminded of the telling accusation made by the great poet against the *heavenly forces*

> *Ye set our feet on this life's road*
> *Ye watch our guilty erring courses*
> *Then leave us [illegible]*
> *For each thus its every debt enforces*

And one may heave a sigh at the thought that it is vouchsafed to a few with hardly an effort to salve from the whirlpool of their own emotions the deepest truths to which we others have to force our way ceaselessly groping amid torturing uncertainties

VIII

ON reaching the end of such a journey as this the author must beg his readers to pardon him for not having been a more skilful guide not sparing them bleak stretches of country at times and laborious detours at others There is no doubt that it could have been done better I will now try to make some amends

First of all I suspect the reader feels that the discussion about the sense of guilt oversteps its proper boundaries in this essay and takes up too much space so that the rest of the subject matter which is not always closely connected with it gets pushed to one side This may have spoilt the composition of the work but it faithfully corresponds to my intention to represent the sense of guilt as the most important problem in the evolution of culture and to convey that the price of progress in civilization is paid in forfeiting happiness through the heightening of the sense of guilt What sounds puzzling in this statement which is the final conclusion of our whole investigation is probably due to the quite peculiar relation—as yet completely unexplained—

Goethe *Wilhelm Meister* Th[illegible] of th[illegible] Harpe[illegible]

[illegible]

the sense of guilt has to our consciousness. In the common cases of remorse which we think normal it becomes clearly perceptible to consciousness; indeed, we often speak of *consciousness of guilt* instead of sense of guilt. In our study of the neuroses, to which we have owed invaluable clues towards an understanding of normal people, we find some very contradictory states of affairs in this respect. In one of these maladies, the obsessional neurosis,

the sense of guilt makes itself noisily heard alongside of the other types and forms of neuroses it remains completely unconscious, without its effect being any less great, however. Our patients do not believe us when we ascribe an unconscious sense of guilt to them; in order to become even moderately intelligible to them we have to explain that the sense of guilt expresses itself in an unconscious seeking for punishment. But its connection with the form of the neurosis is not to be over-estimated; even in the obsessional neurosis there are people who are not aware of their sense of guilt, or who perceive it only as a tormenting uneasiness or kind of anxiety, and then not until they are prevented from carrying out certain actions. We ought some day to be able to understand these things; as yet we cannot. Here perhaps is the place to remark that at bottom the sense of guilt is nothing but a topographical variety of anxiety, and that in its later phases it coincides completely with the dread of the super-ego. The relation of anxiety to consciousness is characterized by the same extraordinary variations. Somewhere or other there is always anxiety hidden behind every symptom; but at one moment, however, sweeping clamorously it drowns everything; at another it so completely conceals itself that we are forced to speak of unconscious anxiety—or if we want to have a clear conscience psychologically, of anxiety of possibilities, because anxiety is after all only a perception—of possibilities of anxiety. Consequently it is very likely that the sense of guilt produced by culture is not perceived as such, and remains to a great extent unconscious, or comes to expression as a sort of uneasiness or discontent for which other motivations are sought. The different religions at any rate, have never overlooked the part played by the sense of guilt in civilization. What is more, they come forward with a claim

which I have not considered elsewhere to save mankind from this sense of guilt, which they call sin. We indeed have drawn our conclusions from the way in which in Christianity this salvation is won—the sacrificial death of one who therewith takes the whole of the common guilt of all upon himself—about the occasion on which this primal sense of guilt was first acquired, that is the occasion which was also the beginning of culture.

It will not be very important, but it may be just as well to go more precisely into the meaning of certain words like *super-ego*, *conscience*, *sense of guilt*, *need for punishment*, *remorse*, which we have perhaps often used too loosely and in place of one another. They all relate to the same situation, but they denote different aspects of it. The *super-ego* is an agency or institution in the mind whose existence we have inferred. *Conscience* is a function we ascribe among others to the super-ego; it consists of watching over and judging the actions and intentions of the ego, exercising the functions of a censor. The *sense of guilt*, the severity of the super-ego, is therefore the same thing as the rigour of conscience; it is the perception the ego has that it is watched in this way, the ego's appreciation of the tension between its own strivings and the standards of the super-ego; and the anxiety that lies behind all these relations, the dread of that critical institution, the *need for punishment*, is an instinctual manifestation on the part of the ego which has become masochistic under the influence of the sadistic super-ego; it is part of the instinct of destruction at work within itself in the ego, employed to form an erotic attachment to the super-ego. We ought not to speak of conscience before a super-ego is demonstrable; as to consciousness of guilt we must admit that it comes into being before the super-ego, therefore before conscience. At that time it is the direct expression of the dread of external authority, the recognition of the tension between the ego and this latter; it is the direct derivative of the conflict between the need for parental love and the urgency towards instinctual gratification, and it is the thwarting of this urgency that produces the tendency to aggression. It is because these two different versions of the sense of guilt—one arising from dread of the external authority, the other from dread of the internal authority—are superimposed one on the other that our

Imago ... ; The Future of an Illusion.
Totem and Taboo (1913).

insight into the relations of conscience has been hampered in so many ways *Remorse* is a general term denoting the ego s reaction under a special form of the sense of guilt it includes the almost unaltered sensory material belonging to the anxiety that is at work behind the sense of guilt it is itself a punishment and may include the need for punishment it too therefore may occur before conscience has developed

Further it will do no harm for us to review once more the contradictions which have confused us at times during our enquiries The sense of guilt we said at one point was the consequence of uncommitted aggressions but another time and in particular in the case of its historical beginning the murder of the father it was the consequence of an aggression that was carried out We also found a way out of this difficulty The development of the inner authority the super ego was precisely what radically altered the whole situation Before this the sense of guilt coincided with remorse we observe in saying this that the term *remorse* is to be reserved for the reaction after an actual performance of an aggressive deed After this the omniscience of the super ego robbed the distinction between intended aggressions and aggressions committed of its significance a mere intention to commit an act of violence could then evoke a sense of guilt—as psycho analysis has found—as well as one which has actually been committed—as all the world knows The conflict of ambivalence between the two primal instincts leaves the same impress on the psychological situation irrespective of the change that has taken place in this A temptation arises to look here for an explanation of the mystery of the varying relation between the sense of guilt and consciousness The sense of guilt which is due to remorse for an evil deed must always have been conscious that due to a perception of an evil impulse could have remained unconscious But it cannot be as simple as that the obsessional neurosis contradicts it emphatically The second contradiction was that the aggressive energy with which one imagined the super ego to be endowed was according to one view merely a continuation of the punitive energy belonging to external authority preserved within the mind whereas according to another view it consisted on the contrary of aggressive energy originating in the self levelled against this inhibiting authority but not allowed to discharge itself in actions The first view seemed to accord better with the history of the sense of guilt the second with the theory of it More searching reflection has resolved this apparently irreconcilable contradiction almost too completely what remained as essential and common to both was that in both cases we were dealing with an aggression that had been turned inward Clinical observation moreover really permits us to distinguish two sources for the aggressiveness we ascribe to the super ego each of which in any given case may be operating predominantly but which usually are both at work together

This I think is the place to suggest that a proposal which I previously put forward as a provisional assumption should be taken in earnest In the latest analytical literature a predilection has been shown for the view that any kind of privation any thwarted instinctual gratification results in a heightening of the sense of guilt or may do so I believe one obtains a great simplification of theory if one regards this as valid *only* for the aggressive instincts and that little will be found to contradict this assumption How then is it to be explained dynamically and economically that a heightening of the sense of guilt should appear in place of an unfulfilled erotic desire? This can surely only happen in a roundabout way the thwarting of the erotic gratification provokes an access of aggressiveness against the person who interfered with the gratification and then this tendency to aggression in its turn has itself to be suppressed So then it is after all only the aggression which is changed into guilt by being suppressed and made over to the super ego I am convinced that very many processes will admit of much simpler and clearer explanation if we restrict the finding of psycho analysis in respect of the origin of the sense of guilt to the aggressive instincts Reference to the clinical material here gives us no unequivocal answer because according to our own hypothesis the two kinds of instincts hardly ever appear in a pure form unmixed with each other but the investigation of extreme cases would probably point in the direction I anticipate I am tempted to extract our first advantage from this narrower conception by applying it to the repression process The symptoms of neurosis as we have learned are essentially substitutive gratifications for unfulfilled sexual wishes In the course of our ana

I p t c l t lb tl by Frn t J es
c Is cs M l Kl l I d rsta d.
th se l R k d Al d

her work we have found to our surprise that perhaps every neurosis masks a certain amount of unconscious sense of guilt which in its turn reinforces the symptoms by exploiting them as punishment. One is now inclined to suggest the following statement as a possible formulation: when an instinctual trend undergoes repression its libidinal elements are transformed into symptoms and its aggressive components into a sense of guilt. Even if this statement is only accurate as an approximation it merits our interest.

Some readers of this essay too may be under the impression that the formula of the struggle between Eros and the death instinct has been reiterated too often. It is supposed to characterize the cultural process which evolves in humanity but it has been related also to the development of the individual and besides this is supposed to have revealed the secret of organic life in general. It becomes necessary for us to examine the relation of these three processes to one another. Now the repetition of the same formula is vindicated by the consideration that the cultural processes, both in humanity and in the development of an individual, are life processes consequently they must both partake of the most universal characteristic of life. On the other hand evidence of the presence of this universal characteristic does not help us to discriminate unless it is further narrowed down by special qualifications. We can therefore set our minds at rest only if we say that the cultural process is the particular modification undergone by the life process under the influence of the task set before it by Eros and stimulated by Ananke, external necessity, and this task is that of uniting single human beings into a larger unity with libidinal attachments between them. When, however, we compare the cultural process in humanity with the process of development or upbringing in an individual human being, we shall conclude without much hesitation that the two are very similar in nature, if not in fact the same process applied to a different kind of object. The civilizing process in the human species is not really more of an abstraction than the development of an individual, and therefore hard to apprehend in concrete terms nor should the discovery of analogies be pushed to extremes but in view of the similar character of the aims of the two processes—in one the incorporation of an individual as a member of a group and in the other the creation of a [illegible] group out of many individuals—the similarity of the means employed and of the results obtained in the two cases is no surprise. In view of its exceptional importance we must no longer postpone mention of one feature differentiating the two processes. The *development of the individual* is ordered according to the program laid down by the pleasure principle, namely the attainment of happiness, and to this main objective it holds firmly; *the incorporation of the individual* as a member of a community or his adaptation to it, seems like an almost unavoidable condition which has to be filled before he can attain this objective of happiness. If he could achieve it without fulfilling this condition, it would perhaps be better. To express it differently, we may say: Individual development seems to us a product of the interplay of two trends, the striving for happiness, generally called *egoistic*, and the impulse towards merging with others in the community which we call *altruistic*. Neither of these descriptions goes far beneath the surface. In individual development, as we have said, the main accent falls on the egoistic trend, the striving for happiness, while the other tendency, which may be called the *cultural* one, usually contents itself with instituting restrictions. But things are different in the development of culture: here far the most important aim is that of *creating a single unity* out of individual men and women, while the objective of happiness, though still present, is pushed into the background; it almost seems as if humanity could be most successfully united into one great whole if there were no need to trouble about the happiness of individuals. The process of development in individuals must therefore be admitted to have its special features which are not repeated in the cultural evolution of humanity; the two processes only necessarily coincide in so far as the first also includes the aim of incorporation into the community.

Just as a *planet circles* around its *central* body while at the same time rotating on its own axis, so the individual man takes his part in the course of humanity's development as he goes on his way through life. But to our dull eyes the play of forces in the heavens seems set fast in a never-changing scheme; though in organic life we can still see how the forces contend with one another and the results of the conflict change from day to day. So in every individual the two trends, one towards personal happiness and the other towards unity with th[illegible]

rest of humanity must contend with each other so must the two processes of individual and of cultural development oppose each other and dispute the ground against each other This struggle between individual and society however is not derived from the antagonism of the primal instincts Eros and death which are probably irreconcilable it is a dissension in the camp of the libido itself comparable to the contest between the ego and its objects for a share of the libido and it does eventually admit of a solution in the individual as we may hope it will also do in the future of civilization—however greatly it may oppress the lives of individuals at the present time

The analogy between the process of cultural evolution and the path of individual development may be carried further in an important respect It can be maintained that the community too develops a super ego under whose influence cultural evolution proceeds It would be an enticing task for an authority on human systems of culture to work out this analogy in specific cases I will confine myself to pointing out certain striking details The super ego of any given epoch of civilization originates in the same way as that of an individual it is based on the impression left behind them by great leading personalities men of outstanding force of mind or men in whom some one human tendency has developed in unusual strength and purity often for that reason very disproportionately In many instances the analogy goes still further in that during their lives—often enough even if not always—such persons are ridiculed by others ill used or even cruelly done to death just as happened with the primal father who also rose again to become a deity long after his death by violence The most striking example of this double fate is the figure of Jesus Christ if indeed it does not itself belong to the realm of mythology which called it into being out of a dim memory of that primordial event Another point of agreement is that the cultural super ego just like that of an individual sets up high ideals and standards and that failure to fulfil them is punished by both with *anxiety of conscience* In this particular indeed we come across the remarkable circumstance that the mental processes concerned here are actually more familiar to us and more accessible to consciousness when they proceed from the group than they can be in the individual In the latter when tension arises the aggressions of the super-ego voicing its noisy reproaches are all that is perceived while its injunctions themselves often remain unconscious in the background If we bring them to the knowledge of consciousness we find that they coincide with the demands of the prevailing cultural super ego At this point the two processes that of the evolution of the group and the development of the individual are always firmly mortised together so to speak Consequently many of the effects and properties of the super ego can be more easily detected through its operations in the group than in the individual

The cultural super ego has elaborated its ideals and erected its standard Those of its demands which deal with the relations of human beings to one another are comprised under the name of *ethics* The greatest value has at all times been set upon systems of ethics as if men had expected them in particular to achieve something especially important And ethics does in fact deal predominantly with the point which is easily seen to be the sorest of all in any scheme of civilization Ethics must be regarded therefore as a therapeutic effort as an endeavour to achieve something through the standards imposed by the super ego which had not been attained by the work of civilization in other ways We already know—it is what we have been discussing—that the question is how to dislodge the greatest obstacle to civilization the constitutional tendency in men to aggressions against one another and for that very reason the commandment to love one's neighbour as oneself—probably the most recent of the cultural super ego's demands—is especially interesting to us In our investigation and our therapy of the neuroses we cannot avoid finding fault with the super ego of the individual on two counts in commanding and prohibiting with such severity it troubles too little about the happiness of the ego and it fails to take into account sufficiently the difficulties in the way of obeying it—the strength of instinctual cravings in the id and the hardships of external environment Consequently in our therapy we often find ourselves obliged to do battle with the super ego and work to moderate its demands Exactly the same objections can be made against the ethical standards of the cultural super ego It too does not trouble enough about the mental constitution of human beings it enjoins a command and never asks whether or not it is possible for them to obey it It presumes on the contrary that a man's ego is psychologically capable of anything that is required of it—that his ego has

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It seems to me that the point of view which seeks to trace in the phenomena of cultural evolution as manifestations of a super-ego promises to yield still further discoveries. I am coming quickly to an end. There is one question, however, which I can hardly evade. If the evolution of civilization has such a far reaching similarity with the development of an individual, and if the same methods are employed in both, would not the diagnosis be justified that many systems of civilization—or epochs of it—possibly even the whole of humanity—have become neurotic under the pressure of the civilizing trends? To analytic dissection of these neuroses, therapeutic recommendations might follow which could claim great practical interest. I would not say that such an attempt to apply psychoanalysis to civilized society would be fanciful or doomed to fruitlessness. But it behooves us to be very careful not to forget that after all we are dealing only with analogies, and that it is dangerous, not only with men but also with concepts, to drag them out of the region where they originated and have matured. The diagnosis of collective neuroses, moreover, will be confronted by a special difficulty. In the neurosis of an individual we can use as a starting-point the contrast presented to us between the patient and his environment which we assume to be normal. No such background as this would be available for any society; it would have to be supplied in some other way. And with regard to any therapeutic application of our knowledge, what would be the use of the most acute analysis of social neuroses, since no one possesses power to compel the community to adopt the therapy. In spite of all these difficulties, we may expect that one day someone will venture upon this research into the pathology of civilized communities.

For various reasons, it is very far from my intention to express any opinion concerning the value of human civilization. I have endeavoured to guard myself against the enthusiastic partiality which believes our civilization to be the most precious thing that we possess or could acquire, and thinks it must inevitably lead us to undreamed-of heights of perfection. I can at any rate listen without taking umbrage to those critics who aver that when one surveys the aims of civilization and the means it employs, one is bound to conclude that all the effort is not worth while and that the outcome can only be a state of things which the individual will be unable to bear. My impartiality is all the easier to me since I know very little about these things and am sure of only one thing, that the judgements of value made by mankind are immediately determined by their desires for happiness; in other words, that those judgements are attempts to prop up their illusions with arguments. I could understand it very well if anyone were to point to the inevitable nature of the process of cultural development and say, for instance, that the tendency to impose restrictions upon sexual life, or to carry humanitarian ideals into effect at the cost of natural selection, are developmental trends which it is impossible to avert or divert and to which it is best for us to submit as though they were natural necessities. I know, too, the objection that can be raised against this, that tendencies such as these which are believed to have insuperable

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pon systems of ethics as if men had expected them in particular to achieve something especially important And ethics does in fact deal predominantly with the point which is easily seen to be the sorest of all in any scheme of civilization Ethics must be regarded therefore as a therapeutic effort as an endeavour to achieve something through the standards imposed by the super ego which had not been attained by the work of civilization in other ways We already know—it is what we have been discussing—that the question is how to dislodge the greatest obstacle to civilization the constitutional tendency in men to aggressions against one another and for that very reason the commandment to love one's neighbour as oneself—probably the most recent of the cultural super ego's demands—is especially interesting to us In our investigation and our therapy of the neuroses we cannot avoid finding fault with the super ego of the individual on two counts in commanding and prohibiting with such severity it troubles too little about the happiness of the ego and it fails to take into account sufficiently the difficulties in the way of obeying it—the strength of instinctual cravings in the id and the hardships of external environment Consequently in our therapy we often find ourselves obliged to do battle with the super-ego and work to moderate its demands Exactly the same objections can be made against the ethical standards of the cultural super ego It too does not trouble enough about the mental constitution of human beings it enjoins a command and never asks whether or not it is possible for them to obey it It presumes on the contrary that a man's ego is psychologically capable of anything that is required of it—that his ego has

... ed power over his id. This is an error ... even in so-called normal people the power of controlling the id cannot be increased beyond certain limits. If one asks more of them, one produces revolt or neurosis in individuals or makes them unhappy. The command to love our neighbours as ourselves is the strongest defence against human aggressiveness and ... of the ... super-ego. The command is impossible to fulfil; such an ... can only lower its ... not ... remedy the evil. Civilization pays no ... all ... merely ... the harder ... the more laudable the obedience ... The ... follows ... present ... of civilization ... a ... those who ... What a ... the ... civilization ... must be ... can ... use as much ... threatened ... offer here beyond ... the satisfaction of ... better than ... The ... ethics that ... promises of a better future life. I ... as long as virtue is not rewarded ... ethics will preach in vain. I too ... that ... real change ... to property would be ... help ... than ... among the Socialists ... proposed ... by ... realistic ... idealistic ... of the ... human nature ...

... seems to me that the ... view which ... the phenomena of cultural evolution as manifestations of a super-ego promises to yield still further discoveries. I am ... quickly to an end. There is one question, however, which I can hardly ignore. If the evolution of civilization has such a far reaching similarity with the development of an individual, and if the same methods are employed in both, would not the diagnosis be justified that many systems of civilization—or epochs of it—possibly even the whole of humanity—have become neurotic under the pressure of the civilizing trends? To analytic ... of these neuroses therapeutic recommendations might follow which could claim a great practical interest. I would not say that such an attempt to apply psychoanalysis to civilized society would be fanciful or doomed to fruitlessness. But it behooves us to be very careful not to forget that after all we are dealing only with analogies, and that it is dangerous not only with men but also with concepts to drag them out of the region where they originated and have matured. The diagnosis of collective neuroses, moreover, will be ... by a special difficulty. In the neurosis of an individual we can use as a starting point the contrast presented to us between the patient and his environment which we assume to be normal. No such background as this would be ... for any society similarly affected; it would have to be ... some other way. And with regard to any therapeutic application of our knowledge, what would be the use of the most acute analysis of social neuroses, since no one possesses power to compel the community to adopt the therapy? In ... of all these difficulties we may expect that one day someone will venture upon this research into the pathology of civilized communities.

For various reasons it is very far from my intention to express an opinion concerning the value of human civilization. I have endeavoured to guard myself against the enthusiastic partiality which believes our civilization to be the most precious thing that we possess ... and thinks it must ... lead us to undreamed-of heights of perfection. I can ... with ... those critics who ... that when one surveys the aims of civilization and the means it employs, one is bound to conclude that the whole thing is not worth the effort and that ... end ... only ... of things which ... dual ... to bear. My ... that ... all the easier to me ... I know very little about these things and am sure only of ... that the judgements of value made by mankind are immediately determined by their desires for happiness; in other words that ...

... table nature of the process ... development and say, for instance, that the tendency to institute restrictions upon sexual life or to carry humanitarian ideals into effect at the cost of natural ... developmental trends which it is impossible to ... or divert, and to which it is best for us to submit as though they were natural necessities. I know, too, the objection that can be raised against this, that tendencies such as these which are believed to have insuperable

power behind them have often in the history of man been thrown aside and replaced by others My courage fails me therefore at the thought of rising up as a prophet before my fellow men and I bow to their reproach that I have no consolation to offer them for at bottom this is what they all demand—the frenzied revolutionary as passionately as the most pious believer

The fateful question of the human species seems to me to be whether and to what extent the cultural process developed in it will succeed in mastering the derangements of communal life caused by the human instinct of aggression and self destruction In this connection perhaps the phase through which we are at this moment passing deserves special interest Men have brought their powers of subduing the forces of nature to such a pitch that by using them they could now very easily exterminate one another to the last man They know this—hence arises a great part of their current unrest their dejection their mood of apprehension And now it may be expected that the other of the two *heavenly forces* eternal Eros will put forth his strength so as to maintain himself alongside of his equally immortal adversary

New Introductory Lectures on Psycho Analysis

Contents

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PREFACE

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every F culty The first half of th lec u s were improvised, and written down immed ately afterwards th second half were composed dur ng an nt rvening summe vacation in Salz burg and were deli red word f r word in the following winte In th e days I still possessed the gift of a phon graphic memory

In contradi tinction to th m th se new lec tures ha e never been deli ered M a e has in the meantime relie ed me f th duty f ma k ng m membership f the Un ers ty—even though the relation only peripheral one— by gi ing l ctures nd rgical peratio has rendered me incapabl f dd es ing an di ence It is th fore nly in im in t n that I picture myself e mo in the l cture oom as I wnt ut wh t f ll ws t may help me n t t f t m duty to the eader I d l e deeper into my bject.

Th ew lectures re n wa tended to take th place f th earlier o es They d not mpose an indepe dent whol which could hope t find ci cl of re d rs of ts wn b t they are o tinuati s and upplements which fall into th ee groups in their elat on to the earli lectures To th first group belong the new tramp lati ns f them which ha l read been dealt with fifteen ears go b t whi h demand f rther treatment on a unt f th deepening f o kn wl dg and th ltera ti f ur ews thi group co ts that is t sa f critical es Th tw th gr ups ontain ctual enlargements f ur field in that they deal with matters which e ther did not exist in psycho-analysis at the time of the first lectures or about wh ch too little was known at that time to justif a pecial chapter headi g It cannot be a oided but it is also not to be deplored that some of the new lectures unite the characterist cs of these groups

I ha e moreo r emphasized the depend ence of these new lectures on the *I t od ctory Lectures* by numbering them in co ti uat on of the old o es Thus the first lecture in this book is called the Twenty-n nth Once m re they offer to the nal tic special st l ttle that is new and they are addressed to that large group of educated perso s to whom let us hope one can ascribe benevolent if cauti us interest in the pecial n ture and d co ries of th s young scien e And this t me again it has been m guiding purpose to make no sacrifice in fa our of apparent implicity completeness and fi al ty not to hide any problems and not to den th existence of gap and uncerta nt es I n

t

wo k stro omy would feel d sappo ted and co temptuous of that ci ce f h were sh wn the point t wh h ur knowledge of the uni ers m lts into ob curity O ly in psy ch lo y s t oth rwi e h e the c tit t o l incapacity f men f scient fic rese ch comes into f ll ew It looks as th ugh peopl d d n t expect from psy hol gy p re in knowl edge but om other kind of sat fa t on every un lved pr bl m e ry a kn wled ed u ce tai ty t rned int a gr u d f ompl t against t

Anyo who l es the c ence f the m d mu t accept these hard hip as well.

FREUD

VIENNA S mmer 1932

LECTURE 29

RE ISIO OF HE THEORY OF DREAMS

LADIES A D GE TLEMEN Aft silence f m re than fifteen years, I ha brought y u tog th gain n order to discuss with you the ew dev lopment t may be impro ement which ha e taken place in ps cho-analyt c th ry during the interval From m re than e point f view it is right and proper that we

A General Introduc ion Psycho-Analy p 449 bo

should turn our attention in the first place to the theory of dreams This theory occupies a peculiar position in the history of psycho analysis it marks a turning point With the theory of dreams analysis passed from being a psycho therapeutic method to being a psychology of the depths of human nature Ever since then the theory of dreams has remained the most characteristic and the most peculiar feature of the young science something which has no parallel in the rest of scientific kno[illegible] new [illegible] the [illegible] strang[illegible] ideas which are necessarily involved in it has made it into a shibboleth the use of which distinguishes those who might become believers in psycho analysis from those who are incapable of comprehending it Speaking for myself I always found it a thin I could hold on to during those difficult times when the unsolved problems of the neuroses used to confuse my inexperienced judgment Whenever I began to have doubts about the correctness of my tentative conclusions the moment I managed to translate a senseless and complicated dream into a clear and intelligible mental process in the dreamer I felt with renewed confidence that I was on the right track

It is therefore of especial interest for us to follow in regard to this particular matter of the theory of dreams what changes psycho analysis has undergone during the interval I have mentioned and what progress it has made in gaining appreciation and understanding from contemporary thought I may as well tell you straight away that you will be disappointed in both directions

Let us look through the volumes of the *Internationale Zeitschrift fur (ar tliche) Psychoanalyse* in which the most important work on our subject has appeared since 1913 In the earlier volumes you will find one recurring heading On the Interpretation of Dreams under which will be a quantity of contributions on various points of dream theory But the further you go the rarer such contributions become this standing heading eventually disappears entirely The analysts behave as though they had nothing more to say about the dream as though the whole subject of dream theory were finished and done with If on the other hand you ask how much of the theory of dreams is accepted by outsiders the numerous psychiatrists and psycho therapeutists who warm their pot of soup at our fire—without indeed being very grateful for our hospitality—the so called educated people who are in the habit of appropriating the more startling of the conclusions of science the literati and the general public then the answer is not very satisfactory A few formulae are generally known and among them several which we have never put forward such as the statement that all dreams are of a sexual nature but even such important things as the fundamental distinction between the manifest dream content and the latent dream thoughts the view that anxiety dreams do not contradict the wish fulfilling function of the dream the impossibility of interpretin a dream unless one knows the relevant associations of the dreamer and above all the recognition of the fact that the most important part of the dream is the dream work seem every one of them to be as far removed from the consciousness of the generality of mankind as they were thirty years a o I myself have every reason to say this because during that period I have received an enormous number of letters in which the writers inscribe their dreams for interpretation or ask for information about the nature of dreams They declare that they have read the *Interpretation of Dreams* and yet in every sentence they betray their lack of understanding of our dream theory That will not prevent our once more giving an account of what we know about dreams You will remember that last time we devoted a whole group of lectures to showing how we have come to understand this hitherto unexplained psychic phenomenon

Supposin some one says a patient under analysis tells us one of his dreams then we assume that he has made one of those communications to us to which he committed himself when he entered on his analytical treatment It is of course a communication which is insufficiently communicative because a dream is in itself not a social utterance it is not a means for making one elf understood We hav not indeed the least idea what the dreamer wishes to say and he him elf knows no better than our elves At the out et we have to make a quick decision On the one hand the dream may be as the non analytical physicians assure us an indication that the dreamer has slept badly that not all the parts of his brain achieved a uniform tate of re t that certain regions of it endeavoured to go on working under the influence of unknown stimuli and could only do o in a very incomplete way If that is the case then we are quite right not to bother ourselves any longer over this psycho

ically worthless product of nocturnal disturbance. *For how could we expect from the* investigation of such things to arrive at anything useful for our purposes On the other hand, however—but it is clear that from the outset we have decided otherwise We have—perhaps quite arbitrarily—made the assumption, put forward the postulate that even this unintelligible dream must be a perfectly valid sensible and valuable psychic act of which we can make use in the analysis just like any other *communication.* Only the result of our experiment can show us whether we are right If we succeed in turning the dream into a valuable utterance of this kind then we obviously have a chance of learning something new and of obtaining information of such a sort as otherwise would remain inaccessible to us

Now however the difficulties of our task and the puzzling nature of our theme become apparent. How are we going to set about turning a dream into a normal communication and how are we going to explain that a part of the utterance of our patient has taken on a form which is as unintelligible for him as for us?

You will observe ladies and gentlemen that this time I am not expounding the subject on genetic lines, but I am speaking dogmatically The first thing we have to do is to lay the foundations of our new attitude towards the problem of the dream by introducing two new concepts and two new names We call what one usually refers to as the dream the dream text or the *manifest* dream and what we are looking for what we suspect to lie behind the dream the *latent* dream thoughts Now we can express our two problems in the following way we have got to turn the manifest dream into the latent dream and we have to show how the latter became the former in the mental life of the dreamer The first bit is a practical problem it comes under the heading of *dream interpretation* and requires a technique; the second is a theoretical problem its solution has been the explanation of the hypothetical *dream work* and can only be theory Both the technique of dream interpretation and the theory of the dream work have to be built up from the beginning

Which bit shall we begin with? I think we ought to start with the technique of dream interpretation It has a clearer outline and will make a more vivid impression on you

The patient then has described a dream which we have to interpret We have listened quietly without making use of our powers of reflection What do we do next? We determine to bother our heads as little as possible over what we have heard—over the *manifest* dream that is to say Naturally this manifest dream displays all sorts of characteristics to which we are not completely indifferent It may be coherent smoothly composed like a literary work or unintelligibly confused almost like a delirium it may have absurd elements or jokes and apparently brilliant inferences it may seem clear and well defined to the dreamer or it may be dim and indefinite the pictures in it may have the full sensuous force of a perception or they may be as shadowy and vague as a mist The greatest variety of characteristics [illegible] various

[illegible]

by a very strong pleasurable or painful effect You must not think that we regard this endless variety as a matter of no importance we

[illegible]

[interpre]tation of the dream This means that we ask the dreamer as well to free himself from the impression of the manifest dream to switch his attention from the dream as a whole to individual parts of its content and to tell us one after another the things that occur to him in connection with these parts, what associations come into his mind when he turns his mental eye to each of them separately

That is a curious technique is it not? It is not the usual way to treat a communication or an utterance You guess of course that behind this procedure there lie concealed assumptions

[illegible]

follow the chronological order in which the dream has been presented to us in description That is what one might call the strictest the classical method. Or we can ask the dreamer to look for the *residues of the previous day* in his dream because experience has taught us that in almost every dream is incorporated a memory trace of an allusion to an event (or it may be several events) of the previous day and if we follow up these links we often discover all of a sudden the bridge from the apparently remote dream world to the real life of the patient. Or we tell him to begin with those elements in the dream content which have

struck him on account of their clarity and sensuous force We happen to know that it is particularly easy for him to obtain associations to such elements It makes no difference by which of these ways we choose to reach the associations we are looking for

And now let us consider these associations They consist of the most varied material mem ories of the day before the dream day and memories of times long since passed delibera tions arguments for and against admissions and questionings A great many of them are poured out by the patient with ease while he hesitates when he reaches others Most of them show a clear connection with one of the ele ments of the dream and no wonder because they have actually sprung from these elements but it may also happen that the patient intro- duces them with the words That doesn t seem to have anything to do with the dream at all I say it because it comes into my head

When one listens to this flood of ideas one soon notices that they have more in common with the content of the dream than the mere fact that it provided them with their origin They throw an astonishingly clear light on all the parts of the dream they fill in the gaps between them and they make their odd juxta position intelligible Finally we must get clear the relation between them and the content of the dream The dream seems to be an abridged extract from the associations which has been put together in accordance with rules which we have not yet considered its elements are like the representatives of a multitude which have been chosen by vote There is no doubt that our technique has enabled us to discover what the dream has replaced and wherein lies its psychological value and what we have dis covered displays no longer the bewildering pe culiarities of the dream its strangeness and its confused nature

But let us have no misunderstanding The associations to the dream are not the latent dream thoughts These are contained but not completely contained in the associations On the one hand the associations produce a great deal more than we require for the formulation of the latent dream thoughts namely all the elaborations the transitions and the connect ing links which the intellect of the patient must produce on the road which leads to the dre m h

now play a part ourselves we follow up the indications we draw inevitable conclusions and bring out into the open what the patient in his associations has only touched upon That sounds as if we allow our cleverness and ou

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wha business to find there and indeed it is no easy matter to show the pro priety of our behaviour in an abstract exposi tion But if you try a dream analysis your selves or make yourselves familiar with a well described example from our lite

g u predominantly dependent on the associations of the dreamer nevertheless we treat certain elements of the content quite in dependently—mainly because we have to be cause as a rule associations refuse to come We noticed at an early stage that this happens always in connection with the same material these elements are not very numerous and long experience has taught us that they are to be taken as *symbols* for something else and to be interpreted as such In comparison with the other elements of the dream one can give them a permanent meanin which need not however be ambiguous and the limits of which are de termined by special laws which are of an un usual kind Since we understand how to trans late these symbols while the dreamer does not although he himself has made use of them it may very well be that the sense of the dream is immediately clear to us even before we have begun the work of dream interpretation as soon as we have heard the text of the dream while the dreamer himself is still puzzled by it But in the earlier lectures I have already said so much about symbolism about our knowledge of it and about the special problems to which it gives rise that I need not go over the same ground again today

That then is our method of dream interpre tation The next and very proper question is Can we by these means interpret every dream? And the answer is No not every one but so many that we can afford to be absolutely cer tain about the utility and correctness of our procedure But why not all? The recent answer to this question will teach us something im portant which has a bearing on the psychologi cal conditions of dream formation It is be cause the work of interpretation is carried on

n t.. f.ce of resist..nce wh ch may vary from
a imperceptibl amount to an amount so gre t
t..t we ca...ot overcome t—at any rate with
t.. means which are at present at our d sposal

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already provi es us ... ...e ... ...
o..r places the pati nt pau es and hes t tes
be ore he utters an a sociat on and then one
... has to li en to long chain of ideas
be re e gets anythin wh ch is of any use
for t..e understanding of th dream We are
right in ...posing t..at th l ge d th more
... the chain f associa ons the stronger
is th resi..tance. And in the f rgetting of
dreams too we sense th same infl en e Often
... it happens that howev much h may
try the patient cann t remembe on f h s
dream. B t when by a p ce f alyt cal
work, w ha e rem ed a difficulty wh ch has
been disturbing th patient in his relat on to
th anal..s t.. f rgotten dream will ome into
his mind quite suddenly Two m r observa
tions may be men oned here It ry often
happens that a p ece f the dre..m is missing
which is even..ually added as an afterthou..ht.
This is t be regarded an ttempt to forget
t..t particu..r pi ce Experience shows that it
is this very p..ece of th dream which is the
most valuab we uppose that a stronger re-
tan stood in the way f its communica
tion than was th ca with the other parts.
And, furtherm re w often fi..d th..t a patient
may try to combat th f rgetti... f his dreams
by writing t..em down immediately fter he
wakes up We may as well tel him that t is
useless t d because the resistan from
...ch he may ha preserved th text f the
dream will then tran..fer ..self t th associa
tions and render th ma..ifest dream ina cessib e
for in erpretation This being the case we
need ot be surprised if a further increase f
th resist..nce s..ppresses the a...ociations alto-
ge..er a..d thus frustrates th interpreta..on
of th dream en..rely

From all this w draw t..e conc..sion t..t the
resistance which we om across during the
process of dream ...erpretation must play
some par in t.. formation f t.. dream as
w ll. One can ..ually distin....h between
d eams which have been formed under low
pressure f resi.....ce and those in which t..
res tance h..s been high. B.. th..s pressure also
c..anges wi...n the ..am.. dream from one place
to a other it is respons ble for the gaps the
ob curit es and the confusion which may up et
the coherence of the mo t beautiful dreams

But what is the res tance doing here and
wh t is it resisting? Now for us a res stance is
the sure s gn of a conflict There mu t be a
force present wh ch is tryi g to express ome
thing and another which is stri ing to prevent
its express on What comes into bein as the
man fest dream may th refore be regarded as
comprisin all the solutions to which the battle
between these two opposing forces can be re
duced At one point one of the forces may ha e
bee able to get throu..h what it wanted to say
at a other the counteracting fo ce ma ha e
succeeded in aboli hin the intended com
municat on ent rel or may ha e substit ted
for t om thin which betrays no s n of it.
Th m st usual ca es, and those which are the
mo t characteristic of the process of dream
formati re tho e in whi h the conflict re
sults in a compromise o that the commun cat
in force can ind ed say what t wants to say

pretat on is necessary to bridge the gulf
between the tw this s the result of the c un
teracting inhib tin and restrainin.. force
wh e existence we ha e inferred from percei
ing the resi..tance in dream interpretat on. So
long as we regarded the d m as n is lated
phenomenon independ nt of other ps chologi
cal f rmations which are all ed to it we called
this fo ce th *d e m-censor*

You ha e l g been familiar with the f ct
that this cen..orsh p is not a mechani..m which is
peculiar to dreams You remembe that the
conflict of two psychic factors which we—
roughly—call the *repre ed uncon cious* and
the *conscious* domin tes our li e and that the
esi..tance gain t the interpretation f dre ms
th hall ma k of the dream-cen rship is n n
oth r than the repress on esistance wh ch
keeps these tw f ctors part You also kn w
that, under ertain condit on other psycholog
cal form..tions emerg f m th conflict between
these sam f ctors formations whi h a e the
result f mp mises just as dreams are and
you will n t requir m t repeat all that is
in lved in my introduction t th theory f
the neuroses in order t put bef re you what
we know abo t th conditions under whi h such
compromise formations m bout. You will
have realized that th dream is a pathological

product the first member of the series which includes the hysterical symptom the obsession and the delusion among its members it is differentiated from the others by its transitoriness and by the fact that it occurs under conditions which are part of normal life For we must never forget that the dream life is as Aristotle has already told us the way our mind works during sleep The state of sleep represents a turning away from the real external world and thus provides a necessary condition for the development of a psychosis The most penetrating study of serious cases of psychosis will reveal no characteristic which is more typical of these patholo ical conditions In psychoses however the turning away from reality is brou ht about in two ways either because the repressed unconscious is too strong o that it overwhelms the conscious which tries to cling on to reality or because reality has become so unbearably painful that the threatened ego in a de pairing gesture of opposition throws itself into the arms of the unconscious impulses The harmless dream psychosis is the result of a consciously willed and only temporary withdrawal from the external world it ceases to operate when relations with the external world are resumed While the sleeper is i olated there is an alteration in the di tribution of his psychic energy part of the repressive expenditure which is otherwise u ed to keep down the unconscious can be aved for if the unconscious makes use of its relative freedom and enters on some activity it finds the avenue to motor expression stopped up and only the innocent outlet of hallucinatory satisfaction open to it It can now therefore form a dream but the fact of dream censorship shows that enou h repressive resistance remains operative even during sleep

Here we have an opportunity of answering the question whether the dream has also a function to perform whether any u eful ta k is entrusted to it The condition of repo e without timuli which the state of sleep attempts to bring about is threatened from three sides in a chance fashion by external stimuli during sleep by interests of the day before which have not yet abated and in an unavoidable m nner by the unsati fied repre ed impulses which are ready to seize on any opportunity for expression On account of the ni htly reduction of the repres ive forces the risk is run that the repose of sleep will be broken every time the outer and inner disturbances manage to link up with one of the unconscious sources of energy The dre m process allows the re ult of such a combination to discharge itself through the channel of a harmless hallucinatory experience and thus insures the continuity of sleep There is no contradiction of this function in the fact that the dream sometimes wakes the sleeper in a state of anxiety it is rather a sign that the watcher re ards the situation as being too dangerous and no lon er thinks he can cope with it Quite often indeed while we are still asleep we are aware of the comforting thou ht which is there to prevent our waking up After all it is only a dream

That is all ladies and gen lemen that I wanted to say about dream interp etation the business of which is to tra [illegible] h manifest d [illegible] When i [illegible] dream f [illegible] p int of view of practical analysis fades The analyst links up the communication which he has received in the form of a dream with the patient s other communications and proceed with the analysis We however wish to linger a little longer over the dream we ar tempted to study the proces by means of which the latent dream thoughts are transformed into the manife t dream We call thi the *dream work* You will remember that in the previous lectures I described it in such detail that for today s review of the subject I c n confine my elf to the briefest summary

The process of dream work is somethin quite new and strange the like of which has never before been known It ha given us our first glimpse into those proce ses which o on in our unconscious mental system and shows us that they are quite different from what we know about our conscious thou ht and that to this latter they mu t necessarily appear faulty and preposterous The importance of this discovery is increa ed when we realize that the same mechani ms—we hardly dare call them thought processes —are at work *in the formation of neurotic symptoms* as have turned the latent dream thoughts into the manifest dream

In what follows I cannot avoid making my exposition a chematic one Suppo ing we have before us in a given instance all the latent thoughts more or less affectively toned which have taken the place of the manife t dream after a complete interpretation We shall then notice a distinction among them and th s distinction will take us a long way Almo t all these dream thoughts will be recognized or acknowledged by the dreamer he will admit that he thought thus at one time or another or that

may very well have done so. But he may meet the representation of one impulse that seems to him strange, perhaps even repellent; it may be that he will passionately repudiate it. It then becomes clear to us that the other thoughts are bits of his conscious, or more correctly of his preconscious thought; they might very well have been thought during waking life, and have probably formed themselves during the day. This one rejected thought, or better, this one impulse, is a child of the night; it belongs to the unconscious of the dreamer and is therefore disowned and repudiated by him. It had to wait till the nightly relaxation of repression in order to achieve any sort of expression. In any case this expression that it obtains is enfeebled, distorted and disguised; without the work of interpretation we should never have discovered it. It is thanks to its connection with the other unobjectionable dream-thoughts that this unconscious impulse has had the opportunity of slipping past the barrier of the censorship in an inconspicuous disguise; on the other hand, the preconscious dream-thoughts owe to this same connection their power of occupying the mental life even during sleep. We can, indeed, be in no doubt about this: the unconscious impulse is the real creator of the dream; it provides the psychic energy required for its formation. Just like any other instinctual impulse it can do nothing other than seek its own satisfaction, and our experience in dream-interpretation shows us moreover that this is the meaning of all dreaming. In every dream an instinctual wish is displayed as fulfilled. The nightly cutting-off of mental life from reality and the regression to primitive mechanisms which it makes possible enable the desired instinctual satisfaction to be experienced in a hallucinatory fashion as actually happening. On account of the same regression, ideas are turned into visual pictures in the dream; the latent dream-thoughts are, that is to say, dramatized and illustrated.

From this piece of dream-work we obtain information about some of the most striking and peculiar characteristics of the dream. Let me repeat the stages of dream-formation. The introduction: the wish to sleep, the voluntary withdrawal from the outside world. Two things follow from this: firstly, the possibility for older and more primitive modes of activity to manifest themselves, i.e. regression; and secondly, the decrease of the repression-resistance which weighs on the unconscious. As a result of this latter factor, an opportunity for dream-formation presents itself, which is seized upon by the factors which are the occasion of the dream, that is to say, the internal and external stimuli which are in activity. The dream which thus eventuates is already a compromise-formation; it has a double function: it is on the one hand in conformity with the ego (*ego-syntonic*), since it subserves the wish to keep by draining off the stimuli which would otherwise disturb it, while on the other hand it [illegible] The whole process of dream formation, which is permitted by the sleeping ego, is however under the control of the censorship, which is exercised by what is left of the forces of repression. I cannot explain the process more simply, because it is not in itself simpler than that. But now I can proceed with the description of the dream-work.

Let us go back once more to the latent dream-thoughts. Their dominating element is the repressed impulse which has obtained some kind of expression, toned down and disguised though it may be, by associating itself with stimuli which happen to be there and by tacking itself on to the residue of the day before. Just like any other impulse this one presses forward towards satisfaction in action, but the path to motor discharge is closed to it on account of the physiological characteristics of the state of sleep, and so it is forced to travel in the retrograde direction to perception and content itself with an hallucinatory satisfaction. The latent dream-thoughts are therefore turned into a collection of sensory images and visual scenes. As they are travelling in this direction something happens to them which seems to us new and bewildering. All the verbal apparatus by means of which the more subtle thought-relations are expressed, the conjunctions and prepositions, the variations of declension and conjugation, are lacking, because the means of portraying them are absent: just as in primitive, grammarless speech, only the raw material of thought can be expressed, and the abstract is merged again in the concrete from which it sprang. What is left over may very well seem to lack coherence. It is as much the result of the archaic regression in the mental apparatus as of the demands of the censorship that so much use is made of the representation of certain objects and processes by means of symbols, which have become strange to conscious thought. But of more far-reaching import are

the other alterations to which the elements comprising the dream thoughts are subjected Such of them as have any point of contact are *condensed* into new unities When the thoughts are translated into pictures those forms are indubitably preferred which allow of this kind of telescoping or condensation it is as though a force were at work which subjected the material to a process of pressure or squeezing together As a result of condensation one element in a manifest dream may correspond to a number of elements of the dream thoughts but conversely one of the elements from among the dream thou hts may be represented by a number of pictures in the dream

Even more remarkable is the other process of *displacement* or transference of accent which in conscious thinking figures only as an error in thought or as a method employed in jokes For the individual ideas which make up the dream thoughts are not all of equal value they have various degrees of affective tone attached to them and corresponding to these they are judged as more or less important and more or less worthy of attention In the dream work these ideas are separated from their affects the affects are treated separately They may be transferred to something else they may remain where they were they may undergo transformation or they may disappear from the dream entirely The importance of the ideas which have been shorn of their affect reappears in the dream in the form of the sensuous vividness of the dream pictures but we notice that this accent which should lie on important elements has been transferred to unimportant ones so that what seems to be pushed to the forefront in the dream as the most important element in it only plays a subsidiary role in the dream thoughts and conversely what is important among the dream thou hts obtains only incidental and rather indistinct representation in the dream No other factor in the dream work plays such an important part in rendering the dream strange and unintelligible to the dreamer Displacement is the chief method employed in the process of *dream distortion* which the dream thou hts have to undergo under the influence of the censorship

After these operations on the dream thoughts the dream is almost ready There is still however a more or less non constant factor the so called *secondary elaboration* that makes its appearance after the dream has come into consciou ness as an object of perception When the dream has come into consciousness we treat it in exactly the same way that we treat any content of perception we try to fill in the gaps we add connecting links and often enough we let ourselves in for serious misunderstandings But this as it were rationalizing activity which at its best provides the dream with a smooth façade such as cannot correspond to its real content may be altogether absent in some cases or only operate in a very feeble way in which case the dream displays to view all its gaps and inconsistencies On the other hand one must not forget that the dream work too does not always function with equal force quite often it limits its activity to certain parts of the dream thoughts while others are allowed to come into the dream unaltered In this event one has the impression that one has carried out the most complicated and subtle intellectual operations durin the dream that one has made brilliant peculations or jokes or that one has come to decisions or solved problems really however all this is the result of our normal mental activity and may just as well have happened during the day before the dream as during the ni ht It has nothing to do with the dream work nor does it di play any feature which is characteristic of dreams It is perhaps not superfluous once more to emphasise the distinction which subsists among the dream thou hts themselves between the unconscious impulse and the residues of the precedin day While the latter exhibit the whole variety of our mental activity the former which is the real motive force of the dream always finds its outlet in a wish fulfilment

I could have told you all that fifteen years ago in fact I actually did tell it you at the time Now let us bring together such modifications and new discoveries as have been mad during the interval

I have already told you that I am afraid you will find that there is very little to say so you will not understand why I have obliged you to listen to the same thing twice over and have obliged myself to say it But fifteen years have passed and I hoped that in this way I might most easily re establish contact with you And indeed these elementary matters are of such decisive importance for the understanding of psycho analysis that it is a good thing to hear them for a second time and the very fact that they have remained the same after fifteen years is in itself something worth knowing

You will naturally find in the literature of these years a great deal of confirmatory material and exposition of details of which I only

mised to give you examples. I can also add to this a certain amount that was already known before. Most of it has to do with symbolism and the other methods of representation in dreams. Only quite recently the physicians at an American university refused to allow that psycho-analysis was a science on the ground that it admits of no experimental proof. They might have raised the same objection against astronomy; experimentation with the heavenly bodies is, after all, exceedingly difficult. There one has to rely on observation. Nevertheless certain Viennese investigators have made a beginning at the experimental confirmation of our theory of dream-symbolism. Dr. Schrötter discovered as long ago as 1912 that when one orders a deeply hypnotized person to dream of sexual activities, the sexual material in the dream that is thus provoked is represented by the symbols which are familiar to us. For example, a woman is told to dream of sexual intercourse with a lady friend of hers. In her dream this friend appears with a travelling-bag which has a label pasted on it "Ladies only". Even more impressive are the experiments of Betlheim and Hartmann (1924) who worked with patients suffering from the so-called Korsakoff syndrome. They told these patients stories with a crude sexual content, and then noted the distortions which appeared when he was asked to reproduce what he had heard. Here again the symbols with which we are familiar as standing for the sexual organs and sexual intercourse cropped up, and among them the symbol of a staircase with regard to which the authors very properly observe that it would be impossible to a conscious intention to distort.

Silberer performed a very interesting series of experiments in which he showed that one can surprise the dream-work, as it were, in *flagrante delicto* and see how it translates the abstract thoughts into visual pictures. When he tried to force himself in a very tired and sleepy condition to perform an intellectual task, the thought often escaped him, and in its place would come a visual image, which was often a substitute for it.

Here is a simple example. The thought which he was setting before himself was that he must smooth out an uneven passage in an essay. His visual image was that he saw himself planing a piece of wood. It often happened in these experiments that what [illegible] the idea which was waiting elaboration that formed the content of the visual image but his own state of mind

while he was trying to make the effort—the subject's condition rather than the object, the content. This Silberer calls a "functional phenomenon". [illegible] will [illegible] how you what

of these views is always escaping him, and finally he has a vision of himself asking information of a cross-grained secretary who is leaning over his desk and disregards him at first, and then looks at him with a disagreeable expression as if he would like to send him about his business. It is probably due to the conditions of the experiment itself that the visual images which are aroused in this way so [illegible]

particular symbol got its particular meaning. In such cases any confirmation we could get from other sources, from philology, folklore, mythology or ritual, was particularly welcome. An example of this kind was the symbol of a cloak. We held that in a woman's dream a cloak stood for a man. I hope now you will be impressed when you hear that Reik (1920) tells us: "In the ancient marriage ceremony of the Bedouins, the bridegroom covers the bride with a special cloak which is called an 'aba' and at the same time utters the ritual words 'Let no man in the future cover thee but me!'" (from Robert Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*). We have also discovered a great many new symbols, of which I will give you two examples. According to Abraham (1922) a spider in a dream is a symbol of the mother, but it means the phallic mother, whom one fears, so that the fear of the spider expresses the horror of incest with the mother and the abhorrence felt towards the female genitals. You know perhaps that the mythological figure of the Medusa's head is to be traced back to the same motif of castration fear. The other symbol of which I would like to speak is the symbol of the bridge. Ferenczi has explained it (1921, 1922). It stands originally for the male genital organ, which connects the parents with each other during sexual intercourse; but it develops into a wider set of meanings which spring out of the first. Since the male genital organ is responsible for the fact that one can emerge from the waters of birth into the world, the bridge develops the passage from "Yonder" (not yet-born

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provide a wish-fulfilment in two steps, a thing which each alone does not do. If a dream wish has as its content some piece of forbidden behaviour towards a certain individual, then that person may appear in the first dream undisguised, but the behaviour is only faintly indicated. In the second dream it will be the other way round. The behaviour will be openly shown but the person will be made unrecognisable or else some indifferent person will be substituted for him. It must be admitted that this gives one an impression of deliberate artfulness. A second and similar relation between two members of a pair of dreams is that in which the one represents the punishment and the other the sinful wish-fulfilment. It is just as if one said, "If I take the punishment on myself, then I can do the forbidden thing."

I must not detain you longer with such discoveries of matters of detail, nor with discussions of the uses of dream interpretation in analytic work. I am sure you are impatient to hear what alterations have been made in our basic attitude towards the nature and meaning of dreams. You will be prepared to hear that there is little to tell. The most hotly disputed point of the whole theory was undoubtedly the assertion that all dreams are wish-fulfilments. The inevitable and ever-recurrent objection from the laity that there are so many anxiety dreams has already been completely answered, I think, in my earlier lectures. We have kept our theory intact by dividing dreams into wish-dreams, anxiety dreams and punishment dreams.

Even punishment-dreams are wish-fulfilments but they do not fulfil the wishes of the instinctual impulses but those of the critical, censuring and punishing function of the mind. If we are faced with a pure punishment-dream, a simple mental operation will enable us to reinstate the wish-dream to which the punishment-dream was the proper rejoinder and on account of this repudiation the punishment dream has *appeared in place of the wish-dream* as the manifest dream. You know, ladies and gentlemen, that the study of dreams was the first thing that helped us to understand the neuroses. And you will not be surprised to hear that our subsequent knowledge of the neuroses has influenced our conception of the dream. As you will learn presently, we have been forced to assume the existence in the mind of a special criticising and forbidding function which we call the *super-ego*. We have recognised the dream-censorship as an activity of this function; we have been led to consider the part which the super-ego plays in dream formation in greater detail.

Only two serious difficulties face the wish-fulfilment theory of dreams, the examination of which leads us far afield and for which we have found no completely satisfactory solution. The first difficulty is presented by the fact that people who have had severe shocks or who have gone through serious psychic traumas (such as were frequent during the war and are also found to lie at the back of traumatic hysteria) are continually being put back into the traumatic situation in dreams. According to our acceptation of the function of dreams this ought not to be the case. What conative impulse could possibly be satisfied by this reinstatement of a most painful traumatic experience? It is indeed hard to guess. We meet with the second fact almost daily in our analytical work; it does not involve such a serious objection as the other. You know that it is one of the tasks of psycho-analysis to lift the veil of amnesia which shrouds the earliest years of childhood and to bring the expressions of infantile sexual life which are hidden behind it into conscious memory. Now these first sexual experiences of the child are bound up with painful impressions of anxiety, prohibition, disappointment and punishment. One can understand why they have been repressed, but, if so, it is difficult to see why they should have such easy access to dream life, why they should provide the pattern for so many dream phantasies and why dreams are full of reproductions of these infantile scenes and allusions to them. The pain that attaches to them and the wish-fulfilling tendency of the dream-work would seem to be incompatible. But perhaps in this case we exaggerate the difficulty. All the imperishable and unrealizable desires which provide the energy for the formation of dreams throughout one's whole life are bound up with these same childish experiences and one can well trust to their ability with their powerful upward thrust to force even material of a painful nature to the surface. And on the other hand, in the manner in which this material is reproduced the efforts of the dream-work are unmistakable; it disowns pain by means of distortion and turns disappointment into fulfilment. In the case of the traumatic neuroses it is quite different; here the dream habitually ends in anxiety. In my opinion we ought not to shrink from the admission that in such cases the function of the dream fails. I will not have

ness the womb) to Here (life) and since mankind also represents death as the return into the mother's womb (into the water) the symbol of the bridge gets the meaning of something that brings about death and finally further removed from its original meaning it indicates transition or any change of condition whatever That is why a woman who has not yet overcome her desire to be a man so frequently dreams of bridges which are too short to reach the other side

Very often pictures and situations appear in the manifest content of the dream which remind one of well known themes from fairy stories legends and myths The interpretation of such dreams throws light on the original motives which created these themes though naturally we must not forget the change of meaning which this material has undergone during the passage of time Our work of interpretation uncovers what one might call the raw material which often enough may be regarded as sexual in the broadest sense of the word but which has found the most varied application in later elaborations When we trace things back like this we very often arouse the rage of all investigators who do not share the analytical point of view as though we were seeking to deny or underestimate all the later developments which the raw material has undergone None the less such ways of looking at things are instructive and interesting The same is true of the tracing back of various motifs of plastic art—as for example when J Eisler (1919) guided by the dreams of his patients interprets analytically the young man playing with a little boy portrayed in the *Hermes* of Praxiteles Finally I cannot help mentioning how often mythological themes find their explanation through dream interpretation The story of the Labyrinth for example is found to be a representation of anal birth the tortuous paths are the bowels and the thread of Ariadne is the umbilical cord

The method of representation which the dream work adopts a fascinating and almost inexhaustible subject is constantly becoming better known to us as we study it more closely I will give you a few proofs of this The notion of frequency for instance is expressed in dreams by means of the multiplication of similars Listen to this remarkable dream of a young girl She goes into a hall and finds there a person sitting on a chair this figure is repeated six times eight times and even more but every time the person is her father This can easily be understood when one learns from the additional features which emerged in interpretation that the room represents the womb The dream then becomes equivalent to the familiar fantasy of the young girl who believe that she met her father during her intra uterine life when he visited the womb during her mother's pregnancy The fact that an element in the dream is turned the wrong way round that the act of entry is transferred from the father to the dreamer herself should not lead you astray it has indeed a special meaning of its own The multiplication of the father image can only mean that the procedure in question was frequently repeated But then the dream always turns temporal relations into spatial ones whenever it has to deal with them Thus one may see in a dream a scene between people who look very small and far away as if one were looking at them through the wrong end of a pair of opera glasses The smallness and the spatial remoteness here mean the same it is remoteness in time that is meant the interpretation being that it is a scene from the far distant past Besides this you may remember that in my previous lectures I showed you with the help of examples that we had learnt to make use even of the purely formal characteristics of the manifest dream for purposes of interpretation that is to say to turn them into the content of the latent dream thoughts Now you know of course that all the dreams of one night belong to the same context but it is by no means immaterial whether these dreams appear to the dreamer as a continuum or whether they are organized in several pieces and if so in how many The number of pieces often corresponds to the same number of distinct nodal points in the chain of thoughts which make up the latent dream thoughts or it may correspond to forces in the mental life of the dreamer which are struggling with one another and each of which finds its main (though not its exclusive) expression in one particular part of the dream A short introductory dream and a long main dream often stand to each other in the relation of condition and consequence of this you will find a very clear example in the old lectures A dream which the dreamer describes as somehow interpolated really corresponds to a dependent clause in the dream thoughts Franz Alexander in his essay on pairs of dreams that not infrequently two dreams which occur on the same night play separate parts in the fulfilment of the dream function so that taken together they

he who can get such an idea into his head or at the most we shall ask him where he got the idea from. The unfortunate inventor of the jam hypothesis will be very much offended, and will complain that we are refusing to consider an objective evaluation of this theory out of which he calls scientific prejudice. But his complaints will be in vain. Prejudices, we feel, are not always to be deplored, but are sometimes justified and they are useful in saving us unnecessary trouble. They are, indeed, nothing more than conclusions drawn by analogy from other well-founded judgments.

A whole number of occult theories make the same impression on us as the jam theory, so that we feel justified in putting them aside at the outset without testing them. But it is not quite such a simple matter. An analogy such as I have suggested—like all analogies—proves nothing. In any case it is doubtful whether it is a fair analogy and it is obvious that it was our attitude of scornful rejection which in the first instance determined our choice of it. Prejudices are very often useful and justified, but sometimes they are erroneous and harmful, and one never knows when they will be the one or the other. The history of science is full of examples which should warn us against too hasty condemnation. For a long time it was thought to be an absurd thesis that the stones which we now call meteorites should have reached the earth from outer space or that mountains the rocks of which contain remains of shells, could once have formed the bed of the sea. And, after all, not so very different the befell our psycho-analysis itself when it brought forward the discovery of the unconscious. We analysts therefore have special reason to be cautious in making use of intellectual arguments in the rejection of new theories and we must recognize that such arguments will not put us beyond the reach of feelings of aversion, doubt, and uncertainty.

I called the second factor psychological. By that I meant the general human inclination towards credulity and belief in the marvellous. From the very beginning when life imposes its stern discipline upon us there grows up in us a resistance against the restlessness and monotony of the laws of thought, and against the need for putting things to the test of reality. Reason becomes an enemy that keeps us from so many possibilities of pleasure. One discovers what joy it is to escape from it at least for a moment, and give oneself up to the fascination of irrationality. The schoolboy amuses himself by making up ridiculous plays on words, the specialist makes fun of his own work after a scientific congress, and even the serious-minded man enjoys an occasional joke. More serious antagonism against "Wisdom and Science, man's most prized powers," awaits its opportunity; it is eager to prefer the miracle-man or the natural healer to the *trained* doctor; it makes us warm towards the theories of the occult so long as its reputed facts can be taken as breaches of law and rule. It puts our critical faculty to sleep, falsifies our perception and forces us to confirm and agree without real justification. Any one who takes these human weaknesses into consideration has every reason to discount the value *of much of the* information contained in occult literature.

In referring to the third obstacle as the historical one I had in mind the fact that nothing new is to be found in the world of the occult. On the contrary, we meet again in it with all the signs, wonders, prophecies and apparitions which have been handed down to us from remote ages and in old books and which we long ago thought we had done with as being the offspring of unbridled imagination or tendentious fraud, the product of a time when the ignorance of mankind was at its height and when the scientific spirit was still in its infancy. If we accept as true what we are told by the occultists of our own day, then we must be prepared to believe the accounts which have come down to us from the past. And then we remember that the traditions and sacred books of all races are packed with such marvels and that religions base their claim to credibility precisely on such extraordinary and wondrous happenings and find in them the proof of the operation of superhuman forces. At this point it is hard for us *to avoid the suspicion that* occult interests are really religious ones and that it is one of the secret motives of the occultist movements to come to the aid of religious belief threatened as it is by the progress of scientific thought. The discovery of motive of this kind cannot fail to increase our mistrust and our disinclination to embark upon an investigation of these so-called occult phenomena.

But this disinclination must be overcome. The whole thing is really a question of fact: is what the occultists tell us true or not? It must be possible to decide this by observation. *At bottom* we ought to be grateful to the occultists. The tales of wonderful happenings which have come down to us from ancient days are beyond our powers of testing. If we say that they can

recourse to the saying that the exception proves the rule the validity of this phrase seems to me very dubious But at any rate the exception does not do away with the rule If for the purposes of investigation one isolates from every other mental process a single psychic activity like the dream one is enabled to discover the laws which govern it if one then puts it back into its place one must be prepared to find that one s discoveries are obscured and interfered with when they come into contact with other forces We assert that the dream is a wish fulfilment in order to take these last objections into account you may say that the dream is an *attempted* wish fulfilment But for those who have an understanding for the dynamics of the mind you will not be saying anything different Under certain conditions the dream can only achieve its end in a very incomplete way or has to abandon it entirely an unconscious fixation to the trauma seems to head the list of these obstacles to the dream function The sleeper has to dream because the nightly relaxation of repression allows the upward thrust of the traumatic fixation to become active but sometimes his dream work which endeavours to change the memory traces of the traumatic event into a wish fulfilment fails to operate In these circumstances the result is that one becomes sleepless one gives up all idea of sleep because of one s fear of the failure of the dream function The traumatic neurosis is an extreme case but one must also attribute a traumatic character to infantile experiences as well so one need not be surprised if lesser disturbances of the function of the dream occur in other circumstances

LECTURE 30

DREAMS AND THE OCCULT

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN Today we are to travel along a narrow path but it may lead us to a wide prospect

When you hear that I am going to talk about the connection between dreams and the occult you need hardly feel surprised Dreams are indeed often regarded as the portal to the world of mysticism and even today seem to many to be in themselves an occult phenomenon Even we who have made them an object of scientific study cannot deny that several strands link them up with those obscure regions Mysticism —occultism—what is meant by these terms? Do not imagine that I shall attempt to provide you with a clear definition of such hazy concepts In a general and vague way we all know what we mean by the terms They refer to a kind of other world which lies beyond the clear world with its inexorable laws which science has built up for us

Occultism assumes that there are in fact more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy Well we need not be tied down by the narrow mindedness of the Schools we are ready to believe whatever is made plausible to us

We intend to treat these things in just the same way as we treat any other material for scientific investigation First we have to establish whether these processes really occur and then but only then when there is no doubt as to their actuality we can set about their explanation But we cannot hide from ourselves the fact that even the first step will be made difficult for us by intellectual psychological and historical factors It is by no means the same as when we start on any other investigation

Let us consider the intellectual difficulties first Allow me to give you a crude obvious explanation of what I mean Supposing we are dealing with the constitution of the interior of the earth Admittedly we know nothing certain about it We suppose that it consists of heavy metals in a molten condition Now let us imagine that some one asserts that the interior of the earth is made of water impregnated with carbonic acid that is to say a kind of soda water We shall certainly say that it is very improbable that it runs counter to all our expectations and that it does not take into consideration the scientific data which have led us to put forward the mental hypothesis But for all that it is not unthinkable If any one shows us the way to prove the soda water hypothesis we shall follow it without any resistence But now another person comes along who seriously asserts that the centre of the earth is made of jam We shall behave quite differently toward his theory We shall say to ourselves that jam is not a product of Nature but of human cookery moreover the existence of that material presupposes the presence of fruit trees and their fruit and we cannot see our way to placing vegetation and human cookery in the centre of the earth The result of this intellectual objection will be a diversion of our interests instead of their being directed on to the investigation itself as to whether the interior of the earth is really made of jam or not we shall wonder what kind of man it must

at the time that this is no the ca e that I ha e not committed myself t any conclusion on the subject.

As a ma ter of fact I ha e but l ttle to tell you—on one modest fa t. A d I will further damp your expectations by inf rming you that fundamen all the dream has but little to d with t epath T lepathy throws no new light on the na ure f th dream, nor does the dream bear witness for the real of telepathy T epathic phenomena are al o by no manner of means confined to dreams t ey can also manifest themselves during wakin lif The only ground for mentioning the con ection between dreams and telepathy s that the co di ion of sleep seems to be especiall uitable for the reception f telepathic communication If then on comes across a so-called *t l pa h c dream* on can con ince oneself by its anal sis that the telepathic message has pla ed the sam as th r resid of waking lif and as such has been a tered by the dream-work and mad to serv ts purpo e

Now in the cours of th anal sis of a t l pathic dream f this kind som hing occurred which seems to me of ufficient importanc in spite of s light ess, t serve as the startin point for this lect re When in t ear 19 2 I brought up this subject f r the first tim I had only on bservatio t my disposal Since then I ha e made se eral ther observations but I shall keep to th first example because t the easiest on to describe and I hall proceed at one t th heart f the matter

An obviously int lligent man and on who cording to his own estimat on wa in n wa tainted with occultism wrote to me about a dream whi h eemed to him t be remarkabl He pref ced his story with th nformat on that his married daught who lived som distance from him wa expecting her first confinement in the midd e of December H was ery m ch dev ted t this daughter and he knew that h was very m ch t tached t him Now h dreamed in the night between th 6th and th of November that his wif had had twin There followed ev eral detail wh h I can pa ov here not ll f which have found satisf ct ry explanat on. The woman wh in the dream, had become the mother f the twin was his second wif the daughter tep-mothe H did ot wi h t have child en by this woman w om h did ot onsider fitted for bri ging up hildren in an understandin way and t th time f th dream h had for long tim given up sexual intercourse wi h her What induced h m to write to me was not a doubt abou the valid ty of the theory of d eams thou h the manifest d eam would ha e just fied him if that had been the case for why does the dre m n flat contradiction to his wi hes depict this woman as bearing children? And acc rd g to h s story he had no grounds fo fearing that th s un wi hed-for occurrence might take place What d termined him to t ll me about his dream was the fact that early in the mornin of No ember 18th he rece ed a te egram to say that h s daughter had given b rth to twins The telegram had been handed in the day before a d the b rth had taken place during the n ht between the 16th and t th at abo t the same t me that he had dreamt that h s wife had had twin The d eamer a ked me whethe I thou h that the simultane ty of the dream and the e ent was a mere coincidence He d d n t go so far as to call th dream a telepath c one because the diffe ence between th co tent of th dream a d t e event it elf concerned precisely what he con d red t be the mo t important po n th pers n who had the children But from one of his rema ks t looked s thou h he would n t ha e been urprised if he had had a real tele pathic dream Hi da ghter he f l certain, had th ught especiall about him during labour

Ladies and Gentlemen I m su e that you can already explain the dream and that ou understa d wh I ha told it to y u Here is a man dissatisfied with h econd wif wh w uld pr fer to ha e a wife like his daughter by his first marriage In th unconsci us this *l ke* is naturally omitted Now during the n ght he rec es th t lepathic communicat on that h s daughter has had twins The dream w rk eizes on this information llows his un on sciou wi h that hi da ghter ho ld replace his co d wif to act upon it, and thus emerges the ingua manifest dream in which the wish tself eiled a d the message dist rted We must dmit that nly dream nt rpretat on has shown us that this is a telepathic dre m psy cho-analys s has discovered t lepathic event which we hould ot therwi e ha e recognized s uch.

B t d n t l t yoursel es be led astray In sp of all this d eam int rpret on has sa d n thing about t e bjective truth of telepathi phenomena It ma be only n ppearance w ch can be explained in some o he wa It is po ib that the m latent dream thoughts ran l k this "Toda is the day on whi h the con nement must take place if my daughter

not be proved we must at least admit that strictly speaking they cannot be disproved But about what happens in the present about things which we can actually witness we ought to be able to reach a definite conclusion If we are convinced that such wonders do not occur nowadays we need not fear the objection that they might have occurred in days gone by Other explanations will then be far more plausible We have then put aside our scruples and are ready to take part in the observation of occult phenomena

Unfortunately we come up against considerations which are highly unfavourable to our laudable intentions The observations on which our judgments must depend have to be made under conditions which render our powers of perception insecure and which blunt our faculty of attention the phenomena take place in the dark or in the faint glimmer of a red light after long periods of fruitless waiting We are told that even our sceptical—that is to say our critical—attitude may very well prevent the hoped for phenomena from manifesting themselves The situation which thus arises is simply a caricature of the conditions under which we are used to carrying out scientific investigations The observations are made on so called mediums persons to whom are ascribed special sensitive gifts who however do not display outstanding qualities of intelligence or character and who are not moved as the old wonder workers were by some great idea or by some serious purpose On the contrary they are regarded as particularly untrustworthy even by the people who believe in their mysterious powers most of them have already been unmasked as frauds and we are tempted to expect that the same will happen with the rest as well Their performances remind us of the mischievous pranks of a child or of a conjuror s tricks Nothing of any value has so far ever come out of these *séances* with mediums no new source of energy has become accessible to us And to be sure one does not expect any advances in our knowledge of pigeon breeding from the tricks of a conjuror who produces pigeons out of an empty top hat I can easily put myself into the position of a man who wishes to fulfil the demands of objectivity and therefore takes part in these occult *séances* but tires of them after a while and put off by what is required of him gives up the whole business and returns to his prejudices no wiser than before To such a man one might object that his behaviour is not right and that if one is going to investigate phenomena one cannot decide beforehand of what nature they shall be and under what conditions they shall manifest themselves It is on the contrary his business to persevere and form some estimate of the precautionary measures of control which are used nowadays as a protection against the untrustworthiness of mediums Unfortunately the modern control technique puts an end to the easy accessibility of occult observations The study of the occult has become a specialized and difficult pursuit a form of activity which one cannot carry on side by side with one s other interests And until the investigators who have given their mind to it have come to some conclusion one is necessarily given over to doubts and to one s own conjectures

Among these conjectures the most probable is I think that in occultism there is a core of facts which have hitherto not been recognized and round which fraud and phantasy have woven a veil which it is hard to penetrate But how can we even approach this core? at what point can we grasp the problem? It is here it seems to me that the dream comes to our aid by suggesting to us that we should pick out the theme of telepathy from all the confused material that surrounds it

You know that by *telepathy* we mean the alleged fact that an event which occurs at a specific time comes more or less simultaneously into the consciousness of a person who is spatially distant without any of the known methods of communication coming into play The tacit assumption is that this event occurs to a person in whom the receiver of the message has some strong emotional interest Thus for example a person A has an accident or dies and a person B some one closely connected with A his mother or daughter or loved one learns of it at about the time of its occurrence through a visual or auditory perception in the latter case it is as though they were in telephonic communication which however they are not in fact it is a kind of psychic parallel to wireless telegraphy I need not emphasize to you the improbability of such processes and anyway there are good grounds for rejecting the majority of such reports Some of them are left over which cannot be rejected so easily I must now ask you to allow me to leave out the precautionary word *alleged* for the purposes of what I have to tell you and to let me continue as though I believed in the objective reality of telepathic phenomena But you must remember

ed have two children by the time she was thirty-two years of age. When she told me this story she was forty-three, very ill and with no expectation of ever having a child at all. The prophecy therefore had not come true, and yet she spoke of it with no bitterness whatever, but with an unmistakable expression of satisfaction, as though she were looking back with pleasure upon a happy experience. It was easy to assure oneself that she had not the slightest idea what the two numbers in the prophecy might mean, or whether they meant anything at all.

You will say that this is a stupid and incomprehensible story, and ask why I have related it to you. Now I should feel exactly as you do but for the fact—and this is the important point—that the analysis enabled us to obtain an interpretation of the prophecy which was actually most significant when it came to the details. For the two numbers have a place in the life of the *mother* of my patient. She had married late, when she was more than thirty, and her family had often remarked how successful she had been in making up for lost time. Her two first children—and our patient was the elder of these—had been born within a single calendar year with the smallest possible interval between them, and it was really true of her that by the time she was thirty-two she had two children. What Monsieur le Professeur told my patient meant this: 'Cheer up, for you are still young. You will have the same experience as your mother, who also had to wait a long time for children, and you will have two children by the time you are thirty-two.' But to have the same experience as her mother, to be in her position, to take her place with her father was the strongest wish of her childhood, the wish whose non-fulfilment was beginning to make her ill. The prophecy promised her that it would be fulfilled, how could she feel otherwise than friendly towards the prophet? But do you think that Monsieur le Professeur could really have been familiar with the dates of the intimate family history of a chance client? It is impossible; whence then came the knowledge that enabled him to express in his prophecy the strongest and most secret wish of my patient by bringing in these two numbers? I can see only two possibilities. Either the story as she told it to me was not true and the events were different, or we must accept thought transference as a real phenomenon. It could, no doubt, be argued that my patient after the lapse of sixteen years had carried over the two numbers we are discussing from her unconscious into her recollection. I have no evidence for this suggestion, but I cannot rule it out, and I imagine that you would prefer to believe in such an explanation rather than in the reality of thought transference. If, however, you should accept the latter view, do not forget that it was only analysis that brought to light the occult element which had been distorted out of all recognition.

If we had to deal with only one case like that of my patient, we should turn away from it with a shrug of the shoulders. It would not occur to any one to base a belief which has such far-reaching implications on an isolated observation. But I can assure you that this is not the only case in my experience. I have collected a whole set of such prophecies, and I have the impression that in every instance the fortune-teller has only given expression to the thoughts, and particularly to the secret wishes of his clients, so that we are justified in analysing such prophecies as if they were the subjective productions, phantasies or dreams of the people concerned. Naturally not all cases have equal evidential value, nor in all cases is it equally possible to rule out more rational explanations, but taking all the evidence together there remains a heavy weight of probability in favour of the reality of thought transference. The importance of the matter would justify my putting all my cases before you, but I cannot do that because the material would be of inordinate length and would inevitably involve a breach of professional secrecy. I will try to salve my conscience as far as possible by giving you one or two more examples.

One day a very intelligent young man came to see me. He was a student preparing for his final medical examination, but he was not in a condition to take it, because, as he complained, he had lost all his interests, all power of concentration, and even the faculty of well-ordered memory. The history of this paralysing condition was soon unravelled; he had fallen ill after carrying through a line of conduct which had necessitated great self-discipline. He had a sister towards whom he felt, just as she did towards him, an intense but always restrained affection. They had often enough said to each other: 'What a shame it is that we cannot marry!' An unobjectionable man had fallen in love with the sister, and she had returned his feeling, but her parents would not give their consent to the union. The couple had

as I incidentally believe is the case has been a month out in her calculations And her appearance when I saw her last time was such that it looked as though she was going to have twins And my dead wife was so fond of children how delighted she would have been by twins! (The last point is derived from associations of the dreamer which I have not yet mentioned) In that case the stimulus for the dream would have been well founded suspicions on the part of the dreamer and not a telepathic message the result would have been the same in both cases You notice that even this interpretation has told us nothing about the question of whether one should assign objective reality to telepathy One could only come to a conclusion about that after making detailed enquiries into all the circumstances of the case which unfortunately was impossible with this example as it was with all the others in my experience We may grant that the assumption of telepathy gives us by far the simplest explanation but that does not carry us very far The simplest explanation is not always the right one truth is very often not simple and one must act with the greatest caution before committing oneself to such a far reaching assumption

We can now leave the subject of dreams and telepathy I have nothing more to say about it But I want you to notice that it was not dreams that seemed to teach us something about telepathy but the interpretation of the dreams the psycho analytic treatment of them We can therefore leave dreams on one side in what follows and we will examine further our suspicion that the application of psycho analysis may throw a light on other so called *occult facts* There is for example the phenomenon of thought transference which is closely allied to telepathy and indeed can be identified with it without much difficulty It is held that psychological processes ideas states of excitement volitions which occur in the mind of one person can be transferred throu h space to another without the usual means of communication (words or signs) being employed Incidentally it is remarkable that it is actually these phenomena which find the least mention in the old accounts of the miraculous

During the psycho analytic treatment of patients I have had the impression that the activities of professional fortune tellers provide an admirable opportunity for making really satisfactory observations of thought transference It is usually mediocre and even inferior people who carry on practices of this sort deal out cards study writing and the lines upon the hand or make astrological reckonings and foretell the future of their visitors after having shown some knowledge of their past or present history Their clients usually express themselves as satisfied by their performances and bear them no ill will if their prophecies do not come true in the end I have come across a great many such cases and have been able to study them analytically I will tell you the most remarkable instances of the kind Unfortunately the evidential value of this information is reduced on account of the numerous omissions which are necessitated by the rules of professional secrecy I have however carefully avoided any distortions This is the story of one of my female patients who had an experience of the kind we are discussing with a fortune teller

She was the eldest of a family of brothers and sisters grew up with an extraordinarily strong attachment to her father had married young and had found entire satisfaction in her married life There was only one thing wantin to make her happiness complete she was childless and thus the husband whom she loved could not wholly fill the place of her father When after many years she decided to have a gynaecological operation her husband disclosed to her the fact that the fault lay in him that through an illness which had occurred before marriage he had been rendered incapable of procreating children She took this disappointment very badly became neurotic and suffered unmistakably from dread of the husband s attempts In order to cheer her up her husband took her with him on a business visit to Paris While they were there they were sitting one day in the hall of the hotel when she noticed a stir among the hotel servants She asked what was happening and learnt that Monsieur le Professeur had arrived and was giving consultations in a certain room She expressed her wish to see what the thing was like herself Her husband tried to dissuade her but when he was not looking she slipped into the room where the fortune teller was giving his consultations She was twenty seven years old but looked much younger and she had taken off her wedding ring Monsieur le Professeur told her to rest her hand on a bowl filled with ashes carefully studied the imprint and after telling her all sorts of things about severe troubles which lay before her concluded with the comforting assurance that she would get married all the same

yrm woman some years older than him elf n t pa ocnat wa that was characteristic of him She rejected him, and he thereupon at mpted suicide nor can we oubt the seri ousnes of his intentio It was o ly b a mir that he escaped de th and t was onl a er careful nursing that he reco ered. But the reckles act made a deep imp ess on upon the woman h was in lo e with he esponded t h tenti s and became his mi tress From that time onwards he had a deep attach ment to her and served he in a tru devoted man Aft r more than two decades when they had both lost mething of the r outh the woman naturally more than he he fel the need f detac in him lf from her he wanted

sprang up in him th l g uppres ed need for revenge upo her Ju t a at first h had tried to commit suicid him elf bec use e rejected him, so ow h wanted to have the sat facti of seem her seek destruct o because he was leaving her But his lo e w s till too trong for this wish t become con cious was he b e to bear e badl en ugh to her t dri her to commit uicide In th frame of mind, h took on the mistress wh m I first mentioned a a kind f whipping-boy in order to satisf his thirst f reven e *corpore vil* nd inflicted on her ll th injuries lculated to produc in her the effect h desired to produce in the woman h lo ed. Th f ct that th reveng was a tuall directed toward the l tt was nly betrayed by the cumstances that he made her confederate and ad isor in hi lov ffai instead of h ding his l pse from he The un fortunat woman wh had sunk from the posi tion of giving f urs to that f recei in them p bably suff red f om his confiden es m re than the w mistress did from his bru ti ty The bses on f whi h h complained m ref ren e to th latter and wh ch brought him under analyti t tment had naturally been transferred f m his first mis ress t he was from his first m tress that h wanted to free hims lf and could n t. I am n handwrit ing expert, and I do not think m ch of th art f guessing chara t from ha dwritin till les d I believe in the poss'bility of f ret lling t future f the writer in that way You ee h wever that whatever on may think f the value f graph logy it s undeniabl that the expert when he promised that th writ f the specimen which had been brought t him would

commit suicide during the next few days had once more only brou ht to l ght a very strong sec et wish on the part of the person who was askin h s pinion Som thing similar happened in the case of the econd report, only that h re we are not concerned with an uncon cious wi h here it was the incip ent doubts and anxiet es of the inquirer that found o ert ex pression through the mouth of the handwriting special s I may add that my patient was able with the help of analysis to make a love-choice out id the magic circle within which he had been pell bound

Ladies and Gentlemen—You have now heard what dream interpretation and psycho-anal s can do for occultism You ha e seen in general by means of examples that th ough the applica t on of ps cho-anal t c theory occult phenom ena have been revealed wh ch would otherwise ha e rem ed unrecognized The question which doubtless interests you most, whether we ought to believe in the object e reality of the phenomena is one which ps cho-anal sis can ot answer directl but at lea t the ma terial which it has helped to brin to light s f ourabl to an affirmative reply But your i terest will not stop there You will want to know to what conclusion that far richer vein

omething to d w th psycho-an lys s in t ense that they were mad during a al t c l t eatment and were pe haps rend red po ble b m an f it I will gi e ou o e example th ne which I ft th t o gest impress on with m it will be lon winded and you will ha e to keep a numbe of details in your mind a d even so a great deal wil ha e to be om tted wh h increa ed th evidential alue of the bservation It is an in tance in wh ch th phe nomena in which we nter ed came t l ht quite b ously and did n t ha e t be b ught ou by analysis I di cussing , how ev w h ll n t be ble t do without nalv sis. But I ought to warn you beforehand that eve this exampl of pparent th ught trans f rence in the an lytic s tuation is not p oof again t all objections, and does not warrant un onditional acceptanc f the reality of oc cult phenomena

Th story is this One umn da in th yea 19 9 t bout 10.45 A.M Dr D id Forsyth who had just arrived from London

turned to my patient for help and he had not refused it He had enabled them to correspond with each other and it had been due to his influence that the parents had eventually been persuaded to give their consent While they were engaged a chance occurrence had taken place whose significance it is easy to guess He and his future brother in law undertook a difficult climb without a guide they lost their way and were in danger of never returning alive Shortly after the marriage of his sister he had fallen into his present state of mental exhaustion

When he had become able to work as a result of psycho analysis he left me to take his examination but after he had got through it he came back to me in the autumn of the same year for a short period He then told me of a remarkable experience which he had had before the summer In his university town there lived a fortune teller who carried on a very successful practice there Even the princes of the reigning house used to consult her regularly before undertaking any important step The way in which she worked was very simple She asked for the facts concerning the birth of the person involved but wanted to know nothing else about him not even his name She then consulted her astrological books made long calculations and in the end made a prophecy about him My patient decided to make use of her secret arts in connection with his brother in law He visited her and gave her the requisite data about him. After she had made her calculations she pronounced the following prophecy This person will die in July or August of this year of poison from eating crabs or oysters My patient finished his story by explaining And that really was marvellous!

From the very beginning I had listened to his story without enthusiasm and after this exclamation I permitted myself to ask What is it that makes you find this prophecy so marvellous? We have already reached the late autumn and your brother in law is not dead yet or you would have told me long ago The prophecy therefore has not come true The prophecy—no he said but the remarkable thing is this My brother in law is passionately fond of crabs and oysters and last summer that is to say before my visit to the fortune teller he was poisoned by eating oysters and nearly died of it What could I say about it? I could only feel distressed that such an intelligent man and moreover one who had a satisfactory analysis behind him should not have seen through the whole thing more clearly For my part before I believe that one can calculate the onset of shellfish poisoning by consulting astrological tables I would rather suppose that my patient had not yet overcome his hatred towards his rival the repression of which had caused his own illness and that the lady astrologer simply gave voice to his own hope People never give up such tastes and one day they will really be the end of him I admit that I can find no other explanation for this case except perhaps that my patient was making a joke at my expense But neither then nor later did he give me any ground for such a suspicion and he seemed to mean quite seriously what he said

Here is another case A young man of good position had a mistress and showed a remarkable obsession in his relations with her From time to time he was impelled to wound her feelings with insulting remarks till she was reduced to despair When he had got her into this condition he felt relieved made it up with her and gave her presents But now he wanted to free himself from her for the obsession was becoming a worry to him he noticed that his professional life was suffering from the relationship and wanted to have a wife and family of his own Since however he could not get away from his mistress by his own efforts he came to analysis for help After one of these scene which occurred during the analysis he got her to write him a few words on a piece of paper and showed it to a graphologist The information he received from him was to the effect that this was the handwriting of a person in the depths of despair who would certainly commit suicide in the course of the next few days That event did not indeed come about for the lady remained alive but the analytical treatment enabled him to free himself from his fetters he left the lady and turned his attentions to a young girl who he thought would make him a good wife Soon afterwards he had a dream which could only be explained as due to an incipient doubt about the young girl s worth He obtained a specimen of her handwriting as well which he placed before the same authority and received a judgment on it which confirmed his anxieties He therefore gave up his intention of making her his wife

To estimate the reports of the handwriting expert and particularly the first one at their proper value one must know something of the private history of our subject In his early adolescent years he was madly in love with a

hd t someone who had a ked h m that the E ... i r 4 p m was a mare s nest That s of c urse ab rd becau e a mare s nest means ot ... f the sort and the correct tr ... h on o *Al t c m s* n gh mare This assoc ... eemed to ha e othin mo e in co ... n w th the others tha the element of E ... k but he reminded m of a tri ial oc currence which had happened about a month before P was tting in my room with me ... m t re ppeared quit unexpectedl an other we com guest from Lo do Dr Erne t Jones ... om I had not seen for a l ng t me. ... ed to h m t go into my other room until I h d finished w th P The latter recognized him at once h wever from a photograph of him which hung in the waiting room nd even asked to be in rod ced to h m. N w Jones is the a ... of a mo ograph on the n htmare. I d d n t know wh th r P was cquainted with t book he a o ded reading analyt cal l erature

At th point I h uld like to con de what a ... cal understa ding we can obtai of P s associations and th ir moti atio s P had the sam tt tude t wards the name Forsyte as I h d it m ant th sam t him as t d d to me and in f ct t was to him that I owed my k ... edge of the am The rem k bl thing was that h brought this n me t the anal s s immediat l fter t had a quired an th r mea ... f me th ough a recent xperience name th rri al of the ph ... f om Lo don But perhaps not les interesting s the way in h h the name ame up in h alyt cal hou H d d n t say Now th name F rsyte out f t now l y u ha ad c mes into my mind but with t any con ous ref re ce to its sour h managed to wea e t into his own personal xperien es and b o ht t to the surf e in that way—a thing whi h m ght ha e happened long before but wh h had n t as a matter of f ct urred unt l now At this juncture howev h sa d I am a Forsyte too f that what the gi l alled m One cannot mistak th mixture of exacting jeal usy and plaintu elf-dep c t on wh h f ds pres on in th uttera W h ll t go f r wrong f we mplet t thus I am hurt that your th ghts ould be m h wrapped up in th ew m Com back t me ft all I m a F rsyth too—o rather onl a M F re- ... ht a th gi l called m And now tarting from th dea f *E gl h* h s train of thought worked ba k t two ea li tuat ons wh h m g ery well have aroused the sam jeal usy in him A few days ago you pa d a v s t at my hou e but la it was not to me it was to a Herr vo Freund Th s id a made him d tort the name Freud into Freund The name Freud Otto ego from the lecture list came in becau e as the name of a teacher of En l sh it paved the wa for the manifest a ociat on And now the memory of another ... itor of a few weeks back presented it lf a tor towards whom he cer tainly felt ju t as jealous th s vis tor (Dr Jones) was at the sam time in a superior posi tion to h m becau e he could write a book about nightmares wh le the best he could do was to ha e n ghtmares h mself The allu on to his mi take about the meaning of a mare s nest belo ged to the ame connect on it must mean I am not a proper Engl hman after all any more than I am a proper Forsyth

Now t could n t be said that his jealous feelings were either nappropriate or incompre hen bl He h d lread been made aware that his analy s and with it our relations would come to n e d as oon a fore gn pup l a d patients bega to return to V enna and this is act ally what happened shortl afterwards But wh t we ha e ju t been doing has been a p ece f anal t cal w k the explanat on of three deas wh ch we e brought up in the ame h ur a d were d termined by the ame moti ation. Thi has not m ch to d with the quest on whethe th e deas could h been produced ... r not. The latter ... and ... ques ... rs th ... had just paid his first is t t me C uld he h e known the nam of the person whom I vis ted in his house? D d he know that Dr Jones had written a book abo t n ghtma es? Or was t only my knowledge of thes th ngs whi h was di played in the id s th t came int h head? Whether th s ob rvation of min leads t a conclus on n fa o of th ht tran fe enc depends on the an wer wh ch is given t th e separate quest s Let u l e the first question as d f th moment s the tw th rs are easier to deal with Th ca of the t t th pen on strikes o e t first ght a bein ry co in ing I am quite ure th t in my sh rt humorous mention f my is t to ... k

... f this ca e is undermined by a chanc factor

sent in his card while I was working with a patient (My respected colleague from the University of London will I feel sure not think I am being indiscreet if I tell you that he came to me for some months to be initiated into the mysteries of psycho analytical technique.) I had only time to say How do you do? and arrange an appointment for later on Dr Forsyth had a special claim upon my interest for he was the first foreigner who came to me after the isolation of the war years and seemed to be a harbinger of better times Soon after this at eleven o clock my next patient arrived a Mr P an intelligent and charming man of between forty and fifty who had come to me because he experienced difficulties in sexual intercourse with women In his case there was no prospect of bringing about a cure and I had long ago suggested that he should break off the treatment but he had preferred to continue it obviously because he felt comfortable in a well tempered father transference upon myself Money played no part at this time because there was too little of it about The hours I spent with him were stimulating for me as well and a relaxation and so setting aside the strict rules of medical etiquette, we were going on with the analytic treatment for a specified length of time

On this particular day P reverted to his attempts at sexual intercourse with women and mentioned once more the pretty piquante girl in poor circumstances with whom he might have been successful if only the fact of her virginity had not frightened him off from taking any serious steps He had often spoken of her but that day he told me for the first time that she though naturally she had not the slightest idea of the real grounds of his difficulty used to call him Mr Foresight *(Vorsicht)* I was much struck by this piece of information Dr Forsyth s card was beside me and I showed it to him

These are the facts I dare say they will seem to you to be rather thin but if you will have patience you will find that there is more to come

P had spent some years of his youth in England and had retained a lasting interest in English literature He possessed a well stocked library of English books which he used to lend me and it is to him that I owe my acquaintance with authors such as Arnold Bennett and Galsworthy of whose works I had so far read but little One day he lent me a novel by Galsworthy called *The Man of Property* the subject of which is an imaginary family named Forsyte Galsworthy s imagination was obviously captured by this creation of his because in the later stories he repeatedly went back to members of this family and eventually collected all the stories which had to do with them under the heading of *The Forsyte Saga* Only a few days before the event I am telling you about P had brought me a new volume out of this series The name Forsyte and all that it typified for the author had played a part in my conversations with P it had become a part of the private language which so easily grows up between two people who see each other regularly Now the name *Forsyte* out of the novels is not very different from that of my visitor *Forsyth* (as pronounced by a German indeed they are hardly distinguishable) and the expressive English word *foresight* which means *Voraussicht* or *Vorsicht* would be pronounced in the same way P had therefore produced from his own personal experiences a name that was in my mind at the same time on account of a circumstance quite unknown to him.

As you see we are making some progress But I think we shall be even more strongly impressed by this remarkable occurrence and get some sort of insight into the condition of its origin if we turn the light of analysis on to two other associations which P brought up during the same hour

First One day in the preceding week I was expecting Mr P at 11 o clock, but he had not appeared and I went out to pay a call on Dr Anton von Freund at his pension I was surprised to find that Mr P lived on another floor of the same house in which the pension was. Referring to this later I told P that I had in a sense paid him a visit at his house but I am absolutely certain that I did not mention the name of the person whom I had visited in the pension and now soon after the mention of Mr Foresight he asked me the following question Is the lady called Freud-Ottorego who gives the English course at the Volksuniversitat your daughter by any chance? And for the first time in our long acquaintance he let slip the distorted form of my name, to which officials clerks and printers have accustomed me instead of Freud he said Freund.

Secondly At the end of the hour he told me a dream out of which he had awakened with a feeling of anxiety a regular *Alptraum (nightmare)* he called it He added that he had recently forgotten the English word for it and

had t som o e who had led him that the E f r Alptraum was mare nest That is o course absurd because a mare s nest means not of the sort and the correct tr on Alptr m s 'n ' mare This asso on seemed to ha e nothin more in common with the others than the element of English but h reminded me of tri al oc currence which had happened about a month before P was sitting in m room with me when there appeared quite unexpected an other welcome guest from London Dr Erne t Jones whom I had not seen for a l time. I nod ed to him to go into my other room until I had finished with P The latter recognized him once h wever from a photograph f him which h m in the waiting room, and even a ked to be introduced to him Now Jones i the auther f monograph on the n ghtmare. I did ot know whether P was acquainted with the book he a oided reading analytical literature

At this point I hould like to con d r what analytical understandin we can obtain of P s associations and their motivat ons P had the same t d t wards the name Forsyte as I had meant the same t him t d d to me and in fact it wa t him that I owed my k edge of the name. The remarkable thing was that h brought this nam into the analysis immediately after t had acquired another meaning f r m through a recent experience, namely the arrival f th physician from London. But pe haps not less interesting is the way in w h the nam cam up in his analytical hour H did sa "Now th nam Forsyte out f t ovels you have read, comes int my mind but without any conscious reference t the source, h managed t weave in his own personal experiences and brought t the surface in that way—a t which h might have happened long before but which had not as matter of f ct occurred until ow At this juncture however h said I am F syt too f r that is what t g l called m One cannot mistake th mixture f exacting jealousy and p inful self-depreciation which finds ex pression in this utterance W all n go f wrong if we com ete t s I am hurt th t your thoughts should be so much wrapped up in t newcomer Come back t me f er all I m F syth too—or rather only Mr Fore-sth as t g l called m And now start from t idea f E gish he train f thought worked back t two ea er situations which might very well have aroused the same jealousy

in him A few d ys ago you paid a sit at my house b t alas it wa not to me it was t a Herr von Freund Th s idea made him d tort the name Freud into Freund The name Freud Ottorego from the lecture li t came in becau e as th nam of a tea her of E li h it pa red the wa f r the manifest a ociat on And now the memory of another vi tor of a few weeks back presented it. If a vis tor toward whom he cer tainly felt ju t as jealous this visitor (Dr Jones) was at the same time in a superior posi tion to him, becau e he could write a book about nightmares while the best he could do was to have n htmares him lf The allu ion to his mistake about the meanin of a 'm re s nest belonged to the ame con ect on it must mean I am not a proper Engl hman after all any more than I am a proper Forsyth.

N w t could n t be said that his jealous feelings w re either inappropriate or i compre-hen ble He had lread been made aware that his analysis and with it our relations, would

what we ha e just been doing has been a piece of anal t cal work the explanation of three ideas wh ch w e brought up in the same hour and were determ ned b the same moti at on Thi has not much to do with the quest on

have known th name of the person whom I vi ted in his house D d he know that Dr Jones had written book about n ghtma es? Or was t only m knowledge of these things which was displa ed in the deas that came into his head Whether this observation of mine leads to a concl on in favour f th ught transference depends on th a wer which is gi en to thes separate questi ns Let u lea e the first question aside f r the moment as the two thers are eas to deal with. The ca e of the vi t th pension strikes one at first gh as being very con incing I am qu ure th t in my short humorous mention of my t to his house I did n t mention any name I think t is most improbabl that P mad inquiries in the pension t d cover th nam f the person I had called on in f ct, I believe that he never knew of his existence But t ev dent al al f t is ca e is undermined by chance factor

The man whom I had been to see in the pension was not only *called* Freund but was indeed a true friend to us all It was he who e generosity had made pos ible the founding of our pub i h ing house His early death and th of Karl Abraham a few years later were the mo t seri ous mi fortunes which have befall n the de velopment of psycho analysis It is possible therefore that I said to Mr P I have been visiting a *friend* at your house and with this possibility the occult interest of the second as sociation evaporates

The impression made by the third asso ia tion too soon fades Could P have known that Jone had published a monograph on the night mare seeing that he never read analytical lit erature? Yes he could He possessed books issued by our publishing house and he might certainly have seen the titles of new publica tion printed on the covers It cannot be proved but it cannot be disproved Along this road then we can come to no decision This example of mine I regret to say is open to the same objections as so many others It was written down too late and came up for di cus ion at a time when I was not seeing Mr P ny more and could not ask him any further questions

Let us return to the first association which even by itself would support the alleged occur rence of thought transference Could P have known that Dr Forsyth had been with me a quarter of an hour before him? Could he even have known of his existence or of his presence in Vienna? We must not give way to the temp tation to answer both questions straight oft in the negative I might very well have told Mr P I was expectin a physician from England for training in analysis the first dove after the deluge This might have happened in the sum mer of 1919 Dr Forsyth had made arran e ments with me by letter months before his arrival I may even have mentioned his name thou h that is most improbable In view of the other a ociation which the name had for us both the mention of it would inevitably have led to a conversation of which ome trace at le t would have been preserved in my mem ory Nevertheless such a conversation may have taken place and I may have totally forgotten it so that it became possible for the mention of Mr Fore ight in the analytical hour to strike me as miraculous If one regards oneself as a sceptic it is well from time to time to be ceptical about one s scepticism Perhaps I too have that ecret leaning towards the miraculous which meets the production of occult phe nomena half way

Even if one part of this miraculous occur rence is thu explained away we till have an other part on our hand and that the most dif ficult part of all Granted that Mr P knew that there was such a person as Dr Forsyth and that he was expected in Vienna in the au tumn how was it that my patient became en sitive to him on the very day of his arrival and immediately after his fir t vi it? We might say that it was chance that is w might leave it unexplained but I have mentioned the two other ideas which occurred to Mr P preci ely in order to exclude chance in order to show you that he really was occupied with jealou thoughts directed against people who visited me and whom I visited Or if we are anxiou not to overlook anything even remotely pos sible we might suppose that P noticed that I was in a state of unusual excitement a state of which I was certa nly not aware and that he drew hi inference from that Or that Mr P who after all had arrived only a quarter of an hour after the Engli hm n had met him in the immediate neighbourhood of my house that he had recognized him from his typically En lish appearance and with his jealous feelin s on the alert had immediately thought Ah there is Dr Forsyth whos arriv l means the end of my analysis and probably he has ju t left the Professor I cannot go any furth r into these rationalistic hypothe es We are left once more with a *non liquet* but I must con fess that here too I feel that the balance is in favour of thought transference For the matter of that I am certainly not the only person who has met with *occult* phenomena in the analytic situation Helene Deut ch in 1926 reported some observations of the same kind and studied the way in which they were conditioned by the relation of transference between the patient and the analyst

I am sure that you will not be satisfied with my position with regard to this problem—not completely convinced and yet ready to be con vinced Perhaps you will say to your elves Here is another example of a person who has all his life been a steady going man of science and is now in his old age becoming weak mind ed religious and credulous I know that some great names belong in that category but you mus not reckon mine among them At least I have not grown religious and I hope I have not become credulous If one has humbled one

ser all o s lu long m order t avo d painful re ct w h f cts, one tends to keep one s hig bowed m c s o d sg before y new

terat But I am ot concerned to seek all mes f our and I must suggest to you that you ould think more kindly of the bjecti e possil y of thou t tran ference and there-f re also of telepathy

You must no forget that I have only dealt with the problem here in so fa as one can approach it from the direct on of psycho- nalys When I turned my thoughts towards more than ten years go I too f lt afraid lest o r scien c outlook might be end ngered and ha e to give wa t spiritualism r m tici m if oc cult p en mena were proved t be true I th k otherwise ow t eems t m that one is dis showing o great trust in science f o e c n t rely on it to ccept and deal with any occu t hypotheses th t ma turn out to be orrect A d as regards thought transference in part cular t would seem actually t f r the extension of t scientific (or as opponen s w uld sa mecham) way of thinking on to the lu e wo d of the mind. For the t lepathic process is supposed t consi t m a mental a t of one person gi m ri e t the same me t l ct i another What lies between th tw mental acts may very well be a physical process into which the mental process transforms t lf t one end and which is transf rmed back into the same mental proces t the h r The analogy with other tran f rmations uch as speakin and hearing cro s the t lephone is b ou o e A d think what t would mean f one could g t h ld of thi phys cal equ ale t of the mental act I ould lik t po t out that by in ert ing the uncon cious betw en th phys cal and what has hith rto been reg rded s th mental, psycho-analysi ha p epared the way f the acceptance of such processes s t lepathy If one gets used t the d f telepathy one can ccount f great deal by means of t f of ours only in imagination It is a f miliar f ct that we ha e n n tu f h w the c m munal will f the great insect states omes bout Pos bly t wo ks by mean f mental tra ferenc f this d r t kind One is led to conjecture that this m be th origin l a hai method by wh ch indi duals und rstood ea other and wh ch has been pushed into the background in th rse f phylogenetic d elopment by the better method of commun cation by means of gns ppre ended by the sen e organs But uch older methods may have pers ted in the background and ma still mani fest themsel es under cert in cond tions for example in crowds roused to a st te of passionate excitement. All of this is highly speculative and f ll of unsol ed problems but there is no need to be alarmed by it.

If telepa hy is a real process one may in sp te of the difficulty of proof suppose that it is quite a common phenomenon It would fit n w th our expectat ons f we could h w tha it occurs particularly in the mental l fe of chl dren. One s reminded of the freq ent fear fel by children that the r parents know ll th tho hts without ha ing been told them—a fear wh ch s a complete parallel to and perhaps the ori n of the beli f of adults in th om n cience f God A hort t me go a trust worth observer Dorothy Bu ham published ome findings n a pape cal ed Child Anal s and the Mother" wh ch if they are confirmed m st put a end to a v emain ng d ubts of the re l ty of thou ht tran fer c She took he t rt g po nt a number of those cases (ow no lo ger rare) i wh ch a mother and ch ld re being an l sed at the same tim d eported uch m kab e phenomena as th followi g O e day in her n lytic hou the m the wa talkin abo t a gold coin which had figu ed in e f her hildhood experiences Immed at l fterward when he had returned hom he l ttle ten year-old boy came into h r room and b ought her gold c in t keep f r

asked he to try to fi d out f m the child why h had beha ed in this way B the anal s of the child el cited th the ct on had mad ts way int the child life that day like a f re gn body A few weeks l ter the moth w tting at h writing t bl in o de to mak a n t of the occurrence s sh h d been a ked to d At that m ment the bo came in and a ked f th gold coin back, savin th t he wa ted t tak t t show his analys Once m the h ld s analysis disclosed n thing th t led up t the wi h

And with that we return to our starting point—th stud of psycho-anal s

LECTURE 31

THE ANATOMY OF THE MENTAL PERSONALITY

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN I am sure you all recognize in your dealings whether with per sons or things the importance of your starting point It was the same with psycho analysis the course of development through which it has passed and the reception which it has met with have not been unaffected by the fact that what it began working upon was the symptom a thing which is more foreign to the ego than anything else in the mind The symptom has its origin in the repressed it is as it were the representative of the repressed in relation to the ego the repressed is a foreign territory to the ego an internal foreign territory just as reality is—you must excuse the unusual expres sion—an external foreign territory From the symptom the path of psycho analysis led to the unconscious to the life of the instincts to sexuality and it was then that psycho analysis was met by illuminating criticisms to the effect that man is not merely a sexual being but has nobler and higher feelings It might have been added that supported by the consciousness of those higher feelings he often allowed himself the right to think nonsense and to overlook facts

You know better than that From the very beginning our view was that men fall ill owing to the conflict between the demands of their instincts and the internal resistance which is set up against them not for a moment did we forget this resisting rejecting and repressing factor which we believed to be furnished with its own special forces the ego instincts and which corresponds to the ego of popular psy chology The difficulty was that since the progress of all scientific work is necessarily la borious [illegible] part of [illegible] ment on [illegible] At last we had got so far that we could turn our atten tion from the repressed to the repressing forces and we came face to face with the ego which seemed to need so little explanation with the certain expectation that there too we should find things for which we could not have been prepared but it was not easy to find a first method of approach That is what I am going to talk to you about today

Before I start I may tell you that I have a suspicion that my account of the psychology of the ego will affect you differently than the introduction into the psychological underworld that preceded it Why that should be the case, I cannot say for certain My original explana tion was that you would feel that whereas hitherto I have been telling you in the main about facts however strange and odd they might appear this time you would be listening chiefly to theories that is to say speculations But that is not quite true when I weighed the matter more carefully I was obliged to con clude that the part played by intellectual manipulation of the facts is not much greater in our ego psychology than it was in the psy chology of the neuroses Other explanations turned out to be equally untenable and I now think that the character of the material itself is responsible and the fact that we are not accustomed to dealing with it Anyhow I shall not be surprised if you are more hesitant and careful in your judgment than you have been hitherto

The situation in which we find ourselves at the beginning of our investigation will itself suggest the path we have to follow We wish to make the ego the object of our study our own ego But how can we do that? The ego is the subject *par excellence* how can it become the object? There is no doubt however that it can The ego can take itself as object it can treat itself like any other object observe itself criticize itself and do Heaven knows what besides with itself In such a case one part of the ego stands over against the other The ego can then be split it splits when it performs many of its functions at least for the time be ing The parts can afterwards join up again After all that is saying nothing new perhaps it is only underlining more than usual some thing that every one knows already But on the other hand we are familiar with the view that pathology with its magnification and ex aggeration can make us aware of normal phe nomena which we should otherwise have missed Where pathology displays a breach or a cleft under normal conditions there may well be a link If we throw a crystal to the ground it breaks but it does not break haphazard in ac cordance with the lines of cleavage it falls into fragments whose limits were already deter mined by the structure of the crystal although they were invisible Psychotics are fissured and splintered structures such as these We cannot deny them a measure of that awe with which madmen were regarded by the peoples of an cient times They have turned away from ex ternal reality but for that very reason they know more of internal psychic reality and can

t.. is much tha would otherwise be inacces- s... to us One group of them su er wha we n.. delusion of observation. They complain t..t they suffer continually and in their ...st ... mina ... ction from the observation of unknown powers o persons and they have hal... ...ons in which they hear these persons reporting the results of their bservations "Now he is going to say this now he is dress- ... himself to go out, and so on. Such observa ... is not the same thing as persecution but ... is not far removed from it. It implies that these persons distrust the patient and expect to catch him doing something that is forbidden and for which he will be punished How would it be if these mad peopl were right, if w all of us had an bserving function in our egos threatening us with punishment, which in their case ... merely become sharpl separated from ... ego and had been mistakenly projected into external reality

I d t know whether it will ppeal to you in the same way as it appeals to m Under the strong impression of this linical p cture, I formed the idea that the eparating ff f an observing function from the rest f th ego might be ormal feature f the ego ructure this idea has ever l ft me and I was driven to investigate the f rth characteristics and re- ... of the function which had been separated ... this wa The ext tep is soon taken. The actual content f th delusion f bs rva tion makes i probabl that th bservat on is only a first tep t wards con ... and punish- ment, so that w ma guess that an ther a ... of this function must be what w call conscience. There is hardly an thin that we separat ff from our ego so regula ly as our conscience and so easily set ove ainst t I feel temptation t do something which prom ises t bring m pleasure but I refrain from doing it on the ground that *my onscienc will not allow* *i* Or I allow myself t be persuaded by the greatness of th expect tion of pleasure ... doing ... against which the oice f my conscience ha pro ested and after I have don t my conscience punishes m with painful reproaches, and makes m feel rem rs for t I must s... ly say that th function which I am beginning to distinguish within the ego is th conscience but t is m re prudent to keep that function as separa entity and assum that conscience is one of ts activities and that the self-observation which is ecessary as pre- liminary t the judicial aspect of con...cien is another And since the process of recognizing a thi... as a eparate entity involves giving it a name of ... own I will henceforward call this function in the e...o the *su er-ego*

At this point I am qu te prepared for you to a..k cornfull whether our ego-psychology amounts to no more than takin everyda ab- stract ons l terall magnif ... them, and turn- ing them from concepts into things—which w uld not be of much a ... tance M answer to that is that in ego-psychology it will be d f ficult to a oid what is alread familiar and that i is more a quest on of arri ... ing at new wa s of looking t things and new groupings of the facts than of makin new disco eries I will n t a...k you therefore to abandon our critical attitude but merely to await further developments The facts of path lo... g... e our efforts a background f r which you will look in vain in popular psycholog I will proceed No sooner ha e we got used to the idea of this super-ego as som thing which enjo s a certain independen e pursues its own ends and is ind pendent of the ego as regards the energy at its disposal than we are faced with a clin cal p cture which throws into stron relief the severity a d even cru l ... of this function a d th vicissitudes through which its relations with th ego may pa...s I refer to the condition of m l... cho ia o more a curat l the m lan ch lic attack, f which you must ha e heard ofte enough even if you are not psychiatrists. In this d ea... about whose causes and mecha n...m we know far too li tle the mo t remark ab characteristic is the wa in which the super-ego— ou ma call t b...t in a whisper th *conscience*—tre ts the ego The melancho- liac during period of heal h can like any one lse be m re o less severe towards himself but when he has m lancholic ttack, his ...pe -ego becomes er e re abuses humili

though it had spent the whole interval in amass ing omplaints and was only waiting for t present increase in trength t bring them f rward, and t co demn th ego on their c count. Th supe -ego has the e t its mercy

between th ego and th super-ego It is a ery remarkable experience to bserve morality which was osten...ibly onf rred on us by God

and planted deep in our hearts functioning as a periodical phenomenon For after a certain number of months the whole moral fuss is at an end the critical voice of the super ego is silent the ego is reinstated and enjoys once more all the rights of man until the next attack Indeed in many forms of the malady something exactly the reverse takes place during the intervals the ego finds itself in an ecstatic state of exaltation it triumphs as though the super ego had lost all its power or had become merged with the ego and this liberated maniac ego gives itself up in a really uninhibited fashion to the satisfaction of all its desires Happenings rich in unsolved riddles!

You will expect me to do more than give a mere example in support of my statement that we have learnt a great deal about the formation of the super ego that is of the origin of conscience The philosopher Kant once declared that nothing proved to him the greatness of God more convincingly than the starry heavens and the moral conscience within us The stars are unquestionably superb but where conscience is concerned God has been guilty of an uneven and careless piece of work for a great many men have only a limited share of it or scarcely enough to be worth mentioning This does not mean however that we are overlooking the fragment of psychological truth which is contained in the assertion that conscience is of divine origin! but the assertion needs interpretation Conscience is no doubt something within us but it has not been there from the beginning In this sense it is the opposite of sexuality which is certainly present from the very beginning of life and is not a thing that only comes in later But small children are notoriously amoral They have no internal inhibitions against their pleasure seeking impulses The role which the super ego undertakes later in life is at first played by an external power by parental authority The influence of the parents dominates the child by granting proofs of affection and by threats of punishment which to the child mean loss of love and which must also be feared on their own account This objective anxiety is the forerunner of the later moral anxiety so long as the former is dominant one need not speak of super ego or of conscience It is only later that the secondary situation arises which we are far too ready to regard as the normal state of affairs the external restrictions are introjected so that the super ego takes the place of the parental function and thenceforward observes guides and threatens the ego in just the same way as the parents acted to the child before

The super ego which in this way has taken over the power the aims and even the methods of the parental function is however not merely the legatee of parental authority it is actually the heir of its body It proceeds directly from it and we shall soon learn in what way this comes about First however we must pause to consider a point in which they differ The super ego seems to have made a one sided selection and to have chosen only the harshness and severity of the parents their preventive and punitive functions while their loving care is not taken up and continued by it If the parents have really ruled with a rod of iron we can easily understand the child developing a severe super ego but contrary to our expectations experience shows that the super ego may reflect the same relentless harshness even when the up bringing has been gentle and kind and avoided threats and punishment as far as possible We shall return to this contradiction later when we are dealing with the transmutation of instincts in the formation of the super ego

I cannot tell you as much as I could wish about the change from the parental function to the super ego partly because that process is so complicated that a description of it does not fit into the framework of a set of introductory lectures such as these and partly because we ourselves do not feel that we have fully understood it You will have to be satisfied therefore with the following indications The basis of the process is what we call an *identification* that is to say that one ego becomes like another one which results in the first ego behaving itself in certain respects in the same way as the second it imitates it and as it were takes it into itself This identification has been not inappropriately compared with the oral cannibalistic incorporation of another person Identification is a very important kind of relationship with another person probably the most primitive and is not to be confused with object choice One can express the difference between them in this way when a boy identifies himself with his father he wants to *be like* his father when he makes him the object of his choice he wants to *have* him to possess him in the first case his ego is altered on the model of his father in the second case that is not necessary Identification and object choice are broadly speaking independent of each other but one can identify oneself with a person and

ter o s ego accordingl a d take the same person as one s sexual object. It is said that this altering of the ego by the sexual obj ct takes place ry often with women a d is characteristic of femininity With regard to wh is by fa th most instructi e relation between identificat on and object-cho ce I must have given you me informat o in my previ

d
lf
p

tern m d on s eg so that in this case obj ect-cho ce regres es as it were to identifi ca on.

I m myself not at all satisfied with this a count of ident fication b t t will suffice f you ll grant that the establi hm nt of the

a super- r funct on within the ego is extremely closel bound up with the f te of the Oedipus complex, so that the super-eg ppears s the h of that emotional tie which is of such importance f r childhood When th Oedipus comp passes away th hild mu t gi e up t eir ense object c thexes wh h t ha formed tow rds ts pa ent a d to compe sate fo this loss of bject its dentific tion with its pa ents wh h ha probabl lon been present becom reatl inten ified. Identificat ons of th kind, which may be loo ed on s precip t tes of abando ed ob t cathexes will ecur ten eno h in th later lif f the child but it is in keeping with th em t onal importance f this first insta ce of such tran f rmation th t t prod ct hould occupy spec al po t on in the e Further in estigation also reveals that th uper-ego does n ttain t full st engt a development f the o er omn, f th Oedi pus c mp ex ha been compl t l s cces ful. During the course f t gr wth th uper-ego also takes over th influence of th se persons w ha ta en t place of the pa ents that is to f persons wh ha been on rned in the child's upbringing and whom it ha regarded s eal mod l A rmall th super-e is con tan ly becoming m e and m re rem t from t ginal pa ents, becoming as t were more imper nal An ther thin that w m t n t f rget is that th child alues ts parent dif ferentl t different periods of ts li At th tim at which th Oedipus omplex makes way for the super-ego they eem to be plendid figures but later on they lose a good deal of th r p esti e Identifications take place w th these lat r ed tions of the parents as well and regula ly pro ide important contribut ons to the format on of character but these only af fect the ego they have no influence on the super-ego which has been determined by the earliest parental imagos

I hope ou will by now feel that in pos ul tin the ex tence of a uper-ego I have been de cribin a genuine tructural entit a d have no been merel personif ing an abstract on u h as cons ence We have now to mention anoth r important act ty which i to be as cr bed to the super ego It is also the eh cle of *the ego- deal*, by which the ego measures itself t wards wh ch it str es and whose demands f r ever increasin perf ction i is alwa s tr ing t fulfil. No doubt this ego deal is a pre-cip t tion of the d dea f the parents an express on of the dmiration wh ch the child felt f r the perfect on wh ch it at that time ascribed t them I know you ha e heard a gre t deal abo t the en e of inferiority wh ch is said to d tinguish the neu otic ubject. It crops up especially in th pages of works that ha literary pretens ons A writer who brings in the xpres ion *inferiori y-com lex* thinks he has satisfied all the dema ds of psycho-anal s s and ra ed hi wo k o t a high r psycho ogi cal plane As a matt r f fact th phra e *in feriority-compl x* is hardly ever used in psycho-anal sis. It does not refer to anyth g wh ch w re ard as impl I t lone elementary To trace t back to th percept on in on e f of ome organic disab lity r o her s t chool of o-called Ind dual Psych ogi ts like to d seems to us a short s ghted error The en e of inferiority has stro erot ba The child feels se f inferio when it perce es tha t is not l ved, and o does the adult as w l. Th only organ th t s really rega ded as inf r r is the tur ed penis—th gi l s cl toris But th maj r part of the sense f inf riority springs from th relation hip f the ego to its uper-eg and like the en e of guilt t is an expres on of the t n on between them. Th sen e f in f n rity and th sense of gui are ex eedi ly difficult t di tinguish. P haps we hould d bet t f we regarded the former as t erot com plement to the ens of moral in eriority We ha paid but little attention to such questions of co ceptual di ere tia on in psycho-analysis.

Seeing th t th inf ri rity-compl x has be com so popula I shall venture to treat you to

and planted deep in our hearts functioning as a periodical phenomenon For after a certain number of months the whole moral fuss is at an end the critical voice of the super ego is silent the ego is reinstated and enjoys once more all the rights of man until the next attack Indeed in many forms of the malady something exactly the reverse takes place during the intervals the ego finds itself in an ecstatic state of exaltation [illegible] uelated maniac ego gives itself up in a really uninhibited fashion to the satisfaction of all its desires Happenings rich in unsolved riddles!

You will expect me to do more than give a mere example in support of my statement that we have learnt a great deal about the formation of the super ego that is of the origin of conscience The philosopher Kant once declared that nothing proved to him the greatness of God more convincingly than the starry heavens and the moral conscience within us The stars are unquestionably superb but where conscience is concerned God has been guilty of an uneven and careless piece of work for a great many men have only a limited share of it or scarcely enough to be worth mentioning This does not mean however that we are overlooking the fragment of psychological truth which is contained in the assertion that conscience is of divine origin! but the assertion needs interpretation Conscience is no doubt something within us but it has not been there from the beginning In this sense it is the opposite of sexuality which is certainly present from the very beginning of life and is not a thing that only comes in later But small children are notoriously amoral They have no internal inhibitions against their pleasure seeking impulses The role which the super ego undertakes later in life is at first played by an external power by parental authority The influence of the parents dominates the child by granting proofs of affection and by threats of punishment which to the child mean loss of love and which must also be feared on their own account This objective anxiety is the forerunner of the later moral anxiety so long as the former is dominant one need not speak of super ego or of conscience It is only later that the secondary situation arises which we are far too ready to regard as the normal state of affairs the external restrictions are introjected so that the super ego takes the place of the parental function and thenceforward observes guides and threatens the ego in just the same way as the parents acted to the child before

The super ego which in this way has taken over the power the aims and even the method of the parental function is however not merely the legatee of parental authority it is actually the heir of its body It proceeds directly from it and we shall soon learn in what way this comes about First however we must pause to consider a point in which they differ The super ego seems to have made a one sided selection and to have chosen only the harshness and severity of the parents their preventive and punitive functions while their loving care is not taken up and continued by it If the parents have really ruled with a rod of iron we can easily understand the child developing a severe super ego but contrary to our expectation experience shows that the super ego may reflect the same relentless harshness even when the up bringing has been gentle and kind and avoided threats and punishment as far as possible We shall return to this contradiction later when we are dealing with the transmutation of instincts in the formation of the super ego

I cannot tell you as much as I could wish about the change from the parental function to the super ego partly because that process is so complicated that a description of it does not fit into the framework of a set of introductory lectures such as these and partly because we ourselves do not feel that we have fully understood it You will have to be satisfied therefore with the following indications The basis of the process is what we call an *identification* that is to say that one ego becomes like another one which results in the first ego behaving *itself in certain respects in the same way* as the second it imitates it and as it were takes it into itself This identification has been not inappropriately compared with the oral cannibalistic incorporation of another person Identification is a very important kind of relationship with another person probably the most primitive and is not to be confused with object choice One can express the difference between them in this way when a boy identifies himself with his father he wants to *be like* his father when he makes him the object of his choice he wants to *have* him to possess him in the first case his ego is altered on the model of his father in the second case that is not necessary Identification and object choice are broadly speaking independent of each other but one can identify oneself with a person and

an old one. As so often happens it has taken a long time for its true value to be appreciated. As you are aware, the whole of psycho-analytic theory is in fact built up on the perception of the resistance exerted by the patient when we try to make him conscious of his unconscious. The objective indication of resistance is that his associations stop short or wander far away from the theme that is being discussed. He may also become subjectively aware of the resistance by experiencing painful feelings when he approaches the theme. But this last indication may be absent. In such a case we say to the patient that we conclude from his behaviour *that he is in a state of resistance, and he replies* that he knows nothing about it and is only aware of difficulty in associating. Experience shows that we were right, but, if so, his resistance too must have been unconscious, just as unconscious as the repressed material which we were trying to bring to the surface. Long ago we should have asked from which part of the mind such an unconscious resistance could operate. The beginner in psycho-analysis will be ready at once with the answer that it must be the resistance of the unconscious. An *ambiguous and useless answer! If it means that* the resistance operates from the repressed, then we must say: Certainly not! To the repressed we must rather ascribe a strong upward drive, an impulse to get through to consciousness. The resistance can only be a manifestation of the ego, which carried through the repression at one time or other and is now endeavouring to keep it up. And that, too, was our earlier view. Now that we have posited a special function within the ego to represent the demand for restriction and rejection, i.e. the super-ego, we can say that repression is the work of this super-ego—either that it does its work on its own account or else that the ego does it in obedience to its orders. If now we are faced with the case where the patient under analysis is not conscious of his resistance, then it must be that the super-ego and the ego can operate unconsciously in quite important situations, which would be far more significant that parts of both ego and super-ego themselves are *unconscious*. In both cases we should have to take account of the disturbing view that the ego (including the super-ego) does not by any means completely coincide with the conscious, nor the repressed with the unconscious.

Ladies and Gentlemen—I feel I must have a little breathing space, which I expect you will welcome with relief, and before I go on I must make an apology. Here am I giving you a supplement to the introduction to psycho-analysis which I started fifteen years ago, and I am behaving *as though you yourselves* had been doing nothing but psycho-analysis all that time. I know it is a monstrous supposition, but I am helpless. I have no alternative. The reason is that it is exceedingly difficult to give an *insight into psycho-analysis* to any one who is not himself a psycho-analyst. I assure you that we do not like to give the effect of being members of a secret society carrying on a secret science. And yet we have been obliged to recognize and state as our *considered opinion that no one has* a right to a say in psycho-analysis unless he has been through certain experiences which he can only have by being analysed himself. When I delivered my lectures to you fifteen years ago I tried to let you off certain speculative parts of our theory, but it is with those very parts that are connected the new discoveries which I am going to speak of to-day.

Now let me return to my theme. With regard to the two alternatives—that the ego and the super-ego may themselves be unconscious *or that they may merely give rise to unconscious* effects—we have for good reasons decided in favour of the former. Certainly large portions of the ego and super-ego can remain unconscious, *are in fact normally unconscious*. That means to say that the individual knows nothing of their contents and that it requires an expenditure of effort to make him conscious *of them. It is true then that ego and conscious*, repressed and unconscious do not coincide. We are forced fundamentally to revise our attitude towards the problem of conscious and unconscious. At first *we might be inclined* to think very much less of the importance of consciousness as a criterion, since it has proved so untrustworthy. But if we did so we should be wrong. It is the same with life: it is not worth much, but it is all that we have. Without the light shed by the quality of consciousness we should be lost in the darkness of depth psychology. Nevertheless we must try to orientate ourselves anew.

What is meant by *conscious* we need not discuss; *it is beyond all doubt*. The oldest and best meaning of the word *conscious* is the descriptive one; we call *unconscious* any mental process the existence of which we are obliged to assume—because, for instance, we infer it in some way from its effects—but of which we are not directly aware. We have the same re-

a short digression A historical personage of our own time who is still living but who for the present has retired into the background suffers from the mal development of a limb caused by an injury at birth A very well known contemporary writer who has a predilection for writing the biographies of famous persons has dealt with the life of the man to whom I am referring Now if one is writing a bio raphy it is naturally very difficult to suppress the urge for psychological understanding The author has therefore made an attempt to build up the whole development of his hero s character on the basis of a sense of inferiority which was caused by his physical defect While doing this he has overlooked a small but not unimportant fact It is usual for mothers to whom fate has given a sickly or otherwise defective child to try to compensate for this unfair handicap with an extra amount of love In the case we are speaking of the proud mother behaved quite differently she withdrew her love from the child on account of his disability When the child grew up into a man of great power he proved beyond all doubt by his behaviour that he had never forgiven his mother If you will bear in mind the importance of mother love for the mental life of the child you will be able to make the necessary corrections in the inferiority theory of the bio rapher

But let us get back to the super ego We have allocated to it the activities of self observation conscience and the holding up of ideals It follows from our account of its origin that it is based upon an overwhelmingly important biological fact no less than upon a momentous psychological fact namely the lengthy dependence of the human child on its parents and the Oedipus complex these two facts moreover are closely bound up with each other For us the super ego is the representative of all moral restrictions the advocate of the impulse towards perfection in short it is as much as we have been able to apprehend psychologically of what people call the hi her things in human life Since it itself can be traced back to the influence of parents teachers and so on we shall learn more of its significance if we turn our attention to these sources In general parents and similar authorities follow the dictates of their own super egos in the upbringin of children Whatever terms their ego may be on with their super ego in the education of the child they are [illegible]

fully at last with their own parents who in their day subjected them to such severe restraints The result is that the super ego of the child is not really built up on the model of the parents but on that of the parents super ego it take over the same content it becomes the vehicle of tradition and of all the age long values which have been handed down in this way from generation to generation You may easily guess what great help is afforded by the recognition of the super ego in understandin the social behaviour of man in gra ping the problem of delinquency for example and perhaps too in providing us with some practical hints upon education It is probable that the so called [illegible]

[illegible] re nothing more than resultants of their economic situation at any given moment or superstructures built upon it That is the truth but very probably it is not the whole truth Mankind never lives completely in the present the ideologies of the super-ego perpetuate the past the traditions of the race and the people which yield but slowly to the influence of the present and to new developments and so long as they work throu h the super ego play an important part in man s life quite independently of economic conditions

In 1921 I tried to apply the distinction between the ego and the super-e[illegible]

[illegible] uals who have introduced the same person into their super ego and on the basis of this common factor have identified themselves with one another in their ego This naturally only holds for groups who have a le der If we could find more applications of this kind the hypothesis of the super ego would lo e all its strangeness for us and we should be entirely relieved of the embarrassment which we cannot help feeling when used as we are to the atmosphere of the underworld we make excursions into the more superficial and higher planes of the mental apparatus Of course we do not for a moment think that the last word on ego psychology has been spoken with the demarcation of the super ego It is rather the beginning of the subject but in this case it is not only the first step that is difficult.

But now another task awaits us as it were at the opposite end of the ego This question is raised by an observation which is made during analytic work an ob ervation which is indeed

we ought not to deplore this fact but that we should say to ourselves that we had no right to expect any such neat arrangement. Let me give you an analogy; analogies prove nothing, that is quite true, but they can make one feel more at home. Let us picture a country with a great variety of geographical configurations, hills, plains, and chains of lakes, and with mixed nationalities living in it, Germans, Magyars and Slovaks, who moreover are engaged upon a number of different occupations. Now the distribution might be such that the Germans lived in the hills and kept cattle, the Magyars on the plains and grew corn and vines, while the Slovaks lived by the lakes and caught fish and plaited reeds. If this distribution were neat and exact it would no doubt give great satisfaction to a President Wilson; it would also be convenient for giving a geography lesson. It is probable, however, that you would find a less orderly state of affairs if you visited the region. Germans, Magyars and Slovaks would be living everywhere mixed up together, and there would be cornlands, too, in the hills, and cattle would be kept on the plains as well. One or two things would be as you expected, for one cannot catch fish on the mountains, and wine does not grow in water. The picture of the region which you had brought with you might on the whole fit the facts, but in details you would have to put up with departures from it.

You must not expect me to tell you much that is new about the id, except its name. It is the obscure inaccessible part of our personality; the little we know about it we have learnt from the study of dream-work and the formation of neurotic symptoms, and most of that is of a negative character, and can only be described as being all that the ego is not. We can come nearer to the id with images, and call it a chaos, a cauldron of seething excitement. We suppose that it is somewhere in direct contact with somatic processes, and takes over from them instinctual needs and gives them mental expression, but we cannot say in what substratum this contact is made. These instincts fill it with energy, but it has no organization and no unified will, only an impulsion to obtain satisfaction for the instinctual needs, in accordance with the pleasure-principle. The laws of logic—above all, the law of contradiction—do not hold for processes in the id. Contradictory impulses exist side by side without neutralizing each other or drawing apart; at most they combine in compromise formations under the overpowering economic pressure towards discharging their energy. There is nothing in the id which can be compared to negation, and we are astonished to find in it an exception to the philosophers' assertion that space and time are necessary forms of our mental acts. In the id there is nothing corresponding to the idea of time, no recognition of the passage of time, and (a thing which is very remarkable and awaits adequate attention in philosophic thought) no alteration of mental processes by the passage of time. Conative impulses which have never got beyond the id, and even impressions which have been pushed down into the id by repression, are virtually immortal and are preserved for whole decades as though they had only recently occurred. They can only be recognized as belonging to the past, deprived of their significance, and robbed of their charge of energy, after they have been made conscious by the work of analysis, and no small part of the therapeutic effect of analytic treatment rests upon this fact.

It is constantly being borne in upon me that we have made far too little use of our theory of *the indubitable fact that the repressed remains unaltered by the passage of time.* This seems to offer us the possibility of an approach to some really profound truths. But I myself have made no further progress here.

Naturally, the id knows no values, no good and evil, no morality. The economic, or, if you prefer, the quantitative factor, which is so closely bound up with the pleasure-principle, dominates all its processes. Instinctual cathexes seeking discharge—that, in our view, is all that the id contains. It seems, indeed, as if the energy of these instinctual impulses is in a different condition from that in which it is found in the other regions of the mind. It must be far more fluid and more capable of being discharged, for otherwise we should not have those displacements and condensations, which are so characteristic of the id and which are so completely independent of the qualities of what is cathected. (In the ego we should call it an *idea.*) What would one not give to understand these things better! You observe, in any case, that we can attribute to the id other characteristics than that of being unconscious, and you are aware of the possibility that parts of the ego and super-ego are unconscious without possessing the same primitive and irrational quality. As regards a characterization of the ego, in so far as it is to be distinguished from the id and the super-ego, we shall get on better if we turn our attention to the relation between

lation to that mental process as we have to a mental process in another person except that it belongs to ourselves If we want to be more accurate we should modify the statement by saying that we call a process *unconscious* when we have to assume that it was active *at a certain time* although *at that time* we knew nothing about it This restriction reminds us that most conscious processes are conscious only for a short period quite soon they become *latent* though they can easily become conscious again We could also say that they had become unconscious if we were certain that they were still something mental when they were in the latent condition So far we should have learnt nothing and not even have earned the right to introduce the notion of the unconscious into psychology But now we come across a new fact which we can already observe in the case of errors We find that in order to explain a slip of the tongue for instance we are obliged to assume that an intention to say some particular thing had formed itself in the mind of the person who made the slip We can infer it with certainty from the occurrence of the speech disturbance but it was not able to obtain expression it was that is to say unconscious If we subsequently bring the intention to the speaker s notice he may recognize it as a familiar one in which case it was only temporarily unconscious or he may repudiate it as foreign to him in which case it was permanently unconscious Such an observation as this justifies us in also regarding what we have called *latent* as something *unconscious* The consideration of these dynamic relations puts us in a position to distinguish two kind of unconscious one which is transformed into conscious material easily and under conditions which frequently arise and another in the case of which such a transformation is difficult can only come about with a considerable expenditure of energy or may never occur at all In order to avoid any ambiguity as to whether we are referring to the one or the other unconscious whether we are using the word in the descriptive or dynamic sense we make use of a legitimate and simple expedient We call the unconscious which is only latent and so can easily become conscious the *preconscious* and keep the name *unconscious* for the other We have now three terms *conscious preconscious* and *unconscious* to serve our purposes in describing mental phenomena Once again from a purely descriptive point of view the *preconscious* is also unconscious but we do not give it that name except when we are speaking loosely or when we have to defend in general the existence of unconscious processes in mental life

You will I hope grant that so far things are not so bad and that the scheme is a convenient one That is all very well unfortunately our psycho analytic work has compelled us to use the word *unconscious* in yet another third sense and this may very well have given rise to confusion Psycho analysis has impressed us very strongly with the new idea that large and important regions of the mind are normally removed from the knowledge of the ego so that the processes which occur in them must be recognized as unconscious in the true dynamic sense of the term We have consequently also attributed to the word *unconscious* a topographical or systematic meaning we have talked of *systems* of the preconscious and of the unconscious and of a conflict between the ego and the *Ucs* system so that the word *unconscious* has more and more been made to mean a mental province rather than a quality which mental things have At this point the discovery inconvenient at first sight that parts of the ego and super ego too are unconscious in the dynamic sense has a facilitating effect and enables us to remove a complication We evidently have no right to call that region of the mind which is neither ego or super ego the *Ucs* system since the character of unconsciousness is not exclusive to it Very well we will no longer use the word *unconscious* in the sense of a system and to what we have hitherto called by that name we will give a better one which will not give rise to misunderstandings Borrowing at G Groddeck s suggestion a term used by Nietzsche we will call it henceforward the *id* This impersonal pronoun seems particularly suited to express the essential character of this province of the mind—the character of being foreign to the ego Super ego ego and id then are the three realms regions or provinces into which we divide the mental apparatus of the individual and it is their mutual relations with which we shall be concerned in what follows

But before we go on I must make a short digression I have no doubt that you are dissatisfied with the fact that the three qualities of the mind in respect to consciousness and the three regions of the mental apparatus do not fall together into three harmonious pairs and that you feel that the clarity of our conclusions is consequently impaired My own view is that

mands are always di ergent and often seem quite incompatible no wo der that the ego so frequently gives wa und r its ta k. The three tyrants are the external wo ld the uper-ego and th id. When one w t hes the efforts of the ego to sati f them all or rathe to obey them all simultaneously o e cannot regret ha ing personified the ego and establi hed it a separate being It feels it elf hemmed in on three s des and threatened by three kinds of dange towards which it reacts by developing anxiety when t is too hard pressed. Ha ing originated m th experiences of th perceptual sy em t is designed to represent the demands o the external world but it als wi hes t be loyal servant of th id to remain upo good

id and ality t is often fo ced to clothe the Ucs commands of the d with it own Pcs rati n alizations to gl ss o er the onflicts between the id and real t and with diplomat c dis h est to displa pretended regard for reality even when the d pers ts in being stubborn and unc mpromising On th oth r hand, its every movement is w tched by the ev re super-ego which holds up certain n rms f be ha our witho t regard to any difficulties coming from the id a d th xternal w ld nd if these norms re ot acted up to it punishes the ego w th the feelings of tens o which manifest themsel es s a sens of infer rity and guilt. In this wa go ded on by th d hemmed in by th supe -ego and ebuffed by reality the ego truggles to cope with t econ mic ta k of redu ing the f es and in fluen es which w k in t and upo t to som kind f harm y and we ma w ll understand how t is that we o often cannot repres the cry Life is ot asy Wh th ego is forced to acknowledge ts weaknes it b eak out into anx t eality anxiety in f c of the t rnal d rmal anx ty in f f the super-ego and eurotic anxiety in f ce of th trength of the passions in the d

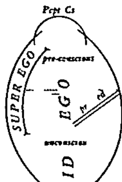
I ha e represented the structural relations within th mental personality as I ha ex plained them t yo in a simpl diagram which I here ep od c

You will bserve how the super-ego goes down int th d as the heir to the Oedipus c mplex t has lt r ll intimate conn tions w th th id It lies furth from the pe eptual system than the ego The d only de ls with th external w rld thro gh th medium of th ego

at lea t in this diagram It is certainly still too ea ly to y how far the drawing is correct in ne respect I know t i not. The space taken up by the unconscious id ought to be incomparably greater than that gi en to the ego or to the precon c ous You must if you please cor rect th t in your imagination

And now in co cl ding this certainly rather exhausting and perhaps not very illum natin k

just ce to the characteristics of the mind b means of line r co to rs uch as occur in a drawing o in a primitive painting but we need rather the areas of c l ur shading off into one an the that re to be found in mod rn p c tures After we ha e made our separations we must allow what we ha e separated to merge again Do not jud e too harshly of a first at t mpt at p cturing a thing so elusi e as the human mind It is ery probable that the extent of these diff rentiations varies very greatly f om person to pers it s possible that the r functi itself may vary and that they may at times und rgo a process of involution This seems to be part cularly true of the most in ecure and, from the ph loge tic point of ew th mo t recent of them, the diff rentiat on between the go and the supe ego It is also



incontestable that th sam thi g can come bout as result of m ntal di ease It can easily be imagined too that c rtain practices of mystics may succeed in upsetting the normal relation between th diff rent regions of the mind s that f r example th pe ceptual sys tem becomes abl t gra p relati ns in the deepe la ers f the ego and in th d which would oth rwis be ina cess ble t t. Whether

it and the most superficial portion of the men tal apparatus which we call the *Pcpt Cs* (perceptual conscious) system This system is directed on to the external world it mediates perceptions of it and in it is generated while it is functioning the phenomenon of conscious ne s It is the sense organ of the whole [illegible]

[illegible] can hardly go wrong in regarding the ego as that part of the id which has been modified by its proximity to the external world and the influence that the latter has had on it and which serves the purpose of receiving stimuli and protecting the organism from them like the cortical layer with which a particle of living substance sur rounds itself This relation to the external world is decisive for the ego The ego has taken over the task of representin the external world for the id and so of saving it for the id blindly striving to gratify its instincts in compl[illegible]

[illegible] ego has to ob serve the external world and preserve a true picture of it in the memory traces left by its perceptions and by means of the reality test it has to eliminate any element in this picture of the external world which is a contribution from internal sources of excitation On behalf of the id the ego controls the path of access to motility but it interpolates between desire and action the procrastinating factor of thou ht during which it makes use of the residues of experience stored up in memory In this way it dethrones the pleasure principle which exerts undisputed sway over the processes in the id and substitutes for it the reality principle which promises greater security and greater success

The relation to time too which is so hard to describe is communicated to the ego by the perceptual system indeed it can hardly be doubted that the mode in which this system works is the source of the idea of time What however especially marks the ego out in con tra distinction to the id is a tendency to synthesize its contents to bring to ether and unify its mental processes which is entirely absent from the id When we come to deal presently with the instincts in mental life I hope we shall succeed in tracing this funda mental characteristic of the ego to its source It is this alone that produces that high degree of organization which the ego needs for its highe[illegible] the cont[illegible] throu[illegible] stinct becom[illegible] ization and [illegible] unity In popular language we may say that the ego stands for reason and circumspection while the id stands for the untamed passions

So far we have allowed ourselves to dwell on the enumeration of the merits and capabilities of the ego it is time now to look at the other side of the picture The ego is after all only a part of the id a part purposively modified by its proximity to the dangers of reality From a dynamic point of view it is weak it borrows its energy from the id and we are not entirely ignorant of the methods—one might almost call them tricks —by means of which it draws further amounts of energy from the id Such a method for example is the process of identi fication whether the object is retained or given up The object cathexes proceed from the in stinctual demands of the id The first business of the ego is to take note of them But by identifying itself with the object it recom mends itself to the id in the place of the object and seeks to attract the libido of the id on to itself We have already een that, in the course of a person s life the ego takes into itself a large number of such precipitates of former object cathexes On the whole the e o has to carry out the intentions of the id it fulfils its duty if it succeeds in creating the conditions under which these intentions can best be ful filled One might compare the relation of the ego to the id with that between a rider and his horse The horse provides the locomotive energy and the rider has the prerogative of determining the goal and of guiding the move ments of his powerful mount towards it But all too often in the relations between the ego and the id we find a picture of the less ideal situation in which the rider is obliged to guide hi horse in the direction in which it itself wants to go

The ego has separated itself off from one part of the id by means of repression resist ances But the barrier of repression does not extend into the id so that the repressed mate rial merges into the rest of the id

The proverb tells us that one cannot serve two masters at once The poor ego has a still harder time of it it has to serve three harsh masters and has to do its best to reconcile the claims and demands of all three These de

me. I even thought it was justifiable to say that this unsatisfied libido is directly transformed into anxiety. This view found some support in certain almost universal phobias of small children. Many of these phobias are altogether enigmatic, but others such as the fear of being left alone and the fear of unfamiliar people can be definitely explained. Being left alone or seeing strange faces stirs up the child's longing for the familiar presence of its mother; it cannot control this libidinal excitation, it cannot keep it in a state of suspension, but turns it into anxiety. This anxiety in children, therefore, is not objective anxiety but must be classed among the neurotic anxieties. Children's phobias and the anxious expectation in anxiety-neurosis, serve as two examples of one way in which neurotic anxiety comes about, i.e., through direct transformation of libido. In a moment we shall learn of a second method, and we shall see that it is not so very different from the first.

For it is to the process of repression that we attribute the appearance of anxiety in hysteria and other neuroses. We now believe that it is possible to give a fuller description of this process than before if we separate the history of the idea that has to be repressed from that of the libido which is attached to it. It is the idea that undergoes repression and may be distorted so as to become unrecognizable; its associated affect is always turned into anxiety, regardless of its nature, whether that is to say it is aggression or love. Now it makes no essential difference on what grounds a given quantity of libido has become unusable, whether on account of the infantile weakness of the ego as in the case of children's phobias, or on account of somatic processes in sexual life, as in the case of anxiety neuroses, or on account of repression, as in the case of hysteria. The two mechanisms which give rise to neurotic anxiety are therefore essentially the same.

While we were engaged in these investigations we noticed a very important connection between anxiety-development and symptom formation. It was that the two are interchangeable. The agoraphobic, for example, begins his illness with an attack of anxiety in the street. This is repeated every time he walks along the street again. He now develops a symptom—a street phobia—which can also be described as an inhibition or functional restriction of the ego, and thus he preserves himself from anxiety attacks. One can observe the reverse process if one interferes with the formation of symptoms, as is possible, for instance, in the case of obsessive acts. If one prevents a patient from carrying out his washing ceremonial he is thrown into an intolerable state of anxiety, against which his symptom has obviously protected him. And indeed it seems as though anxiety-development is the earlier and symptom formation the later of the two, as though the symptom were created in order to prevent the outbreak of a state of anxiety. And it is in keeping with this that the first neuroses of childhood are phobias—conditions that is to say in which one sees quite clearly how what began as anxiety-development is later replaced by symptom formation; one gets an impression that this circumstance affords the best starting point from which to approach an understanding of neurotic anxiety. At the same time, we succeeded in discovering the answer to the question of what it is that one fears in neurotic anxiety, and thus restoring the connection between neurotic anxiety and objective anxiety. What one fears is obviously one's own libido. The difference between this and objective anxiety lies in two points—that the danger is an internal instead of an external one and that it is not consciously recognized.

In the case of phobias one can see clearly how this internal danger is transformed into

very complicated, and suppose that the agoraphobic is always afraid of his impulses in connection with temptations aroused in him by meeting people in the street. In his phobia he makes a displacement, and is now afraid of an external situation. What he gains thereby is obvious; it is that he feels he can protect himself better in that way. One can rescue oneself from an external danger by flight, whereas to attempt to fly from an internal danger is a difficult undertaking.

At the end of my original lecture on anxiety I expressed the opinion that though these various results of our investigations did not actually contradict one another they were nevertheless not entirely consistent. As an affective condition anxiety is the reproduction of an old danger-situation; even anxiety serves the purposes of self-preservation as being a signal of the presence of a new danger; it arises from libido that has become unusable for some reason or other including the process of repression; it is replaced by symptom formation and is thus, as it were, psychically

such a procedure can put one in possession of ultimate truths from which all good will flow may be safely doubted All the same we must admit that the therapeutic efforts of psycho analysis have chosen much the same method of approach For their object is to stren then the ego to make it more independent of the super e o to widen its field of vision and so to extend its organization that it can tal e over new portions of the id Where id was there shall ego be

It is reclamation work like the drainin of the Zuyder Zee

LECTURE 32

ANXIETY AND INSTINCTUAL LIFE

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN You will not be sur prised to hear that I have a great deal of new information to give you about our hypotheses on the subject of anxiety and the fundamental instincts of the mind and also that none of this information claims to provide a final solu tion of these doubtful problems I speak pur po ely of *hypotheses* This is the most difficult ta k that has been set us but the difficulty does not lie in the incompleteness of our obser vations for it is actually the commone t and mo t familiar phenomena that present us with such riddles nor does it lie in the remoteness of the speculations to which these phenomena give rise for peculation hardly comes into the picture in this connection No it is genuinely a que tion of hypotheses that is to say of the introduction of the ri ht abstract idea and of their application to the raw material of ob servation so as to bring order and lucidity into it

I devoted one lecture in my former series—the twenty fifth—to the study of anxiety I must recapitulate its contents in brief We said then that anxiety is an affective condition—that is to say a combination of certain feelings of the pleasure pain series with their corre ponding efferent innervations and a perception of them—but we asserted that anxiety i prob ably also the trace of a certain important event taken over by inheritance and therefore com parable to the ontogenetically acquired hyster ical attack We suggested that the event which left this affective trace behind it was the process of birth in which the modifications of the he rt s action and of respiration which are characteristic of anxiety served a u eful pur po e The first anxiety of all would thus have been a toxic one We then started from the distinction between objective anxiety and neu rotic anxiety the former being what seems to us an intelligible reaction to danger—that is to anticipated injury from without—and the latter altogether puzzlin and as it were pur poseless In our analysis of objective anxiety we explained it as a condition of increased sensory attention and motor tension which we c lled *anxiety preparedness* Out of this the anxiety reaction arises Th anxiety reaction may run one of two courses Either the *anxiety development* the repetition of the old traumatic experience is restricted to a signal in which ca e the rest of the reaction can adapt itself to the new situation of danger whether by flight or defence or the old experience gets the upper hand and the whole reaction ex hausts itself in anxiety development in which case the affective state is paralyzing and un adapted to the present situation

We then turned our attention to neurotic anxiety and pointed out that it could be ob served in three forms Firstly we have free floating general apprehensiveness ready to attach itself for the time being to any new po sibility that may arise in the form of what we call *expectant dread* as happens for in stance in the typical anxiety neurosis Second ly we find it firmly attached to certain ideas in what are known as *phobias* in which we can still recognize a connection with external dan ger but cannot help regarding the anxiety felt towards it as enormously exaggerated Thirdly and finally we have anxiety as it occurs in [illegible] and in other severe neuroses *this* [illegible] mani [illegible] ttack or as a [illegible] time but always without having any visible ju tifi cation in an external dan er We then a ked ourselves two questions What are people afraid of when they have neurotic anxiety? and How can one bring this kind of anxiety into line with objective anxiety felt towards an external danger?

Our investigations were by no means unsuc cessful and we succeeded in reaching a few important conclusions With regard to anxious expectation clinical experience has tau ht us that there is a regular relationship between it and the di position of the libido in the exual life The most frequent cau e of anxiety neu rosis is undi charged excitation A libidinal excitation is arou ed but is not atisfied or used in the place of th s libido which has been diverted from its use anxiety makes its appear

lized fear of the loss of love obviously a continuation of the fear of the infant at the breast when it misses its mother. You will understand what objective danger-situation is indicated by this kind of anxiety. If the mother is absent or has withdrawn her love from the child it can no longer be certain that its needs will be satisfied, and may be exposed to the most painful feelings of tension. There is no need to reject the idea that these conditions for anxiety fundamentally repeat the situation of the original birth-anxiety which had to be understood as implied separation from the mother. In deed, if you follow a line of thought suggested by Ferenczi, you may add fear of castration too to this series, for the loss of the male genital organ results in the impossibility of a reunion with the mother or with a substitute for her in the sexual act. I might mention, incidentally, that the common phantasy of returning to the womb is a substitute for this desire for coitus. There are still a great number of interesting and surprising facts which I must tell you about in this connection but I must not step beyond the bounds of an introduction to psycho-analysis. I will, therefore, merely draw your attention to the way in which, at this point, the findings of psychology take us to the frontiers of biological fact.

Otto Rank, to whom psycho-analysis owes many valuable contributions, has also the merit of having strongly emphasized the importance of the act of birth and of separation from the mother. It is true that the rest of us found it impossible to accept the extreme deductions that he drew from this factor with regard to the theory of the neuroses and even to analytical therapy. But before this he had already discovered the central feature of his doctrine, namely that the anxiety-experience of birth is the prototype of all later danger-situations. If we pause for a moment at this point we can say that, as a matter of fact, every stage of development has its own particular conditions for anxiety, that is to say danger-situation appropriate to it. The danger of mental helplessness corresponds to the stage of early immaturity of the ego, the danger of loss of object or of love corresponds to the dependence of the early years of childhood, the danger of castration to the phallic phase and finally the fear of the super-ego which occupies a special position, to the period of latency. As development proceeds the old conditions for anxiety should vanish, since the danger-situations which correspond to them, have lost their force owing to the strengthening of the ego. But this only happens to a very incomplete degree. A great many people cannot overcome the fear of loss of love; they never become independent enough of the love of other people and continue their infantile behaviour in this respect. The fear of the super-ego should normally never cease, since it is indispensable in social relations in the form of moral anxiety, and it is only in the rarest instances that an individual succeeds in becoming independent of the community. A few of the old danger-situations also manage to preserve their force in later life by bringing their conditions for anxiety up-to-date form. Thus for instance the danger of castration is preserved under the disguise of syphilidophobia. Grown-up people are well aware that castration is no longer practised as a punishment for indulging sexual desires, but, on the other hand, they have learned from experience that instinctual freedom in this direction involves the risk of severe illnesses. There is no doubt that persons whom we call *neurotic* remain infantile in their attitude towards danger and have not grown out of antiquated conditions for anxiety. Let us accept this as a factual contribution to our characterization of neurotics; why it should be so is not so easy to say.

I hope you have not lost the thread of our discourse and that you remember that we are discussing the relations between anxiety and repression. We have discovered two new facts in doing so: first, that anxiety causes repression and not the other way round as we used to think, and secondly, that frightening *instinctual* situations can in the last resort be traced back to *external* situations of danger. Our next question will be: How can we picture the process of repression carried out under the influence of anxiety? I think this is what happens: the ego becomes aware that the satisfaction of some nascent instinctual demand would evoke one among the well-remembered danger-situations. This instinctual cathexis must, therefore, somehow or other be suppressed, removed, made powerless. We know that the ego succeeds in this task if it is strong and if it has assimilated the impulse in question into its organization. In the case of repression however the impulse is still a part of the id and the ego feels weak. In such a contingency the ego calls to its aid a technique which is, at bottom, identical with that of normal thinking. Thinking is an experimental dealing with small quantities of energy, just as a general moves miniature

bound in all of this one feels that something is missing which would combine these fragments into a unity

Ladies and Gentlemen—The division of the mental personality into a super ego ego and id which I spoke about in the last lecture has forced us to take up a new position with regard to the problem of anxiety In assuming that the ego is the only seat of anxiety and that only the ego can produce and feel anxiety we have taken up a new and secure position from which many facts take on a new aspect And when you come to think of it it is difficult to see what sense there could be in speaking of an *anxiety of the id* or how we could ascribe a capacity for feeling anxiety to the super ego On the contrary we have found a satisfactory confirmation of our theory in the fact that the three main varieties of anxiety—objective anxiety neurotic anxiety and moral anxiety—can so easily be related to the three directions in which the ego is dependent on the external world on the id and on the super-ego Our new position too has brought to the fore the function of anxiety as a signal indicating the presence of a dan er situation a function with which we were already not unfamiliar The question of the stuff out of which anxiety is made loses interest for us and the relations between objective anxiety and neurotic anxiety are clarified and simplified in a surprising way And besides this it is to be noticed that we now understand the apparently complicated cases of anxiety formation better than we do those which seem to be simple

We have recently investigated the manner in which anxiety comes about in certain phobias which we class with anxiety hysteria and we have chosen for investigation cases in which we have to deal with the typical repression of desires proceeding from the Oedipus complex We should have expected to find that it is the libidinal cathexis of the mother as object which as a result of repression is transformed into anxiety and now manifests itself in the form of a symptom as attached to the father substitute I cannot tell you all the individual steps of an investigation of this kind let it suffice to say that to our astonishment the result was the reverse of what we had expected It is not the repression that creates the anxiety but the anxiety is there first and creates the repression! But what sort of anxiety can it be? It can only be fear of a threatening external danger that is to say objective anxiety It is true that the boy is afraid of the demands of his libido in this case of his love for his mother o that this is really an instance of neurotic anxiety But this being in love seems to him to be an internal danger which he must avoid by renouncing his object only because it involves an external danger situation And in every case we have investigated we have obtained the same result It must however be confessed that we were not prepared to find that the instinctual danger was only a half way house to an external and real danger situation

We have however not yet said what the real danger is that the child fears as a result of his being in love with his mother It is the punishment of castration the loss of his penis Naturally you will object that after all that is not a real danger Our boys are not castrated because they are in love with their mothers during the phase of the Oedipus complex But the question cannot be so easily dismissed It is not primarily a matter of whether castration is really performed what is important is that the danger is one that threatens from without and that the boy believes in it He has some grounds for doing so for not infrequently threats of his penis being cut off are made during his phallic phase at the time of his early masturbation and no doubt allusions to such a punishment will always find a phylo en etic reinforcement on his side We have conjectured that in the early days of the human family castration really was performed on the growing boy by the jealous and cruel father and that circumcision which is so frequently an element in puberty rites is an easily recognizable trace of it We are aware of how far removed we are from the common point of view in saying this but we must maintain our position that fear of castration is one of the most frequent and one of the strongest motive forces of repression and therefore of the formation of neuroses The analysis of cases in which it is true not castration itself but circumcision has been performed on boys as a cure or as a punishment for masturbation (a thing which was by no means of rare occurrence in English and American society) has provided us with conclusive proof that we are right It is a great temptation at this juncture to go further into the castration complex but we will keep to our subject Fear of castration is naturally not the only motive for repression to start with it has no place in the psychology of women they have of course a castration complex but they cannot have any fear of castration In its place for the other sex is

tend ear of the loss of lov obv ousl a re n on of th fea of the infant at the best when m ses ts mother You will nderstand what ob ectre danger-situation is eated by this kind of anxiety If the m her has absent or has withdrawn h r love from the d it can no longer be certain that s need will b s ed, and may be exposed to the most painful feelings of t n n. There is no need to reject the dea that th se o ditions for anxiety fundamentally repeat the tuat on of the original birth-anxi ty wh ch to be ure, it also implied separa on from the mothe In deed, if you follow a line of thou t uggested by Ferenczi, you ma add fea of castration too to this series for the loss of the male genital organ results in th impos bilit of a reunion with th mother r w th a ubstitute fr er m the sexual ct. I might ment on incidentally that the common phantasy of re- turning m th womb is subsitu e fo this desire fo co us Th re are till a great number of interesting and surpri in facts which I might tell you bout in this connect o but I must no step beyond the bounds of an intro- duction to psycho-anal sis. I will therefore, merely draw your ttention to the way in which, t this point the findings of psy h logy take us t the frontiers of b ological fact.

O o Rank, to whom psycho-analys s owes many valuabl contributions has also the merit of having strongly emphasized th importance o t ct of birth and f eparation from the mother It is true that th rest of us f und t impossible to a cept th extrem deducti ns t h drew from this f cto with regard t the theory f th euroses and even t analyti cal therapy But before this he had already discovered the central featur f hi doctrin nam ly that the anxiet -experienc of b rth is the pro ype f all later dang situati n If we pause for a momen t this point w can say that as ma ter f f ct every t ge f deve opment has t own particula condit on for anxiety that is to y dan er tuati n appropriate t The da ger of mental help- lessness c rresponds t th st ge f ea ly im maturity of th e the danger f loss f object or of love correspo ds t th dependence f the early years f childhood th da er f castration t th phallic phase and finally the fear f the super-ego which occup es special position t the period of l tency As devel p- ment proceeds the old condition for anxi ty should vanish since th d n tuat ons which correspond t them, have l st th ir f rce owin to the trengthening of the ego But this only happens to a very incomplete degree A great man people cannot o ercome the fe r of loss of lo e they never become independent enou h of the lo e of other people and con t nue th ir infantile beha iour in this respect. The fear of the super-ego hould normall never cease since t is indispen ab e in ocial relat ns in the form of moral anxiet and it is onl in the rarest in tances that an indi idual ucceeds in becoming ndependent of the com munity A few of the old danger ituat ons also manage to preserve their force in later life by ch nging the r co ditions for anxiety in up- o- date form. Thus for instance the danger of ca trat on is preserved under the disguise of syphilid phobia Grown up peop e are well aware that ca tration is no longer practi ed s a pun ment for ind lging sexual des res but, on the other hand, they ha e learned from ex perience that instinctual freedom in this direc tion m l es th n k of sever llnesses There is n doubt that persons wh m we call *neurotic* remain inf ntil in th ir ttitude towards dan g r d ha no grown out of an iquated conditions fo anxie y Let us accept this as a factual contribution to our charact rizat on of neurotics why it should be so is not so easy to say

I hope ou ha e not lost the thread of our discours and that you remember that we r di cussin th rel t ons between anxi ty and rep es i n. We ha e discovered two new facts in doing o first that anxiety causes repre on and not the ther way round as we used to th nk a d ec ndly that fri htening *instinc* tuation can in th last res rt be traced back to *e ternal* situations of danger Ou next quest o will be H w can we p cture th proc ess f repress on carried out under the influence f anxi t ? I think this is what happens the ego becomes aware that the sa fa tion of om na cent in tinctual demand wou d evoke one among th well remembered dange -situa ti ns This instinctual cathexis must, theref re som how the be up es ed, removed, m de powerless We kn w that th ego succeeds in this ta k f i is tro g d if it has a im ilated the impulse in question int its organi zation In th ase f repres on howev r the impulse is still a part of the id and th ego feels weak. In ch contingency the ego calls t ts d techniqu wh h is at bottom, dentical with that f ormal thinkin Thinking an experimental dealing with mall quantities of energy ju t as gen ral moves miniature

figures about over a map before setting his troops in motion In this way the ego anticipates the satisfaction of the questionable impulse and enables it to reproduce the painful feelings which are attached to the beginning of the dreaded danger situation Thereupon the automatic mechanism of the pleasure pain principle is brought into play and carries through the repression of the dangerous impulse

Stop! you will exclaim we cannot go so far as that with you You are right I shall have to add something to what I have said to make it seem acceptable to you First of all I must admit that I have tried to translate into the language of our normal thought a process which is in fact certainly neither conscious nor preconscious and which takes place between charges of energy at some deep level of the mind that it is hard to picture But that is not a very serious objection it could not be done in any other way It is more important that we should clearly distinguish between what goes on in the ego and what goes on in the id during the process of repression We have just explained what the ego does It makes use of an experimental cathexis and by means of a danger signal [illegible] pain m[illegible] possibl[illegible] proportions Either the anxiety attack develops completely and the ego withdraws entirely from the objectionable excitation or in place of the experimental cathexis the ego meets the excitation with an anti cathexis (counter charge) which then combines with the energy of the repressed impulse to form a symptom or is taken up into the ego as a reaction formation as an intensification of certain dispositions as a permanent alteration of the ego The more the development of anxiety can be restricted to a mere signal the more the ego can make use of defensive acts which amount to a mental binding of the repressed and the more the process approximates to the standard of a normal modification of the impulse without of course ever reaching it Here I shall digress for a moment or so You will no doubt yourselves have assumed that the thing which is so hard to define but which we call *character* must be thought of as belonging entirely to the province of the ego We have already learned something of what it is that creates this thing called character The incorporation of the early parental function in the shape of the super ego is no doubt the most important and decisive element next come identifications with the parents of a later date and with other persons in authority and the same identifications as precipitates of abandoned object relations We can now add to this list as contributions to character formation which are never absent the reaction formations which the ego acquires first in making its repressions and later in a more normal way in repudiating undesirable impulses

Now let us go back to a consideration of the id It is not so easy to discover what it is that happens during the process of repression to the impulses that are being opposed The main question to which we want to know the answer is What happens to the energy to the libidinal charge of the impulse and how is it used? You will remember that my earlier hypothesis was that it was precisely this energy that was turned into anxiety We can however no longer venture to say that we must content ourselves with a more modest answer Its fate is probably not always the same Probably there is a close correspondence between what happens in the ego and what happens in the id with respect to the repressed impulse and it should be possible to learn something of its nature For since we have adopted the view that the pleasure pain principle is brought into action in response to the danger signal and plays a part in repression we are obliged to modify our anticipations This principle has unrestricted sway over the processes in the id We can credit it too with the power of bringing about very profound changes in the impulse in question We are therefore prepared to believe that the effects of repression will be very varied and sometimes more and sometimes less extensive In many cases the repressed impulse may retain its libidinal cathexis and continue to exist unaltered in the id although under the perpetual pressure of the ego In other instances it seems to undergo complete destruction in which case its libido is finally diverted into other channel I have suggested that this is what happens where the Oedipus complex is dealt with normally In this desirable state of affairs the Oedipus complex would thus not merely be repressed but would be actually destroyed in the id Clinical experience has further taught us that in a great many cases instead of the usual result of repression a degradation of the libido takes place a regression of the libidinal organization to an earlier stage of development That can naturally only happen in the id and when it does happen it must be under the influence of the same conflict that

wa introduced by the danger signal The mo t remarkable examp e f this s to be found in the bses ional euros where repres n of Eb d and repres on go hand in ha d

Ladies a d Gentlemen—I am afraid that this accoun will seem to you very difficult to fol low and you will gues tha it is by no means a com ete one I m orry to ha e caused ou annoyance M o y a m, however mus be to give you some im ression of the n ture of our findings and f the difficulties w h e to face in dealing with them The deeper we p obe in our t dy of mental proce es the more we become ware of the richness and com lexity of their content. Many s mple form las wh ch seemed to us t first t meet the ca e turned out later to be inadequate. We are nce on l a e ... and improvin them In my lectu on the theory f dreams I led you into a field of knowledge in which hardly a singl ew discovery has been m de in the l t fift en ears here where we are dealing with anx ty every thing is in a t te of flux and change Thes new f dings ha e not et been tho oughly worked o e a d perhaps for that ry ea on their expos tion is difficult H we e ou must have pa ence we hall on be ble t lea e t problem of anxiety though that doe not mean that t will have been s l ed t ou satis f c on. I hope howeve that we ha e ad vanced a tep further And incident lly we ha e cquired much fresh knowledge Thus we are now ab through the tud of anx t t add a fresh trait to our charact rizati of th ego We ha e said that the ego is weak n r la tion to the d, that t ts faithf l serva t, and th t tries to carry t its rd rs and ful fil s requirements We ha o intent on of withdrawing this a sert on. But the othe hand th ego is the better organ ed part of the id orientated as t is to a ds re lit We must n t exaggerate too m ch th separation between the two and w must ot b surp sed if t ego too on ts de exerts an infl ence on t processes in th d. I think th ego exerts n influence f this kind when it ets the all-powerful pleasure-pain principl n mo tion by means f th danger s gnal. It is true that immediately fterwards t displays ts weakness gain, for b t ct f repression it renoun es a portion of ts organizatio and is forced t llow th repressed impul t re main permanently withdrawn f om ts influence

And ow just e more point in regard to t problem f anxiety Neurotic anxiety has under our hands, turned int bjecti anxiety into anxiet f lt towards certain external d n g r tuat ons But we cannot leave at that we mu t take a step further thou h i a sen e it will be step backwards What is t that is actually dangerous and ctually feared in uch

danger-s tuat on It is clearl not the objec tive injury which need h e absolutel no importa ce ps chologicall but t s something which is et up in the m d b t Birth for example our proto pe for the tate of anxiety can hardly in itself be regarded s injury altho gh it may in ol e a risk of i j ry The ho b rth s bo every

by charge Let call such a uation in wh h the eff rts of the pleasure principle come t nothing a traumat c fact r in th t way by following the series—neurotic anxiety-object e anxiety-dan r s tuation—we can arrive at a simpl form la what s fea ed the obj ct of th anxiety is always the merger of a trau matic factor which cann t be d l w th in accordance with the norms of the p eas re principle W can immedia ly see that the perati of the plea ure-principle does no guarantee us gain t objective injury but only again t particular i jury to o mental econ om From th plea ure princi le t the in t ct f self preservation s a lon wa and the two tendencies are f r from coinciding from the first We an observe som thin lse howe and perhaps this i t e sol t on fo which w were looking I ha e m nd the fact that ll along we are dealin w th questi ns of relati quant ties It only the magnitude of the e cit tion whi h turns an mp es on into a traumatic f ctor which pa alyzes the opera t n of the plea ure prin ipl and g ves gn fi cance to the danger-s tuation. And f this is really the case if these problems admit of uch a imple s tion why ho ld t n t be pos b e that traumat f ctors of thi kind hould occur in the mental life w thout relation t the suppo ed da ger s tuati traumat c fact rs in regard t which anxiety is n t arou-ed a

gnal, but manifests it elf fresh and f new rea n Clin cal experience d finit ly t lls us that this ctually occurs Only the l repres s ns display the mechanism which we ha e described in which anxiety is called f rth a signal f an earlier danger tuation the earli es and most fundamental epres s are directly f om traumatic f ctors where th eg comes into contact with n exces ve l'b dinal

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Stop! you will exclaim we cannot go so far as that with you You are right I shall have to add something to what I have said to make it seem acceptable to you First of all I must admit that I have tried to translate into the language of our normal thought a process which is in fact certainly neither conscious nor preconscious and which takes place between charges of energy at some deep level of the mind that it is hard to picture But that is not a very serious objection it could not be done in any other way It is more important that we should clearly distinguish between what goes on in the ego and what goes on in the id during the process of repression We have just explained what the ego does It makes use of an experimental cathexis and by means of a danger signal sets in motion the automatic pleasure pain mechanism Several reactions then become possible or a combination of them in various proportions Either the anxiety attack develops completely and the ego withdraws entirely from the objectionable excitation or in place of the experimental cathexis the ego meets the excitation with an anti cathexis (counter charge) which then combines with the energy of the repressed impulse to form a symptom or is taken up into the ego as a reaction formation as an intensification of certain dispositions as a permanent alteration of the ego The more the development of anxiety can be restricted to a mere signal the more the ego can make use of defensive acts which amount to a mental binding of the repressed and the more the process approximates to the standard of a normal modification of the impulse without of

[illegible]

thought of as belonging entirely to the province of the ego We have already learned something of what it is that creates this thing called character The incorporation of the early parental function in the shape of the super ego is no doubt the most important and decisive element next come identifications with the parents of a later date and with other persons in authority and the same identifications as precipitates of abandoned object relations We can now add to this list as contributions to character formation which are never absent the reaction formations which the ego acquires first in making its repressions and later in a more normal way in repudiating undesirable impulses

Now let us go back to a consideration of the id It is not so easy to discover what it is that happens during the process of repression to the impulses that are being opposed The main question to which we want to know the answer is What happens to the energy to the libidinal charge of the impulse and how is it used? You will remember that my earlier hypothesis was that it was precisely this energy that was turned into anxiety We can however no longer venture to say that we must content ourselves with a more modest answer Its fate is probably not always the same Probably there is a close correspondence between what happens in the ego and what happens in the id with respect to the repressed impulse and it should be possible to learn something of its nature For since we have adopted the view that the pleasure pain principle is brought into action in response to the danger signal and plays a part in repression we are obliged to modify our anticipations This principle has unrestricted sway over the processes in the id We can credit it too with the power of bringing about very profound changes in the impulse in question We are therefore prepared to believe that the effects of repression will be very varied and sometimes more and sometimes less extensive In many cases the repressed impulse may retain its libidinal cathexis and continue to exist unaltered in the id although under the perpetual pressure of the ego In other instances it seems to undergo complete destruction in which case its libido is finally diverted into other channels I have suggested that this is what happens where the Oedipus complex is dealt with normally In this desirable state of affairs the Oedipus complex would thus not merely be repressed but would be actually destroyed in the id Clinical experience has further taught us that in a great many cases instead of the usual result of repression a degradation of the libido take place a regression of the libidinal organization to an earlier stage of development That can naturally only happen in the id and when it does happen it must be under the influence of the same conflict that

wa introduced by the dan_e s gnal. The mo t remarkable example of this is to be found in the bse_sional neuro whe e repress on of hand in h d.

this f l ans a complete one I am orry t d you annoya ce M o ly a m however mu t be to give you me impre o f the n tu e of our findings a d of the difficult es we h e t f ce in dealing with them The deeper we probe in our tudy of mental p oce es the more we become wa e f the richne s and compl xity

a tern and impro ing them In my lec t u the theory f dreams I led y u into a fie d of kn ledg in which hardly a single new dis covery has been mad in the la t fift en ye rs here where we are dealing with nxiety every thing is in t te of flux and ch nge These new fi dings ha e not et been tho oughly worked o er and pe haps for th t ery ea on their xpositio s difficult H weve ou must have patie c we shall soon be able to lea e the problem of anxiety thou h that does not mean t at t will ha e been sol ed to ur tis f ction. I hope h wever that we h e d- va ed a tep further And incidentally we ha acquired m ch fre h knowledge Thus we are ow abl throu h th study f x t to add a f esh trait t our characterizat o of the eg We ha e s d th t the ego weak n la tion to th d that t is ts f thful servant and th t t tries to carry out its orders nd ful fil ts requ ements W ha n intent n of th ra g this serti B t the ther hand the ego is th better rgan zed part of the id, orientated s it is tow ds l ty We must t exagg rat too much th epa at n between th two a d we m t n t be surp sed f th eg too ts de e rts an infl ence on th processes in the d I think th ego exerts influen e of this k d when t s ts the all-powerful plea ure p in pri ciple n mo tion by means of th dange -s gnal It is true th t immed at ly afterwards t displays ts weakness again, f by th act f ep es on it renoun s a porti n of ts organizat on a d is ed to ll w the ep essed impuls to main permanently withdrawn from ts infl ence

And now j st one more point in regard to the problem f anxiety Neuroti nxi ty ha under our hands turned into objectiv a xiety nto anxiety felt towards certa n external dan ger tuations But we cannot lea e it at that we mu t take a step further thou h in a sen e it will be a tep backward Wh t is it th t is actually dange ous and actually feared in uch da ger-situatio ? It is clearly not the obj c ive injury wh ch need h e absolutely no importan e ps chol gically but t s someth ng wh ch i et up in the m d by it B rth for example our proto ype f r the state of anxiety can hardly in i elf be regarded s an njury although it may n olve a risk of njury The fundament l thing about birth, as about every da s tuat on i that it evokes in mental ex perience a co d tion of tense exc tation which s felt s pa n and which ca not be ma te ed by o charge Let us call such a s *uation* in wh ch the efforts of th pleasure principle come t oth ng a *t a mat c* factor in that wa by f ll wi g the eries—neurotic anx ety-object e anxiety dan e situati n—we can arrive at a s mple formul what is feared the object of th a xiety is always the mergence of a trau matic factor which cann t be dealt with in accorda ce w th the orms of the pleas re pr nc pl We can mmed atel see that the operat o of the plea ure pri ciple does not gua nt e us ag in t obj ct ve inj ry but nly agam t particul injury t our m tal econ my From th plea re princi le to the in t nct of s lf p es rvation is a long w y d the two t ndencies a e f r fr m coinciding from th first We an ob erve som thin l howe er and pe h ps this is the s l ti n for which w we e looking I have in m d the f ct that all al g w a d al g w th quest ns of el t e qua tities It is only th magn tude of the e c t ti n which turns an imp es on into tr umat c f ctor whi h paralyzes the opera ti n of the plea ur pri cipl a d g ves m fi ca ce to the d ger- t ti n And f th s really the c se f th se p oblems adm t of su h mple lut why should t ot be po ble that traumati f tors f th s kind hould

rea o Cli cal experience definitely tell us that thi act ally occurs Only the late rep es s d pl y the mechani m which w h e des bed in wh ch nx ty s called f rth a s gnal of an earli dang r tu ti n the ea li es and m t fundame tal rep ess ons ari e dir ctly from traumatic f ctors wher the ego m s into c t ct w th a c e l b d al

figures about over a map before setting his troops in motion In this way the ego antici pates the satisfaction of the questionable im pulse and enables it to reproduce the painful feelings which are attached to the beginning of the dreaded danger situation Thereupon the automatic mechanism of the pleasure pain principle is brought into play and carries through the repression of the dangerous impulse

Stop! you will exclaim we cannot go so far as that with you You are right I shall have to add something to what I have said to make it seem acceptable to you First of all I must admit that I have tried to translate into the language of our normal thought a process which is in fact certainly neither conscious nor preconscious and which takes place between charges of energy at some deep level of the mind that it is hard to picture But that is not a very serious objection it could not be done in any other way It is more important that we should clearly distinguish between what goes on in the ego and what goes on in the id during the process of repression We have just ex plained what the ego does It makes use of an experimental cathexis and by means of a dan ger signal sets in motion the automatic pleasure pain mechanism Several reactions then become possible or a combination of them in various proportions Either the anxiety attack develops completely and the ego withdraws entirely from the objectionable excitation or in place of the experimental cathexis the ego meets the ex citation with an anti cathexis (counter charge) which then combines with the energy of the repressed impulse to form a symptom or is taken up into the ego as a reaction formation as an intensification of certain dispositions as a permanent alteration of the ego The more the development of anxiety can be restricted to a mere signal the more the ego can make use of defensive acts which amount to a mental binding of the repressed and the more the process approximates to the standard of a nor mal modification of the impulse without of course ever reaching it Here I shall digress for a moment or so You will no doubt yourselves have assumed that the thing which is so hard to define but which we call *character* must be thought of as belonging entirely to the province of the ego We have already learned something of what it is that creates this thing called char acter The incorporation of the early parental function in the shape of the super ego is no doubt the most important and decisive ele ment next come identifications with the par ents of a later date and with other persons in authority and the same identifications as pre cipitates of abandoned object relations We can now add to this list as contributions to char acter formation which are never absent the reaction formations which the ego acquires first in making its repressions and later in a more normal way in repudiating undesirable impulses

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for the satisfaction of another. It must be freely admitted, however, that we are not very [illegible] explanation of this. The rela[illegible]

[illegible] is the more easily loosened [illegible]. There is a particular kind of modification of aim and change of object with regard to which other social values come into the picture to this we give the name of sublimation. We have also grounds for the differentiation of what we call [illegible] instincts; these proceed from [illegible] sources and have uninhibited aims but [illegible] on their way to satisfaction with the result that permanent object-cathexes and an enduring driving force come into being. Of such a kind, for instance, is the feeling of affection, whose source undoubtedly lies in sexual needs but invariably renounces their gratification. We are, as you see, still in ignorance about many of the characteristics of the instincts and their history. We ought here to mention another distinction between the sexual instincts and the instincts of self-preservation which would be of the utmost theoretical importance if it applied to the whole group. The sexual instincts are remarkable for their plasticity, for the facility with which they can change their aims, for their interchangeability—for the ease with which they can substitute one form of gratification for another, and for the way in which they can be held in suspense, as has been so well illustrated by the aim-inhibited instinct. It would be convenient if we could assert that these characteristics do not apply to the instincts of self-preservation, and that the latter are inflexible, do not allow delay, are far more imperative and respond quite differently to repression and anxiety. On reflection, however, we see that this peculiarity does not apply to all the ego-instincts but only to those of hunger and thirst, and is clearly due to the special nature of their instinctual sources. A great deal of our perplexity also arises from the fact that we have not devoted any attention to the alterations which the instinctual impulses originally belonging to the id undergo under the influence of the organized ego.

We find ourselves on firmer ground when we turn to the question of how the instinctual life serves the sexual function. Here we have obtained decisive information; but you are already familiar with it. We do not, that is to say, believe that there is a single sexual instinct, which is from the first the vehicle of the impulse towards the aim of the sexual function, that is, the union of the two sex cells. On the contrary, we see a large number of component instincts arising from various regions of the body, which strive for satisfaction more or less independently of one another, and find this satisfaction in something that may be called *organ pleasure*. The genitals are the latest of these *erotogenic zones*, and their organ pleasure must certainly be called *sexual*. Not all of these pleasure-seeking impulses are incorporated in the final organization of the sexual function. Many of them are put aside as useless, by means of repression or in some other way; some of them are deflected from their aims in the remarkable manner which we have already mentioned and used for the strengthening of other impulses, while others persist, but play minor parts, and serve the purpose of bringing about preliminary actions and of arousing fore-pleasure. You have heard that in this long-drawn-out course of development several phases of provisional organization are to be recognized, and that aberrations and maldevelopments of the sexual function are to be explained by reference to its history. The first of these *pregenital* phases is called the *oral* phase because, in accordance with the fact that the infant is nourished through the mouth, the erotogenic zone of the mouth dominates what we may call the sexual activity of this period of life. At a second stage the *sadistic and anal impulses come to the fore*, obviously in connection with the cutting of the teeth, the strengthening of the musculature and the control of the sphincters. We have learnt a great many interesting details about this remarkable stage of development in particular. Third comes the *phallic* phase, in which, for both sexes, the penis (and what corresponds to it in the girl) achieves an importance which can no longer be overlooked. We have reserved the name of *genital* phase for the final sexual organization, established after puberty, in which the female genitals receive for the first time the recognition which the male genitals have long since obtained.

So far all this has been mere recapitulation. And you must not suppose that the things which I have omitted to mention this time no longer hold true. This recapitulation was necessary so that we could have a starting-point for our account of the further advance in our knowledge. We can flatter ourselves that we have obtained a great deal of new information

demand these traumatic factors create their own anxiety anew though in accordance with the pattern of the birth situation The same may be true of the development of anxiety in anxiety neuroses caused by somatic injury of the sexual function We shall no longer maintain that it is the libido itself th [illegible] f [illegible] a traumatic factor and secondly as a signal that a traumatic factor of this kind threatens to recur

Ladies and Gentlemen—I am sure you are delighted with the prospect of hearing no more about anxiety But your delight will be shortlived for what is to follow is no better I propose to take you straight on to the subject of the theory of the libido or of the instincts for there too many new developments have occurred I cannot say that we have made any very great progress or that any trouble you may take in learning about it will be amply rewarded No it is a field in which we are struggling hard to get some sort of orientation and understanding you will only be witnesses of the efforts we are making Here too I shall have to repeat much that I put before you in my earlier lectures

The theory of the instincts is as it were our mythology The instincts are mythical beings superb in their indefiniteness In our work we cannot for a moment overlook them and yet we are never certain that we are seeing them clearly You know how popular thought deals with the instincts It postulates as many different instincts as may be needed an instinct of assertiveness instincts of imitation and play a social instinct and a great many more besides It takes them up as it were lets each do its particular work and then drops them again We have always suspected that behind this multitude of small occasional instincts there lies something much more serious and powerful which must be approached with circumspection Our first step was tentative enough We felt we should probably not go far wrong if we started by distinguishing two main instincts or species or groups of instincts corresponding to our two great needs—hun er and love However jealously we may in other connections have defended the independence of psychology from all other sciences nevertheless we are here overshadowed by the immutable biological fact that the living individual serves two purposes self preservation and the preservation of the species which seem to be independent of each other which we have not been able to trace back to a common source and whose interests often conflict in animal life Here we are really discussing biological psychology we are studying the psychological concomitants of biological processes In accordance with this view we introduced the *ego-instincts* and the *sexual instincts* into psychoanalysis Under the former heading we placed everything that had to do with the preservation maintenance and advancement of the individual To the latter we ascribed the rich content implied in infantile and perverse sexual life Our investigation of the neuroses led us to regard the ego as the restricting and repressing force and the sexual impulses as the restricted and repressed ones with the result that we thought we had firmly grasped not only the difference between the two groups of instincts but the conflict between them At first the objects of our studies consisted only of the sexual impulses whose energy we called the *libido* From the study of them we tried to make out what an instinct was and what attributes it possessed At this point we reach the theory of the libido

An instinct differs from a stimulus in that it arises from sources of stimulation within the body operates as a constant force and is such that the subject cannot escape from it by flight as he can from an external stimulus An instinct may be described as having a source an object and an aim The source is a state of excitation within the body and its aim is to remove that excitation in the course of its p th from its source to the attainment of its aim the instinct becomes operative mentally We picture it as a certain sum of energy forcing its way in a certain direction We speak of active and passive instincts but we ought rather to speak of active and passive instinctual aims for an expenditure of activity is required even in order to attain a passive aim The aim can be attained in the subject s own body but as a rule an external object is introduced in which the instinct attains its external aim its internal aim is always a somatic modification which is experienced as satisfaction Whether the relation to a somatic ource gives the instinct any specific characters and if so which is not at all clear The evidence of analytic experience proves conclusively that instinctual impulses from one source can join on to instinctual impulses from another and share their further vicissitudes and that in general the satisfaction of one instinct can be substituted

t rna is in the dm rable phrase f Lou A.nrea-S.lom hired out from the ectum a.d in th lives of homosexual who have not g beyond a certa n tage n the r exual devel pment the vagina is onc m re represented by th .nus In dreams we often meet with a p ce which was form ly a n le room but is now d ded into tw by a partition wall, or vice ersa This always refers to the relation o t. vagina to the rectum We can al.o follow very clea l the way in which m   girl the entirely m emmine des e for t.e posses.ion of a penis n rmal turns into the desire fo a ch.d, a d then fo a man as the bearer of the penis a d the gi er of the child, so that in this case too   can see how an element of what w o .gnally an anal-erotic interest is taken in o the la er genital organiza o

In the course of th e s di s of the pregeni tal phases of the l b do we have gleaned some new p eces of informa on about the f rmation f .aracter We hav been mad aware of a t. d of characteristics which e lmost always t be found together   rde liness parsimoni ousness, a d ob unacy   nd we ha e oncl ded f m the analys.. f persons pos.es. g them that t.ese characteri.tics proceed f om the dis- .ion of the   anal-erotism   d i s emp o m   m .her w vs Wher   th.s rema k bl mbination is to be f und, theref re we speak of an *anal characte* and in a sense contra t t with unmodified anal-erotism. A sim'lar and perh.ps even firmer connection is to be f   d between mb .ion .nd urethral erot m. We have f und   emarkab e referen   to this co . on in the l gend that Alexa.der the Gre t was born on t. .ame night th t a certain Herostrat   f om a craving f   otori ty   t fire to t. f mous temple f Artemis at Ephe sus I seem that the a cients were w ll awa e f t.e con. ct on m ol ed. You a.read   know how c ose a conn ct on th   is b tween u n .t on .d fire and th p ttin   out of fire. N .ural   we expe t t   find that   her tra s f c.aracter will al o turn out to be deri ed f m pregenital libidin l f rmat   eithe as precip .ates r as   ction formation. but we cann t as ye d monstrat this.

It is n w time fo m   to turn back to an ea. er t.me o our prob em and aga.n t k up t. question of in t.ectual lif   m its most gen era. aspect. The cn rast betwee   ego- n t.n ts a. sexual insti. ts la   to bem   w th at the be om f ur theory f the l bid   Wh   L er on we began to tudy the ego   greater det l .. cam   underr.and the id a of narci s.sm,

name of ..rcissism from th   G ..

But that is only an extreme exaggeration of the norm..l course of events We must understand that the ego is always the main res r o r of lib do from which lib dinal catheses of objects proceed, and into wh ch they return aga n while the greater part of this lib do remains perpetually in the ego There is th refore a

each other in their nature and there is no point m d..tingu..hing the energy of the one from th..t of the   ther   o e can either drop the t rm l b do altogether or u e t as meanin the same s psychic energy in general

We d d not keep to this point of view for lon The dea f co tra.ting forces within the in tinctual life was soon given a other a d more prec e mean g I hall not go through th proces es by which I arri ed t th   n w point of   ew it too rests essentiall on b o- l g cal con derat ns I will put it before ou as a *finished article* We uppose that there are two fundamentally d ff rer kinds of inst nct the exual in tincts in the w d t sense of the word (*Eros* f you prefe that nam) and the a gres e in tincts whose aim i. destruction When t is p t l ke that you w ll hardl   think of t as anythin   new   it loo.s   s thou.h it we e a th o et cal g orificat on   f the c m mo pl ce oppo tion between lo e a.d hat which may pe aps co cide with the pol ri y

mos undesirabl   one wh ch o   ht to be g t   d of as oo   po ible I th k a tr ng em   on l fact   as re pon. ble f r thi rejec tion. Why ha e we oursel es t ken so l n to b ing o rsel es to r cogn   the exi ence of   n ggr s e in.ti ct? Why was there s m ch h   tation in us g for our the ry f cts wh ch l y re dy to hand a d wer familiar to every   e One w uld p obabl   meet with but l ttl oppo t on f one wer to a cribe t   num l a in.tinct with   ch an a m as this B t to int o- duc   t in o the human constitut n   em im pro   t ontradi ts too m   y religious p eju dices and s cial con entions No ma mu.t be by nature good or at lea.t good natured. If he

precisely about th matter of the early organi z tions of the libido and that we have a better understanding of what we already knew—in proof of which I will give you a few instances In 19 4 Abraham showed that we can differ entiate two stages in the adistic anal phase In the former of these the destructive tend encies to annihilate and to get rid of things h ve the upper hand while in the latter those tendencies predominate which are friendly to the object and seek to possess things and hold them f st In the middle of this phase then there appears for the first time a consideration for the object which is a forerunner of a later relation of love towards the object We are equally justified in assuming a similar subdi vision in the first or oral pha e In the earlier stage of it we only have oral incorpor tion and there i no ambivalence in the relation to the object i e the mother s breast The second st ge which is distinguished by the onset of he *oral sadistic* irst manifesta come so much more obvious in the next or sadistic anal phase The value of these new differentiations becomes especially clear when we want to discover the predispositional points of the libidinal development in the case of certain neuroses—such as obsessional neurosis and mel ancholia I need only recall to you here what we have learnt on the subject of fixation of libido predisposition and regression

Our attitude to the phases of libidinal or ganization has in general altered somewhat We used formerly to emphasize the way in which one phase gives place to the next nowadays we direct our attention more to the facts which indicate how much of each earlier phase per orgin

those investigations which have su frequently under pathological conditions re-gression to earlier phases takes place and that certain regre sions are characteristic of certain forms of illness I cannot however go into that question here it is a matter for a special ized treatise on the psychology of the neuroses

We have been able to study the transforma tion of instincts and similar processes espe cially with reference to anal erotism in which the impulses have their source in the erotogenic anal zone and we are surpri ed to find the multiplicity of the channels along which these in tinctual impulses can be directed It is perhaps not easy to free oneself from the con temptuous attitude which we have come to adopt towards this particular zone during the course of our development It is as well there fore to bear in mind Abraham s reminder that embryologically the anus corresponds to the primitive mouth which has moved down to the end of the bowel It appears then that when in the course of development the individual comes to feel disfavour for his own faeces or excrement his instinctual interest arising from anal sources passes over to objects which can be given away as gifts And rightly so for faeces were the first gift that the infant could make and he parted with them out of love for the person who looked after him Subsequently the old interest in faeces turns into an appre ci tion of gold and money and also makes a contribution to the affective cathexis attaching to the ideas of child and penis It is the view of all children who as we know cling to the cloaca theory for a long time that babies are born out of the bowel like a piece of faeces defecation is the prototype of the act of birth But the penis too has its forerunner in the column of feaces which fills the mucous mem brane tube of the bowel and stimulates it When the child has unwillingly imbibed the knowl edge that there are human beings who do not possess a penis that or an seems to him some thing which can be detached from the body and an unmistakable analogy is drawn between it and the excrement which was the first piece of bodily substance that had to be given up A large quantity of anal erotism is thus trans ferred to the cathexis of the penis But the intere t in that part of the body has besides an anal erotic basis a perhaps even more pow erful root in oral erotism for in accordance with the situation of sucking the penis derives a great deal from the nipple of the mother s breast

It is impossible to have any understand ng of people s phantasie or of associations which occur under the influence of the unconscious or of the language of symptoms if one does ow hout the e deep-lying connections

represented by the same sym not forget that I can only give you very in complete information on the subject I will however add in passing that the late aw akening interest in the vagina is mainly of anal erotic derivation This is not to be wondered at since

fmaiben. One cannot put forward a hypothesis th is so far reach.... umph on the ground t.. a few poor fools ha e attached a curious tend..cy to thei exual s tisfaction. I think t... a deeper t d f the instincts will gi e us wh we w... The instincts do not only dom.. e mental life but vegetati e Life as well, and these organic instincts displa a char acteristic which merits our most eri us tten tion. Whether t is a general characteristic of all in tincts we hall only be ble t decide later. They turn out to be directed towards the reinstatement f an ea lier state of things. We may assume that, as soon as a gi en tate of things is upset, th re arises an instinct to re-create it, and phenomena appear which we may call *re t on-compulsion* Embryology fo m stance, is n th... but repetit n-compulsion stretching far back in the animal series we find a capacity to form afresh rgans which have been lost, a..d the instin t of reco ery to which, a.ongside of ur therapeutic acti t es we owe our power t get well, may be th re-mains f this capacity which is o wonderfully developed in th l wer animals Th spawning migrations of fi.h a..d pe ..aps the migrations o birds, possibly all th t we describe as a manifestation of *instinct* in animals takes place under t..e domination f repetition-compulsion ..ch expresses th *conservative nature* of in stincts. A..d in t..e realm of the mi..d, too w ...... n t h..ve far t seek for ev dence of th presence of that mpulsion. It has alwa s surprised us that the forgotten and repressed experiences f ea.ly childhood hou.d repro-duce themselves in dreams and reactions during analytic treatment, especially in the reactions in olved in the transf rence alth ugh their reawakening runs counter t t..e interests of t.. p easure-principle and we ha e explained this by saying that in such cases repetition compulsion has overcome even the p easure-principle Ou..d analysis too one can observe the s..m t...g. There are peopl wh ll their li es repea to their own d riment the sam reactions witho an correction or wh seem t be doomed b relentless ill fortune though a closer investigation ows that they are unwittingly bringing this ill f rtun upo them se es. Thus we explain what called *d mon c* character as being due to th repetition-com pu on.

B.. how can this conservative quality of in stincts help us to understand t..e elf-destruc tive tendency What is the earlier ta e of things that such an instinct is trying to rein-state? Now the answer to this question lies near at hand, and opens up a wide vi.ta of possibilities If it is true that once in an incon ceivably remote pa.t, a..d in an unimaginable way life arose out of inanimate ma ter then in accordance with our hypothesis, an instinct must at that time ha e come into being who-e aim t was t aboli.h life once more and to re establi.h the *inorganic state of things*. If in this instinct we recognize the impulse to self destruction of our hypothesis then we can regard that impul.e as the manifestat on of a *death instinct* which can never be absent in any vital process. And now the instincts in which we believe separate themselves into two groups the erotic instincts which are alwa s trying t collect li... substance together in o ever larger unities a..d the death in tincts whi h act again.t that tendency and try to brin.. li ing matter back int an inorganic con ditio The co-operation and oppos tion of these two forces produce the phenomena of life to which death pu s an end

You will perhaps hrug our shoulders and sa That is not natural cience that is the philosoph of Schopenhauer But Ladies nd Gentlemen why hould n t bold thinker ha e divined something that a sober and pain.tak ing in est gat on of d ails bsequently con firm And after all everythin has been sa d already and man people said the same thing before Schopen..auer And besides w..at we ha e sa.d is not even true Schopenhauer We d not assert that death is the only aim of l fe we *do not ove look the prese ce of life by the* side of death. We recognize two fundamental in.tinct. and scribe to each of them ts own aim How th two mingle in th vital process how th death in.tinct is pres.ed int the serv c of Eros, especially when it i turned outwards in th form of aggres i eness—these are problems w..i h remain for future invest ga ti n. We can go n further than the point at which this prospect opens up before us. The quest on wheth all in tinct without except on do not pos es a conservati character wh ther the erot instincts also do not eek the rein st t ment of an e li r tate f thi gs when they tr e t wards the synthes f li ing ub-stance into larger wh les—this quest on too must be l ft unanswered.

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For we believe that in sadism and masochism we have two admirable examples of the fusion of the two kinds of instincts Eros and aggressiveness and we now put forward the hypothesis that this relationship is typical and that all the instinctual impulses that we can study are made up of such fusions or alloys of the two kinds of instincts Naturally they are to be found mixed in the greatest variety of proportions To this mixture the erotic instincts will contribute the whole multiplicity of their sexual aims while the others will admit only of mitigation and graduation of their uniform tendency This hypothesis opens up a line of investigation which may some day be of great importance for the understanding of pathological processes For fusions may be undone and such defusions of instincts may be expected to bring about the most serious consequences to adequate functioning But this point of view is still too new no one has so far attempted to make practical use of it

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r inst teme t of an earli r stat l m s e m y assume that as soon as a given state of things i upset the e arises an inst nct to re- t ate it and ph n mena app ar which we may call *ep t t o comp lsio* Embryology for in stan is nothi g but a epet t on compulsion stretching f back in th animal seri s we find a cap c ty to form fre h o gans which have been lost and the inst ct of recovery to h h al g de of our ther peut c act ties we o e ou pow r to get well m y be the re m in of this c pac ty which is so w nderfully dev loped n the lowe a m ls The spawning mig at s of fish a d pe hap the m grat ons of b ds p s'bly all that we descr'be as a m f st tion f *in t nct* in an mals tak s place und r th d m nat on f r pet tio -compulsi n h ch xp e ses the *c s rv t ve natu e* of n stin ts And in the re lm of the mind t o we sh ll n t h f r to s ek for evidence of the presen e of th t c mpul on It has alw ys surpri d u that the f gott n nd repre sed experiences of ea ly childhood sh uld r pr du e them el es in d e ms and eactio s d g analyt c t eatme t sp cially in the react ons in l ed in the tra ference altho gh th re w ken ng run count r to th inter sts of the pl as e p inciple and we h ve xpl n d t.. s by saying that su h ca es pet t on compul on has o e ome even the pleasu e prin ple Outs de analys too one can bserve the s me th g Th are p opl who all the r li es repeat to the r wn detriment th s me rea t s th t y c rr ct on or who seem t be dogg d by a le tl ss ill fort e though a closer in stigat on h ws that they re un ttingly bringi g th s ill f t e upon them sel Thus we expl what is c lled a *demon c* charact r a being due to th repet tion-com pul n

B t h w can this conserv t e qu l ty of in stin ts h lp u to understand the s lf destruc tive t dency? Wh t is the ea l er tate of things that such an instinct s trying to rein state? Now the answer to this quest on lies near at hand and opens up a wide vista of possibilities If it is true that once in an incon cei ably remote past and in an un mag nable way life arose out of inan mate matter then in accord nce with our hypothes s an instinct must at that time have come into be ng whose a m it was to abolish life once more and to re stabl sh the norganic state of things If in this instinct we ecognize the impulse to self destruction of our hypothesis then we can rega d that mpulse as the manifestation of a *death inst ct* which can never be absent in a y vit l p cess And now the instincts in which we bel eve separate themselves into two groups the e otic i st ncts which are always try ng to collect l ng substa ce together into ever larger un ties and the death insti cts which act against that tendency and try to bring livi g matter b ck into an ino ganic con d t on The co-ope at on and opp sit on of these tw forces p oduce the phe omena of life to which death puts an end

You w ll pe hap shrug your shoulders and say Th t is ot natural scie ce that is the ph lo ophy of Schopenhauer B t Lad es and G ntlemen why should not a bold thinker have d in d s m th g that a sober and pa nstak ing invest gat on of det ls subsequently con firms? And afte all everyth ng has been said already a d m y people aid th same thing befo e Schop nhauer And bes des wh t we

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serv c of Eros especi lly when t is turned

wh h thi p spect pens up b lo e us The

sta e into l g wholes—this que tion too must be l ft un wered

W ha w de d omewh t fa from r the s b t I will tell y th st ting point of thes flect ons upon the th ory f th inst ncts It w the ame thi g that led us to a revi on of the relat n between the ego and the uncon

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For we believe that in sadism and masochism we have two admirable examples of the fusion of the two kinds of instincts Eros and aggres siveness and we now put forward the hypothe sis that this relationship is typical and that all the instinctual impulses that we can study are made up of such fusions or alloys of the two kinds of instincts Naturally they are to be found mixed in the greatest variety of propor tions To this mixture the erotic instincts will contribute the whole multiplicity of their sex ual aims while the others will admit only of miti ation and graduation of their uniform tendency This hypothesis opens up a line of investigation which may some day be of great importance for the understanding of patholog ical processes For fusions may be undone and such defusions of instincts may be expected to bring about the most serious consequences to adequate functioning But this point of view is still too new no one has so far attempted to make practical use of it

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ment. One cannot put forward a hypothesis that is so far reaching, simply on the ground that a few poor fools have attached a curious condition to their sexual satisfaction. I think that a deeper study of the instincts will give us what we want. The instincts do not only dominate mental life but vegetative life as well, and these organic instincts display a characteristic which merits our most serious attention. Whether it is a general characteristic of all instincts we shall only be able to decide later. They turn out to be directed towards the reinstatement of an earlier state of things. We may assume that, as soon as a given state of things is upset, there arises an instinct to recreate it, and phenomena appear which we may call the *repetition-compulsion*. Embryology, for instance, is nothing but a repetition-compulsion; even far back in the animal series we find a capacity to form afresh organs which have been lost, and the instinct of recovery to which, alongside of our therapeutic activities we owe our power to get well, may be the remains of this capacity which is so wonderfully developed in the lower animals. The spawning migrations of fish and perhaps the migrations of birds, possibly all that we describe as a manifestation of *instinct* in animals, takes place under the domination of repetition-compulsion which expresses the *conservative nature* of instincts. And in the realm of the mind, too, we have not far to seek for evidence of the presence of that compulsion. It has always surprised us that the forgotten and repressed experiences of early childhood should reproduce themselves in dreams and reactions during analytic treatment, especially in the reactions involved in the transference, although their reawakening runs counter to the interests of the pleasure-principle, and we have explained this by saying that in such cases repetition-compulsion has overcome even the pleasure-principle. Outside analysis too we can observe the same thing. There are people who all their lives repeat to their own detriment the same reactions which seem to be dogged by a relentless ill fortune, though closer investigation shows that they are unwittingly bringing this ill fortune upon themselves. Thus we explain what is called a *demonic* character as being due to the repetition-compulsion.

But how can this conservative quality of instincts help us to understand the self-destructive tendency? What is the aim of the instinct that such an instinct is trying to reinstate? Now the answer to this question lies near at hand and opens up a wide vista of possibilities. If it is true that once in an inconceivably remote past, and in an unimaginable way, life arose out of inanimate matter, then, in accordance with our hypothesis, an instinct must at that time have come into being, whose aim it was to abolish life once more and to re-establish the inorganic state of things. If in this instinct we recognize the impulse to self-destruction of our hypothesis, then we can regard that impulse as the manifestation of a *death instinct*, which can never be absent in any vital process. And now the instincts in which we believe separate themselves into two groups: the erotic instincts, which are always trying to collect living substance together into ever larger unities, and the death instincts, which act against that tendency and try to bring living matter back to an inorganic condition. The co-operation and opposition of these two forces produce the phenomena of life to which death puts an end.

You will perhaps shrug your shoulders and say: That is not natural science, that is the philosophy of Schopenhauer. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, why should not a bold thinker have divined something that sober and painstaking investigation of details subsequently confirms? And after all everything has been said already, and many people said the same thing before Schopenhauer. And besides, what we have said is not even true Schopenhauer. We do not assert that death is the only aim of life; we do not overlook the presence of life by the side of death. We recognize two fundamental instincts and ascribe to each of them its own aim. How the two mingle in the vital process, how the death instinct is pressed into the service of Eros, especially when it is turned outwards in the form of aggressiveness—these are problems which remain for future investigation. We can go no further than the point at which this prospect opens up before us. The question whether all instincts without exception do not possess conservative character, whether the erotic instincts do not seek the reinstatement of an earlier state of things when they strive towards the synthesis of living substance into larger wholes—this question too must be left unanswered.

We have wandered somewhat far from our thesis, but I will tell you the starting point of these reflections upon the theory of the instincts. It was the same thing that led us to a revision of the relation between the ego and the uncon

occasionally shows himself to be brutal violent and cruel these are only passing disturbances of his emotional life mostly provoked and perhaps only the consequence of the ill adapted social system which he has so far made for himself

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t.n. We have got .n.t the habit of sa m that our civilization is b t up at th cost of our sexual impulses w ch are inh b ted by society being partly repressed, b partl on the other hand m use f f r w ams H wever proud we m be of r cul ural achievements we ave d d that it is b no means easy t s the requirements f th s civilizat on t s ... feel comfortable t its m dst because the restra on ot t cts which t m ol es lay heavy psych ogical burden on our houlders. Now what we ha e recognized as true of t sexual instincts holds to the same extent, and perhaps t an even greater extent for the other instincts, for those of aggression It is they above all that mak communal exi tence difficult and threaten ts permanence The lim t on cf aggression is the first a d perhaps t hardest sacrifice wh h ociety demands from each individual. We ha e le rnt in what an ingenious way this unruly element is tamed. The setting up of the super-ego wh h makes the dangerous aggressive impu es its own is like introducing a garrison into a province that is on t e brink of rebellion. But on the other hand, looking at t from a purel psychological point f view one ha t adm that th ego does t feel at all comfort ble when t fi ds itself sacrificed in this way to the needs of society when it has to subm t tself t the destructive impulses f ggres on which it would have d rly liked self t et in mot on gainst others It is like a carrying-o er into the region of the mind f the dilemma—eat or be eaten— ...ch d m....es t rga... wo l... Fortuna ely th instincts f ggres on are ever alone, they are wa all yed with th ero c ones I th cultural ond: ons which man has crea ed for himself th rotic in inct have much t miti gat and m h t a ert.

LECTURE 33

THE PSYCH LOGY OF W MEN

LADIES AND G NTLEMEN Th wh l time that I ha been p eparing th l ctures I am giving ... I ha been truggling with an internal difficul I f l as one must say uncertain f t. terms f my h ence It is qu t true that in the cours f fifteen years work psycho-analysis has a ered a.d grown but in sp te of t t introduction t psycho-analysis m t be l ft unch... ged and unexpanded. It is always t... back f my mind that th re is eason d' for these lectures. For anal sts I sa too little and nothing t all that is n w while to you I ...ay too much and relate th gs wh ch you are not in a pos tion to unders and, d wh ch are not for your ears I ha e looked bout for excu es a d have tried to justify ea h of my lectures on di erent grounds. Th first the one about the theory of dreams w m en ed to p you back at once i. to the atmosph re of analysis and to how you h w d rel e o r hypo heses have proved themsel es t be I was tempted t give the second wh h traced the connection between dreams and the so-called occult by the opportun y t affo... ex of sa ing somet g bout a field of research in wh ch at the present t me prejud ced expec a ... r na onate opp t on ...u d ... on ... ed to t lera ce by example of p ycho-ana ys s. The th rd lect re wh ch dealt w th the a a omy of t e personality ce tainl mad the severe t demands upon ou so trange was i s subject matter but it was qu te impos ...e for me to w hhol d from ou th s first contr b on to ego-psych logy a d if we had been n po es s on of t e material fifteen years ago I should ha e had to ment on it then Finally the last lecture w h you ha e probably f owed o ly with the greatest difficulty conta ed some ece ry emend tions and new at em s at th l t o. f the most important pro lems and my introduct on would ha e been posit e v mi leading f I had kept ... ent about them You see how t is that when one tries to excuse ... ...h ...

d t sam

No h uld toda s lecture fi d a place i n introduct on but it ma serve to g e y ... n examp of th de iled wo k f anal s s a I there are two th ... I can add in its f our It contain n h g but obs rved f ts ...h hardl specu... dd t ons and i is concerned with a theme w...ch cla m your tten t... lmos more than an he Throughout the res t.e prob em f woman has puzzl d people f ev ry kind—

H ds in k er gl ph p
H a... turbans nd b... k bon t
H ad bern ged d th ... ther
P or d sweating h d f h ...
Hein ... dse

You too will ha e pondered th question in so f r as you ar me from th women

scious the impression we received from our analytical work that the patient who puts up a resistance very often knows nothing about it But he is unconscious not only of the fact of his resistance but of the motives for it It was necessary for us to look for these motives or this motive and we found it to our surprise in a strong need for punishment which we could not help associating with masochistic wishes The practical value of this discovery is no less than its theoretical importance for this need for punishment is the worst enemy of our

... ering ... here ... ems ...

one in the most convincing way by cases in which we see neurotic suffering vanish at the appearance of suffering of another kind I will give you an instance of this I once succeeded in freeing a middle aged spinster from a symptom complex that had condemned her to a miserable existence for about fifteen years and had quite prevented her from taking any part in life She felt that she was now restored to health and plunged into a whirl of activity in order to develop her talents which were by no means small and derive a little appreciation enjoyment and success from life before it was too late But all her attempts ended in its being made clear to her or in her seeing for herself that she was too old to effect anything in that direction Every time this happened the next step for her would have been a relapse into her illness but that she could no longer bring about instead of it an accident would always befall her which incapacitated her for some time and caused her suffering She would fall down and sprain her foot or injure her knee or else hurt her hand while she was doing something or other As soon as she saw how great a part she herself played in these apparently chance accidents she altered her technique as one might say Instead of accidents she contracted on the same occasions slight illnesses such as catarrhs sore throats influenzal conditions or rheumatic swellings until at last when she made up her mind to resign herself to inactivity the whole business came to an end

As to the origin of this unconscious need for punishment there can be I think no doubt It behaves like a part of the conscience like the prolongation of conscience into the unconscious and it must have the same origin as *conscience that is to say it will correspond to a piece of aggressiveness which has been internalized and taken over by the super ego If only the words were less incongruous we should* be ...

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whether *we ought to suppose that all aggressiveness that has turned back from the* external world is bound by the *super ego* and so used against the ego or whether a part of it carries on its silent sinister activity as a free destructive instinct in the ego and the id Probably there is a division of this kind but we know nothing further about it When first the super ego is set up there is no doubt that that function is endowed with that part of the child s aggressiveness against its parents for which it can find no discharge outwards on account of its love fixation and external difficulties and for this reason the severity of the super ego need not correspond to the severity of its upbringing It is quite likely that when on subsequent occasions aggressiveness is suppressed the instinct follows the path which was opened to it at that decisive period

People in whom this unconscious sense of guilt is dominant distinguish themselves under analytic treatment by exhibiting what is so unwelcome from the point of view of prognosis —a negative therapeutic reaction In the normal course of events if one gives a patient the solution of a symptom at least the temporary disappearance of that symptom should result with these patients on the contrary the effect is a momentary intensification of the *symptom and the suffering that accompanies it. It often needs only a word of praise of their behaviour durin the cure the utterance of a few words of hope as to the progress of the analysis to bring about an unmistakable aggravation of their condition* A non analyst would say that they were lacking in the will to recovery from the analytical point of view their behaviour will appear as an expression of an unconscious sense of guilt which favours illness with its attendant sufferings and handicaps The problems raised by the unconscious sense of guilt its relation to morality education criminality and delinquency is at the present moment the favourite field of investigation for psycho analysts *Here we have quite unexpectedly emerged into the open from the mental underworld I cannot take you any further* but I will detain you for a few moments before I stop with one further considera

must take care not to underestimate the influence of social conventions which also force women into passive situations. The whole thing is still very obscure. We must not overlook one particularly constant relation between femininity and instinctual life. The repression of their aggressiveness which is imposed upon women by their constitutions and by society favours the development of strong masochistic impulses, which have the effect of binding erotically the destructive tendencies which have been turned inwards. Masochism is, then, as they say, truly feminine. But when, as so often happens, you meet with masochism in men, what else can you do but say that these men display obvious feminine traits of character?

You are now prepared for the conclusion that psychology cannot solve the riddle of femininity. The solution must, I think, come from somewhere else, and it cannot come until we have learned in general how the differentiation of living creatures into two sexes came about. We know nothing whatever about the matter, and yet sexual differentiation is a most remarkable characteristic of organic life and one by which it is sharply cut off from inanimate nature. Meanwhile we shall find plenty to occupy ourselves with in the study of those human individuals who are characterized as manifestly or preponderantly feminine by the possession of female genitals. It is in harmony with the nature of psycho-analysis that it does not try to describe what women are—that would be a task which it could hardly perform—but investigates the way in which women develop out of children with their bisexual dispositions. We have learnt a certain amount about this recently, thanks to the fact that several excellent women analysts have begun to work on the problem. A special piquancy has been lent to the discussion of this subject by the question of the difference between the sexes, for whenever a comparison was made which seemed to be unfavourable to their sex, the ladies were able to express the suspicion that we, the men analysts, had never overcome certain deep-rooted prejudices against the feminine, and that consequently our investigations suffered from bias. On the other hand, on the basis of bisexuality we found it easy to avoid any impoliteness. We had only to say, "This does not apply to you. You are an exception in this respect, you are more masculine than feminine."

In approaching the study of the sexual development of women we start with two preconceptions: firstly, that, as in the case of men, the constitution will not adapt itself to its function without a struggle; and secondly, that the decisive changes will have been set in motion or completed before puberty. Both of these preconceptions turn out to be justified. Further, a comparison with what happens in the case of the boy shows us that the development of the little girl into a normal woman is more difficult and more complicated, for she has two additional tasks to perform to which there is nothing corresponding in the development of the man. Let us follow the parallel from the very beginning. Certainly the original material is different in the boy and the girl; it does not require psycho-analysis to find that out. The difference in the formation of their genital organs is accompanied by other bodily differences which are too familiar for me to need to mention them. In their instinctual disposition, as well, there are differences which foreshadow the later nature of the woman. The little girl is as a rule less aggressive, less defiant and less self-sufficient; she seems to have a greater need for affection to be shown her, and therefore to be more dependent and docile. The fact that she is more easily and more quickly taught to control her excretions is very probably only the result of this docility; urine and stool are, as we know, the first gifts that the child can offer to those who look after it, and control over them is the first concession which can be wrung from the instinctual life of the child. One gets the impression, too, that the little girl is more intelligent and more lively than the boy of the same age; she is more inclined to meet the external world half way, and at the same time she makes stronger object-cathexes. I do not know whether the view that she gets a start in development has been confirmed by more exact observation, but in any case it is quite clear that the little girl cannot be called intellectually backward. But these sexual differences are of no great importance; they can be outbalanced by individual variation. For the purposes we have immediately in view they may be left on one side.

Both sexes seem to pass through the early phases of libidinal development in the same way. One might have expected that already in the sadistic-anal phase we should find that the girl showed less aggressiveness, but this is not the case. Women analysts have found from the analysis of children's play that the aggressive impulses of little girls leave nothing to be desired as regards copiousness and violence

among you that is not to be expected for you are the riddle yourselves Male or female is the first differentiation that you make when you meet another human being and you are used to making that distinction with absolute cer tainty Anatomical science shares your certainty in one point but not much more Male is the male sexual secretion the spermatozoon and its carrier female is the egg and the organism that contains it In each sex organs have been formed which exclusively subserve the sexual functions they have probably been developed from the same basis into two different for mations In both sexes moreover the other organs the shape of the body and the tissues are influenced by sex (the so called secondary sexual characters) but this influence is irregular and varying in degree And then science tells you something that runs counter to your ex pectations and is probably calculated to con fuse your feelings It points out to you that parts of the male sexual apparatus are also to be found in the body of the female although in a rudimentary condition and vice versa Science sees in this phenomenon an indication of *bisexuality* as though the individual were neither man nor woman but both at the same time only rather more the one than the other It then expects you to make yourselves familiar with the idea that the proportions in which the masculine and the feminine mingle in an in dividual are subject to quite extraordinary variations And even thou h apart from very rare cases only one kind of sexual product—ova or seminal cells—is present in any one individual you will go wrong if you take this factor as being of decisive importance and you must conclude that what constitutes masculin ity or femininity is an unknown element which it is beyond the power of anatomy to grasp

Can psychology do any better? We are used to consider masculine and feminine as mental qualities as well and have also carried the notion of bi exuality over into mental life We speak of a human being whether male or fe male behaving in a masculine or a feminine way But you will at once observe that that is simply following the lead of anatomy and con vention You can give the concepts of masculine and feminine no new content The difference is not a psychological one when you say masculine you mean as a rule *act ve* and when you say feminine you mean *passive* Now it is quite true that there is such a cor relation The male sexual cell is active and mobile it seeks out the female one while the latter the ovum is stationary and waits pas sively This behaviour of the elementary organisms of sex is more or less a model of the behaviour of the individuals of each sex in sexual intercourse The male pursues the female for the purpose of sexual union seizes her and pushes his way into her But with that you have so far as psychology goes reduced the quality of masculinity to the factor of aggres siveness You will begin to doubt whether you have hit upon anything fundamental here when you consider that in many classes of animals the female is the stronger and more aggressive party and the male is only active in the sin le act of sexual intercourse That is the case for instance with spiders The functions of carin for the young too and of rearin them which seems to us so essentially feminine are not among animals always associated with the female sex In some species of animals quite high in the scale one finds that th

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notice how unsatisfactory it is to identify masculine behaviour with activity and feminine with passivity The mother is in every sense of the word active in her relations with her child it is just as true to say that she gives suck to the child as that she lets it suck her breasts The further you go from the sexual field in the narrower sense of the word the more apparent it becomes that the two ideas do not coincide Women can display great activity in a variety of directions while men cannot live to ether with their kind unless they develop a high de gree of passive pliability If you thereupon say that these facts precisely prove that men and women are psychologically bisexual I shall infer that you have decided to identify activity with masculinity and passivity with femininity But I advise you not to do that It seems to me to serve no good purpose and to give us no new information

One might make an attempt to characterize femininity psychologically by saying that it involves a preference for passive aims That is naturally not the same as passivity it may require a good deal of activity to achieve a passive end It may be that the part played by women in the sexual function lead them to incline towards passive behaviour

nfluence of her sexual life as a model is limited or far reaching But we

of a hostile aggressive nature. It often happens that the hostile wishes only become apparent after they have been turned into anxiety ideas. It is not always easy to point out the way in which these early sexual wishes are formulated. What is most clearly expressed is the desire to get the mother with child as well as the corresponding one to have a child by the mother; both belong to the phallic phase and seem sufficiently strange, though their existence is established beyond all doubt by analytic observation. The attraction of these investigations lies in the extraordinary facts which they bring to light. Thus, for instance, one discovers the fear of being murdered or poisoned, which may later on form the nucleus of a paranoic disorder, already present in this pre-oedipal stage and directed against the mother. Or take another case. You will remember that interesting episode in the history of analytical research which caused me so many painful hours. At the time when my main interest was directed on the discovery of infantile sexual traumas, almost all my female patients told me that they had been seduced by their fathers. Eventually I was forced to the conclusion that these stories were false, and thus I came to understand that hysterical symptoms spring from phantasies and not from real events. Only later was I able to recognize in this phantasy of seduction by the father the expression of the typical Oedipus complex in woman. And now we find in the early pre-oedipal history of girls the seduction phantasy again; but the seducer is invariably the mother. Here, however, the phantasy has a footing in reality; for it must in fact have been the mother who aroused (perhaps for the first time) pleasurable sensations in the child's genitals in the ordinary course of attending to its bodily needs.

I dare say that you are prepared to suspect that this description of the richness and strength of the sexual relations of the little girl to her mother is very much exaggerated. One has, after all, plenty of opportunity of watching little girls, and one notices nothing of the sort. But the objection cannot be sustained. One can see enough of such things in children if one understands how to observe them, and besides this you must consider how little the child is able to give preconscious expression to its sexual wishes, and how little it can communicate them. We are therefore acting entirely within our rights in studying the subsequent traces and consequences of this emotional field in persons in whom these developmental processes show a particularly clear or even exaggerated growth. Pathology, as you know, has always assisted us by isolation and exaggeration in making recognizable things which would normally remain hidden. And since our researches have been carried out on people who are by no means grossly abnormal, we may, I think, consider the results of them worthy of belief.

We will now turn our attention to the question of why this strong attachment of the girl to her mother comes to grief. We are aware that that is what usually happens to it; it is fated to give way to an attachment to her father. And here we stumble on a fact which points in the right direction. This step in development is not merely a question of a change of object. The turning away from the mother occurs in an atmosphere of antagonism; the attachment to the mother ends in hate. Such a hatred may be very marked and may persist throughout an entire lifetime; it may later on be carefully overcompensated; as a rule one part of it is overcome while another part persists. The outcome is naturally very strongly influenced by the actual events of later years. We will confine our interest to studying this hatred at the actual time at which the turn towards the father takes place, and to inquiring into its motives. We are then met by a long list of complaints and grievances levelled at the mother, which are intended to justify the antagonistic feelings of the child; they vary in validity and we shall examine them further. Many are obvious rationalizations, and we have yet to find the true source of the antagonism. I hope you will bear with me if on this occasion I conduct you through all the details of a psycho-analytical investigation.

The complaint against the mother that harks back furthest is that she has given the child too little milk, which is taken as indicating a lack of love. Now this complaint has a certain justification in the case of the human family. The mothers often have not enough nourishment for the child, and content themselves with nursing them for nine months, six or even less. Among primitive peoples children remain at the breast for as long as two or three years. The figure of the wet nurse as a rule merged in that of the mother; where this does not take place the complaint against the mother takes another form, namely that she sent the nurse, who was so ready to feed the child, away too soon. But whatever may have been the true state of affairs, it is impossible that the child's

With the onset of the phallic phase the difference between the sexes becomes much less important than their similarities. We are now obliged to recognize that the little girl is a little man. As we know, in the boy this phase is characterized by the fact that he has discovered how to obtain pleasurable sensations from his little penis and associates its state of excitation with his ideas about sexual intercourse. The little girl does the same with her even smaller clitoris. It seems as though with her all her masturbatory actions center round this penis equivalent, and that the actual female vagina is still undiscovered by both sexes. It is true that here and there reports have been made that tell us of early vaginal sensations as well, but it cannot be easy to discriminate between these and anal sensations or from sensations of the vaginal vestibule; in any case they cannot play a very important role. We may assume that in the phallic phase of the girl the clitoris is the dominant erotogenic zone. But it is not destined to remain so; with the change to femininity the clitoris must give up to the vagina its sensitivity, and with it its importance, either wholly or in part. This is one of the two tasks which have to be performed in the course of the woman's development; the more fortunate man has only to continue at the time of his sexual maturity what he has already practised during the period of early sexual expansion.

We shall return to the part played by the clitoris, but shall now pass on to the second task with which the girl's development is burdened. The first love object of the boy is his mother, and she remains as such in the formation of his Oedipus complex and ultimately throughout his whole life. For the little girl too her mother must be her first object (together with figures of nurses and other attendants that merge into hers); the first object cathexes indeed follow the lines of the satisfaction of the great and simple needs of life, and the circumstances in which the child is nursed are the same for both sexes. In the Oedipus situation, however, the father has become the little girl's love object, and it is from him that in the normal course of develop-m[illegible] her object, while the boy keeps both of them unchanged. The question then arises of how this comes about. In particular, how does the little girl pass from an attachment to her mother to an attachment to her father? or in other words, how does she pass from her masculine phase into the feminine phase which has been biologically marked out for her?

Now it would provide us with an ideally simple solution of the problem if we could assume that from a certain age onwards the elementary influence of heterosexual attraction makes itself felt and draws the little girl towards men, while the same principle allows the boy to keep to his mother. One could even assume further that in doing this children are following a hint given them by the sexual preferences of their parents. But things are not so convenient as this. We hardly know whether we can seriously believe in the mysterious and unanalysable force of which the poets sing so enthusiastically. Painstaking investigations have resulted in findings of quite a different kind, the material for which at all events was easily obtainable. You must know that the number of women who until late in life remain tenderly attached to father objects, or indeed to their real fathers, is very large. We have made the most surprising discoveries about these women who display intense and prolonged father fixations. We knew, of course, that there had been an earlier stage in which they were attached to their mother, but we did not know that it was so rich in content, that it persisted so long, and that it could leave behind it so many occasions for fixations and predispositions. During this time their father is no more than an irksome rival. In many cases the attachment to the mother lasts beyond the fourth year; almost everything that we find later in the father relation was already present in that attachment and has been subsequently transferred on to the father. In short, we gain the conviction that one cannot understand women unless one estimates this *pre-oedipal attachment to the mother* at its proper value.

Now we should very much like to know what the libidinal relations of the little girl to her mother are. The answer is that they are manifold. Since they pass through all the three phases of infantile sexuality, they take on the characteristics of each separate phase and express themselves by means of oral, sadistic-anal and phallic wishes. These wishes represent active as well as passive impulses; if one relates them to the differentiation of the sexes which comes about later (which one should avoid doing as far as possible), one can speak of them as masculine and feminine. They are, in addition, completely ambivalent—both of a tender and

ates her from the mother-object. If we do not find something which is specific for the girl and which is not present at all or not present in the same way in the case of the boy, we shall not have explained the ending of the girl's attachment to her mother.

I think that we have discovered this specific factor, and in a place where we might indeed have expected it, but in a surprising form. In a place where we might have expected it, I say, for it lies in the castration complex. The anatomical distinction between the sexes must, after all, leave its mark in mental life. It was a surprise, however, to discover from analyses that the girl holds her mother responsible for her lack of a penis, and never forgives her for that deficiency.

You will notice that we ascribe a castration-complex to the female sex as well as to the male. We have good grounds for doing so, but that complex has not the same content in girls as in boys. In the boy the castration-complex is formed after he has learnt from the sight of the female genitals that the sexual organ which he prizes so highly is not a necessary part of every human body. He remembers then the threats which he has brought on himself by his playing with his penis, he begins to believe in them, and thence forward he comes under the influence of castration-anxiety, which supplies the strongest motive force for his further development. The castration-complex in the girl, as well, is started by the sight of the genital organs of the other sex. She immediately notices the difference, and—it must be admitted—its significance. She feels herself at a great disadvantage, and often declares that she would like to have something like that too, and falls a victim to *penis-envy*, which leaves ineradicable traces on her development and character formation, and, even in the most favourable instances, is not overcome without a great expenditure of mental energy. That the girl recognizes the fact that she lacks a penis, does not mean that she accepts its absence lightly. On the contrary, she clings for a long time to the desire to get something like it, and believes in that possibility for an extraordinary number of years; and even at a time when her knowledge of reality has long since led her to abandon the fulfilment of this desire as being quite unattainable, analysis proves that it still persists in the unconscious, and retains a considerable charge of energy. The desire after all to obtain the penis for which she so much longs may even contribute to the motives that impel grown-up woman to come to analysis, and what she quite reasonably expects to get from analysis, such as the capacity to pursue an intellectual career, can often be recognized as a sublimated modification of this repressed wish.

One cannot very well doubt the importance of penis-envy. Perhaps you will regard the hypothesis that envy and jealousy play a greater part in the mental life of women than they do in that of men as an example of male unfairness. Not that I think that these characteristics are absent in men, or that they have no other origin in women except envy of the penis, but I am inclined to ascribe the greater amount of them to be found in women to this latter influence. Many analysts, however, *tend to* minimize the importance of this first wave of penis-envy in the phallic phase. They think that the signs one comes across of this attitude in women are in the main a secondary formation which has come about through regression on to the early infantile impulse in question on the occasion of some subsequent conflict. Now this is one of the general problems of depth psychology. In the case of many pathological—or merely unusual—instinctual attitudes, for example, with all sexual perversions, the question arises how much of their force is to be attributed to early infantile fixations and how much to the influence of later experiences and developments. It is almost always a question of complemental series, such as we have postulated when dealing with the aetiology of the neuroses. Both sets of factors share in the causation in a varying proportion, and less in the one set will be balanced by more in the other. The infantile factor in every case paves the way; it is not always the decisive force, though it often is. But with regard to the particular case of penis-envy, I should like to come down decidedly in favour of the preponderance of the infantile factor.

The discovery of her castration is a turning point in the life of the girl. Three lines of development diverge from it; one leads to sexual inhibition or to neurosis, the second to a modification of character in the sense of a masculinity complex, and the third to normal femininity. We have learnt a good deal, though not everything, about all three. The fundamental content of the first is that the little girl, who has hitherto lived a masculine life and has been able to obtain pleasure through the excitation of her clitoris and has connected this behaviour with the sexual wishes (often of an active character) which she has directed towards her mother

complaint can be as often justified as it is met with It looks far more as if the desire of the child for its first form of nourishment is altogether insatiable and as if it never got over the pain of losing the mother s breast I should not be at all surprised if an analysis of a member of a primitive race who must have sucked the mother s breast when he could already run and talk brought the same complaint to light It is probable too that the fear of poisoning is connected with *weaning* *Poison* is the nourishment that makes one ill Perhaps moreover the child traces his early illnesses back to this frustration It requires a good deal of intellectual training before we can believe in chance primitive and uneducated people and certainly children can give a reason for everything that happens Perhaps this reason was originally a motive (in the animistic sense) In many social strata even to this day no one can die without having been done to death by some one else preferably by the doctor And the regular reaction of a neurotic to the death of some one intimately connected with him is to accuse himself of being the cause of the death

The next accusation against the mother flares up when the next child makes its appearance in the nursery If possible this complaint retains the connection with oral frustration the mother could not or would not give the child any more milk because she needed the nourishment for the new arrival In cases where the two children were born so close to ether that lactation was interfered with by the second pregnancy this complaint has a real foundation It is a remarkable fact that even when the difference between the children s ages is only eleven months the older one is nevertheless able to take in the state of affairs But it is not only the milk that the child grudges the undesired interloper and rival but all the other evidences of motherly care It feels that it has been dethroned robbed and had its rights invaded and so it directs a feeling of jealous hatred a ainst its little brother or sister and develops resentment against its faithless mother which often finds expression in a change for the worse in its behaviour It begins to be naughty irritable intractable and unlearns the control which it has acquired over its excretions All this has been known for a long time and is accepted as self evident but we seldom form a right idea of the strength of these jealou impulses of the tenacious hold they have on the child and the amount of influence they exert on its later development These jealous feelings are particularly important because they are always being fed anew during the later years of childhood and the whole shattering experience is repeated with the arrival of every new brother or sister Even if the child remains its mother s favourite things are not very different its demand for affection are boundless it requires exclusive attention and will allow no sharing whatever

A potent source of the child s antagonism against its mother is found in its many sexual wishes which change with its libidinal phases. These cannot for the most part be satisfied The strongest of these frustrations occurs in the phallic stage when the mother forbids pleasurable activities centring round the genital organs—often with an accompaniment of harsh threats and every indication of disapproval—activities to which after all she herself stimulated the child It might be thought that we had here motives enough for the little girl s alienation from her mother In that case it might be our view that estrangement follows inevitably from the nature of infantile sexuality from the child s unlimited demands for love and the unfulfillable nature of its sexual wishes One might even believe that this first love relation of the child is doomed to extinction for the very reason that it is the first for these early object cathexes are always ambivalent to a very high degree alongside the child s intense love there is always a strong aggressive tendency present and the more passionately the child loves an object the more sensitive it will be to disappointments and frustrations coming from it In the end the love is bound to capitulate to the accumulated hostility Or on the other hand one might reject the idea of a fundamental ambivalence of this kind in the libidinal cathexes and point to the fact that it is the peculiar nature of the mother child relationship which leads equally inevitably to the disturbance of the child s love since even the mildest form of education cannot avoid using compulsion and introducin restrictions and every such encroachment on its freedom must call forth as a reaction in the child a tendency to rebellion and aggressiveness A discussion of these possibilities might I think, be very interesting but at this point an objection suddenly arises which forces our attention in another direction All of these factors—slights disappointments in love jealousy and seduction followed by prohibition—operate as well in the relationship between the boy and his mother and yet are not sufficient to alien

boy who b rs the longed fo penis wi h him In the dea of ha ing a child by the father the accent is f en enough placed o the child a d to on the father Thus the old masculine wish for t po ses on of a penis still shows und r t comp et l d veloped fem inity But per haps we should rather think of th s des re for a penis s omethin es entially femini e in itself

W h the transference of the child penis wish on to h r father the girl enters into the s tua tion f the Oedipus-complex. The hostility against her mother which did not require to be newly cre ed, now rece es a great reinforce ment f her mother becomes a ri al who gets everything from her father that he herself wan s. The g l s Oedipus-compl x has long con ealed from s th pre-oed pal attachment t er m er which is so important a d which lea es behind t such la tin fixations F r the girl the Oedipus s tuation s th co clu on of ... t

l ency period is not f off And here e find a di ren e between the two sexes in the relation between th Oedipus-c mple and the castration-compl a difference which is probably a momentous on The boy's Oed pus-complex in wh ch he des es his moth r and wants t get rid f his father as a ri al devel ops naturall out f the phase of phall c sexu ality The threat of castrat on howe r fo ces him t g e up this attitude U der th i flu en of t d er of losing hi penis he abandons his Oedipus-complex it s epres ed and m mo t n rmal ca es entirel de stroyed, while severe supe -ego is set up as its heir What happen in the case f the girl almost the opposite The ca trat on-complex prepares the wa for the Oedipus-complex in r d of dest oying t under the influenc of her penis-en y th girl is dri en from her attachment to her mother and ent rs the Oedip s situat on, s though t were dri en of efuge. When the fea f castration disappears th primary moti is removed which has f ced the boy t ove c me his O dipus-c mplex. The girl remains in the Oedipus situati f an indefinit period h only band ns t late in lif and then incomplet ly Th f rmat on f the super-eg must suffe in thes ci cum st ces it cannot ttain th stre gth d in dependen which gi t ts cultural impo tance and feminists re t pl ased f e points to the way in which this f ct ff cts the de elopment of the a erage fem nine character

Let us now go back a little We ha e men tioned as the second po sible react o *after* the d covery of femal castrat on the devel opment of a strong mascul nit c mplex What is me t b this th t the g rl refu es as it were to accept the unpalatab e fact a d by an outburst of d ance exaggerates st ll f rther the ma cul ty wh ch he has d pla ed h th erto She cl s to her cl oritic acti it es a d takes refuge in an identificat on e ther wi h the phallic mother or w h th father What is the determina t wh ch le ds to this tate of affa rs? We can p cture it as nothing other than a co t tutional factor the pos ess on of a gre ter degre of ct t su h as is usuall charac er s tic of the male The essential th g about the p ocess is after all that at th s poi t of devel opment the onset of p ss t wh ch m kes pos ble the cha ge over to fem nin ty is a o ded The most extreme ach e ement of th ma culin ty complex seems to occur w en it influences the girl s ob ect-cho ce in the direc tion of manifest homosexuality Anal tic ex perience teaches us, it is true that fem le homosexuality is eldom or never a d rect con tinuat on f infantil masculin t It seems t be chara terist c of female h mosexual that they too take the father as love-object for a whil d thus become implicated i the Oed pus situation. Then however they re d en by the ine t b e disappointments which they experienc from th f ther int a re re sion to th r early ma culinity complex. On must not overestimate the importa ce of these disap poi tment girls wh eventuall achie e fem ninit al o experience them w thou the m results Th prepond rance of th con t tional f ctor eems undeniable b t th t o phases in the dev lopment of femal homose uality are dmirably reflected in the beha i ur of homosexuals, who j st as often and just as b n usly play the parts of m ther and child toward e h o her as those f man d w f

What I have been telling you s what on might call the pre-hi tory of wom n. It s n ach evement of th last few years and you may ha e been interested in t as an example f d tailed w k in an l sis S nce women are our theme I am going to permit mys lf to mention by n m a few women to whom this in est gat on wes important c trib t s Dr Ruth Ma k Brunswick wa the first t describe cas f n rosis which went back t fixat on in the pre-oed pal state and in wh ch the Oedi

finds her enjoyment of phallic sexuality spoilt by the influence of penis envy She is wounded in her self love by the unfavourable comparison with the boy who is so much better equipped and therefore gives up the masturbatory satisfaction which she obtained from her clitoris repudiates her love towards her mother and at the same time often represses a good deal of her sexual impulses in general No doubt this turning away from her mother does not come to pass at one blow for at first the girl looks on her castration as a personal misfortune and only gradually extends it to other females and eventually to her mother Her love had as its object the phallic mother with the discovery that the mother is castrated it becomes possible to drop her as a love object so that the incentives to hostility which have been so long accumulating get the upper hand This means therefore that as a result of the discovery of the absence of a penis women are as much depreciated in the eyes of the girl as in the eyes of the boy and later perhaps of the man

You all know what an overwhelming aetiological importance is attributed by neurotics to their masturbatory practices They make them responsible for all their troubles and we have the greatest difficulty in getting them to believe that they are wrong But as a matter of fact we ought to admit that they are in the right for masturbation is the executive agent of infantile sexuality from the faulty development of which they are suffering The difference is that what the neurotics are blaming is the masturbation of the pubertal stage the infantile masturbation which is the one that really matters has for the most part been forgotten by them *I wish I could find an opportunity for* giving you a circumstantial account of how important all the factual details of early masturbation are in determining the subsequent neurosis or character of the individual concerned—such details as whether it was discovered or not how the parents combated it or whether they permitted it and whether the subject succeeded in suppressing it himself All these details will have left indelible traces upon his development But in fact I am relieved that it is not necessary for me to do this it would be a difficult and weary task and at the end you would embarrass me because you would quite certainly ask for some practical advice as to how one should behave towards the masturbation of small children as a parent or educator The history of the development of girls which is the subject I am telling you about offers an instance of the child itself striving to free itself from masturbation But it does not always succeed Where penis envy has aroused a strong impulse against clitoric masturbation but where the latter will not give way there follows a fierce battle for freedom in which the girl herself takes over as it were the role of the mother whom she has set aside and expresses her whole dissatisfaction with the inferior clitoris by striving against the *gratification derived from it Many years later* when her masturbatory activity has long ago been suppressed we may find an interest persisting which we must interpret as a defence against the temptation which she still fears It finds expression in feelings of sympathy for persons to whom she ascribes similar difficulties it may enter into her motives for marriage and may indeed determine her choice of a husband or lover The settling of the problem of infantile masturbation is truly no easy or unimportant task

When the little girl gives up clitoric masturbation she surrenders a certain amount of activity Her passive side has now the upper hand and in turning to her father she is assisted in the main by passive instinctual impulses You will see that a step in development such as this one which gets rid of phallic activity must smooth the path for femininity If in the process not too much is lost through repression this femininity may prove normal The wish with which the girl turns to her father is no doubt ultimately the wish for the penis which her mother has refused her and which she now expects from her father The feminine situation is however only established when the wish for *the penis is replaced by the wish for a child—* the child taking the place of the penis in accordance with the old symbolic equation It does not escape us that at an earlier stage *the* girl has already desired a child before the phallic phase was interfered with that was the meaning of her playing with dolls But this play was not really an expression of her femininity it served in identifying her with her mother for the purpose of substituting activity for passivity She was the mother and the doll was herself now she could do everything to the doll that her mother used to do with her Only with the onset of the desire for a penis does the doll child become a child by the father and thence forward the strongest feminine wish Her happiness is great indeed when this desire for a child one day finds a real fulfilment but especially is this so if the child is a little

boy who bears the longed-for penis with him. In the idea of having a child by the father the accent is often enough placed on the child, and not on the father. Thus the old masculine wish for the possession of a penis still shows through the completed development of femininity. But perhaps we should rather think of this desire for a penis as something eminently feminine in itself.

With the transference of the child-penis wish on to her father, the girl enters into the situation of the Oedipus-complex. The hostility against her mother, which did not require to be newly created, now receives a great re-inforcement, for her mother becomes a rival, who gets everything from her father that she herself wants. The girl's Oedipus-complex has long concealed from us the pre-oedipal attachment to her mother which is so important and which leaves behind it such lasting fixations. For the girl, the Oedipus situation is the conclusion of a long and difficult period of development; it is a kind of temporary solution of her problem, a state of equilibrium which is not lightly to be given up, especially as the onset of the latency period is not far off. And here we notice a difference between the two sexes in the relation between the Oedipus-complex and the castration-complex, a difference which is probably a momentous one. The boy's Oedipus-complex, in which he desires his mother, and wants to get rid of his father as a rival, develops naturally out of the phase of phallic sexuality. The threat of castration, however, forces him to give up this attitude. Under the influence of the danger of losing his penis, he abandons his Oedipus-complex; it is repressed and in the most normal cases entirely destroyed, while a severe super-ego is set up as its heir. What happens in the case of the girl is almost the opposite. The castration-complex prepares the way for the Oedipus-complex instead of destroying it; under the influence of her penis-envy the girl is driven from her attachment to her mother and enters the Oedipus situation, as though it were into a haven of refuge. When the fear of castration disappears, the primary motive is removed, which has forced the boy to overcome his Oedipus-complex. The girl remains in the Oedipus situation for an indefinite period, she only abandons it late in life, and then incompletely. The formation of the super-ego must suffer in these circumstances; it cannot attain the strength and independence which give it its cultural importance, and feminists are not pleased if one points out the ways in which this factor affects the development of the average feminine character.

Let us now go back a little. We have mentioned as the second possible reaction after the discovery of female castration the development of a strong masculinity complex. What is meant by this is that the girl refuses, as it were, to accept the unpalatable fact, and, in an outburst of defiance, even exaggerates still further the masculinity which she has displayed hitherto. She clings to her clitoritic activities, and takes refuge in an identification either with the phallic mother or with the father. What is the determinant which leads to this state of affairs? We can picture it as nothing other than a constitutional factor: the possession of a greater degree of activity, such as is usually characteristic of the male. The essential thing about the process is, after all, that at this point of development the onset of passivity, which makes possible the change over to femininity, is avoided. The most extreme achievement of this masculinity complex seems to occur when it influences the girl's object-choice in the direction of manifest homosexuality. Analytic experience teaches us, it is true, that female homosexuality is seldom or never a direct continuation of infantile masculinity. It seems to be characteristic of female homosexuals that they too take the father as love-object for a while and thus become implicated in the Oedipus situation. Then, however, they are driven by the inevitable disappointments which they experience from their father into a regression to their early masculinity complex. One must not overestimate the importance of these disappointments; girls who eventually achieve femininity also experience them without the same result. The preponderance of the constitutional factor seems undeniable, but the two phases in the development of female homosexuality are admirably reflected in the behaviour of homosexuals, who just as often and just as obviously play the parts of mother and child towards each other as those of man and wife.

What I have been telling you is what one might call the pre-history of women. It is an achievement of the last few years, and you may have been interested in it as an example of detailed work in analysis. Since women are our theme, I am going to permit myself to mention by name a few women to whom this investigation owes important contributions. Dr. Ruth Mack Brunswick was the first to describe a case of neurosis which went back to a fixation in the pre-oedipal stage, and in which the Oed-

pus situation was not reached at all It took the form of paranoia with delusions of jeal ousy and proved accessible to treatment Dr Jeanne Lampl de Groot has from her own un equivocal observations established the fact of the girl s phallic activities towards her mother which seem so hard to believe Dr Helene Deutsch has shown that the erotic behaviour of homosexual woman reproduces the mother child relationship

It is not my intention to trace the further course of femininity through puberty up to the time of maturity Our views on the subject are indeed not complete enough for me to do so In what follows I will merely mention a few separate points Bearing in mind the early history of femininity I will emphasize the fact that its development remains open to disturb ance from the traces left behind by the previ ous masculine period Regressions to fixations at these pre oedipal phases occur very often in many women we actually find a repeated alternation of periods in which either ma cu linity or femininity has obtained the upper hand What we men call the enigma of wom an is probably based in part upon these signs of bisexuality in female life But another ques tion seems to have become ripe for discussion in the course of these investigations We have called the motor force of sexual life *libido* This sexual life is dominated by the polarity mascu line feminine one is therefore tempted to con sider the relation of the libido to this polarity It would not be surprising if it turned out that each form of sexuality had its own special form of libido so that one kind of libido pursued the aims of the masculine sexual life and the other those of the feminine Nothing of the sort however is the case There is only one libido which is as much in the service of the male as of the female sexual function To it itself we can assign no sex if in accordance with the conventional analogy between activity and masculinity we choose to call it masculine we must not forget that it also includes impulses with passive aims Nevertheless the phrase *feminine libido* cannot possibly be justified It is our impression that more violence is done to the libido when it is forced into the service of the female function and that—to speak tele ologically—Nature has paid less careful atten tion to the demands of the female function than to those of masculinity And—again speaking teleologically—this may be based on the fact that the achievement of the biological aim is entrusted to the aggressiveness of the male and is to some extent independent of the co operation of the female

The sexual frigidity of women the frequency of which seems to confirm this last point is still a phenomenon which is insufficiently un derstood Sometimes it is psycho enic and if so it is accessible to influence but in other cases one is led to assume that it is constitu tionally conditioned or even partly caused by an anatomical factor

I have promised to put before you a few more of the mental characteristics of mature femininity as we find them in our analytical observation We do not claim for these asser tions more than that they are true on the whole and it is not always easy to distinguish between what is due to the influence of the sexual function and what to social trainin We attribute to women a greater amount of narcis si m (and this influences their object choice) so that for them to be loved is a stronger need than to love Their vanity is partly a further effect of penis envy for they are driven to rate their physical charms more highly as a belated compensation for their original sexual inferior ity Modesty which is regarded as a feminine characteristic *par excellence* but is far more a matter of convention than one would think was in our opinion originally designed to hide the deficiency in her genitals We do not forget that later on it takes over other functions People say that women contributed but little to the discoveries and inventions of civiliza tion but perhaps after all they did discover one technical process that of plaiting and weaving If this is so one is tempted to guess at the unconscious motive at the back of this achievement Nature herself might be regarded as having provided a model for imitation by causing pubic hair to grow at the period of sexual maturity so as to veil the genitals The step that remained to be taken was to attach the hairs permanently to ether whereas in the body they are fixed in the skin and only tan gled with one another If you repudiate this idea as being fantastic and accuse me of having an *idée fixe* on the subject of the influence exercised by the lack of a penis upon the devel opment of femininity I cannot of course de fend myself

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remained ttached to her father if that is to s s has remai ed in the Oedipus-complex t en she chooses according to a f ther type nce, hen she turned from her mother to her f er the antago tic part of her amb alent — d t her m ther

be and may follow in the wake of the pos t e chment a d extend to the new object The husband who h d i the first instance nherited h s po tion from the f ther c mes in the course of time to inherit the pos t o of the mother as w ll In this way t may ea ly occur that the sec d part of a woman s l fe is taken up with a truggl against her h b d just as th h rter ea li r part was occup ed w th re bellion against her m ther Aft this react on has been li ed out a second marria e m y easily turn out far more sat factorily Anoth r change in a woman s nat e f r wh ch n ther husband no w f are p epared may come bout afte the first child has been born Under t influence of h r own mothe hood her iden tificati n with h r m ther may be revi ed (an identification against which she has struggled up to the time of her marriage) d may at tract to ts lf all th l b do that he has at her disposal, so that the repet tio -c mpuls on may reprod an unh ppy m rriag f the parents That the old f ct r f la k of penis has not even y t fo feited t power is ee in the di rent reacti s of the m the accord g to wh ther the child born is son or a daughter Th only thi g that brings a m ther undiluted sati f ction s h elati n t o it is q te th most compl t rel t on hip between h man beings a d the o e that th most f ee f om amb alen Th m th r can transf r t he son all the mbit on whi h h has had to sup press in herself d h can h pe to get f m him th satisf t of all that ha ema ed to h of h ma culin ty complex E en a marriag t firmly assu ed unt l the w man h s u eeded in making h husband i t h child and in ct n th part of a moth towa ds him.

Th m th dentificat on of th w m can be seen t ha tw le ls the p e-o dip l which is ba ed on the tend ttachme t to the m her and which takes her as mod l and th later on d ri ed from the Oedipus-compl x, h t es t get rid of the m ther nd repl ce her in h r elat nship with th f the Much of both rema ns over for the future One is really just fied n say ng that ne ther is overcome to an adequate extent du ing the process of de el pment But the pha e of tender pre-oed pal attachment is the decis ve o e it paves the wa f r her acqu sit on of those characteri t cs wh ch will later enable her to play her part in the exual function adequ tely and carry out her inestimable social act ities In this identi fication too she acqu res that attract veness for the man which kindles h s oed pal attach ment to his mother into love Onl what h p pens so often is that it is not he h mself who gets what he wanted but his on O e forms the impress on that the love of man and the lo e of w m are separated by a psychol ical pha e-d fference

It must be adm tted that women ha e but little en e of justice and this is no doubt con nected with the prepondera ce of en y in th ir mental l fe for the demands of justice are a modificat on of envy they lay down the condi t ons under wh ch one is willing to part w th it. We y also of women that the r soc al i terests a e weaker than those of men and that their capacity for the sublimation of their i t ts is less The former is n do bt derived fr m the un oc al character wh ch und btedly at t ches to all sexual relat onships Lovers find

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la open t him But a woman f about th same ag f q ently taggers us by her psy ch logical rigid ty d unch g abil ty H l b d ha t ken up its fi al po t s d eem po les to lea them for th rs Th re ar no paths ope to her for further development t s s tho h the whole pr c ss h d been go e th ugh and rema ned ina ess ble to fl ence for th futur as th u h in fact the difficult de elopme t which lead t fem n ty had exh usted all the po s bil t es of the d d al As th rapeutists we d plo e this tate f ffi rs even when we a e s ccessful in re m ing h r s ff ri gs by s l ing he neurotic conflict

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The conditions of object choice in women are often enough made unrecognizable by social considerations Where that choice is allowed to manifest itself freely it often occurs according to the narcissistic ideal of the man whom the girl would have liked to be If the girl has

remained attached to her father (and that is to say, has remained in the Oedipus-complex), then she chooses according to the father type. Since, when she turned from her mother to her father, the antagonistic part of her ambivalent feelings remained directed on to her mother, such a choice should ensure a happy marriage. But very often a factor emerges which in general imperils such solutions of the ambivalence-conflict. The antagonism which has been left behind may follow in the wake of the positive attachment, and extend to the new object. The husband, who had in the first instance inherited his position from the father, comes in the course of time to inherit the position of the mother as well. In this way it may easily occur that the second part of a woman's life is taken up with a struggle against her husband, just as the shorter earlier part was occupied with rebellion against her mother. After this reaction has been lived out, a second marriage may easily turn out far more satisfactorily. Another change in a woman's nature, for which neither husband nor wife are prepared, may come about after the first child has been born. Under the influence of her own motherhood, her identification with her mother may be revived (an identification against which she has struggled up to the time of her marriage) and may attract to itself all the libido that she has at her disposal, so that the repetition-compulsion may reproduce an unhappy marriage of the parents. That the old factor of lack of penis has not even yet forfeited its power is seen in the different reactions of the mother according to whether the child born is a son or a daughter. The only thing that brings a mother undiluted satisfaction is her relation to a son; it is quite the most complete relationship between human beings, and the one that is the most free from ambivalence. The mother can transfer to her son all the ambition which she has had to suppress in herself, and she can hope to get from him the satisfaction of all that has remained to her of her masculinity complex. Even marriage is not firmly assured until the woman has succeeded in making her husband into her child and in acting the part of a mother towards him.

The mother-identification of the woman can be seen to have two levels: the pre-oedipal, which is based on the tender attachment to the mother and which takes her as a model, and the later one, derived from the Oedipus-complex, which tries to get rid of the mother and replace her in her relationship with the father. Much of both remain over for the future. One is really justified in saying that neither is overcome to an adequate extent during the process of development. But the phase of tender pre-oedipal attachment is the decisive one; it paves the way for her acquisition of those characteristics which will later enable her to play her part in the sexual function adequately and carry out her inestimable social activities. In this identification, too, she acquires that attractiveness for the man which kindles his oedipal attachment to his mother into love. Only what happens so often is that it is not he himself who gets what he wanted, but his son. One forms the impression that the love of man and the love of woman are separated by a psychological phase-difference.

It must be admitted that women have but little sense of justice, and this is no doubt connected with the preponderance of envy in their mental life; for the demands of justice are a modification of envy; they lay down the conditions under which one is willing to part with it. We say also of women that their social interests are weaker than those of men, and that their capacity for the sublimation of their instincts is less. The former is no doubt derived from the unsocial character which undoubtedly attaches to all sexual relationships. Lovers find complete satisfaction in each other, and even the family resists absorption into wider organizations. The capacity for sublimation is subject to the greatest individual variations. In spite of this I cannot refrain from mentioning an impression which one receives over and over again in analytic work. A man of about thirty seems a youthful and, in a sense, an incompletely developed individual, of whom we expect that he will be able to make good use of the possibilities of development which analysis lays open to him. But a woman of about the same age frequently staggers us by her psychological rigidity and unchangeability. Her libido has taken up its final positions, and seems powerless to leave them for others. There are no paths open to her for further development; it is as though the whole process had been gone through and remained inaccessible to influence for the future; as though, in fact, the difficult development which leads to femininity had exhausted all the possibilities of the individual. As therapeutists we deplore this state of affairs, even when we are successful in removing her sufferings by solving her neurotic conflict.

That is all I had to say to you about the

psychology of women It is admittedly incomplete and fragmentary and sometimes it does not sound altogether flattering You must not forget however that we have only described women in so far as their natures are determined by their sexual function The influence of this factor is of course very far reaching but we must remember that an individual woman may be a human being apart from this If you want to know more about femininity you must interrogate your own experience or turn to the poets or else wait until science can give you more profound and more coherent information

LECTURE 34

EXPLANATIONS APPLICATIONS AND ORIENTATIONS

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN May I for once tired as one might say of dry topics speak to you about matters which have very little theoretical importance, but which will be of interest to you in so far as you are friendlily disposed towards psycho analysis? Let us suppose that in a moment of idleness you take up a German or American or English novel in which you expect to find a description of men and conditions as they are today After reading a few pages you come upon the first mention of psycho analysis and then soon after upon another even though the context does not seem to require it. You must not imagine that this has anything to do with the application of *depth psychology* with a view to a better understanding of the characters in the book or of their behaviour (though of course there are quite serious literary works in which this is attempted) No such references are for the most part contemptuous remarks by means of which the author seeks to display his wide reading or his intellectual superiority And you will not always get the impression that he really knows what he is talking about Or again you may go for your recreation to some social gathering it need not necessarily be in Vienna After a short time the conversation will turn on psycho analysis and you will hear a great variety of people giving their opinion upon it usually in tones of dogmatic certainty This judgment is nearly always a derogatory one often abusive and at the very least derisive If you are so imprudent as to disclose the fact that you know something about the subject every one rushes up to you and asks for information and explanations until after a little time you are convinced that all these severe judgments had been made in the absence of any knowledge that hardly any of these adversaries have ever had a book about analysis in their hands or if they have that they have never been able to overcome the first resistance which people experience on coming in contact with a new subject

You may perhaps expect that an introduction to psycho analysis should give you some indication of what arguments you should use in order to correct these vulgar errors about analysis what books to recommend for those who want more knowledge or even what examples from your reading and experience you should bring into the discussion in order to alter the attitude of your interlocutors I beg you to do nothing of the sort It would be quite useless and your wisest course would be to hide your better knowledge altogether If that is impossible then restrict yourselves to saying that so far as you know psycho analysis is a special branch of science that it is exceedingly difficult to understand and to judge that it is concerned with very serious matters so that one cannot pass it off with a few jokes and that it would be better to choose some other topic as a social pastime Of course you will not take part in any attempts at interpretation if imprudent people repeat their dreams and you will resist the temptation to curry favour for analysis by giving accounts of cures that it has brought about

You may however raise the question why these people whether they write books or make conversation should behave so badly and you will incline to the view that the cause does not lie entirely with the people themselves but with psycho analysis as well That is my opinion too what you meet with in literature and conversation in the shape of prejudice is the after effect of an earlier judgment the judgment namely which the representatives of official science have passed upon the young science of psycho analysis I have already complained about it once before in a historical survey of the subject and I shall not do so again—perhaps even that was once too often but indeed there was no logical blunder no offence against decency and good taste which the scientific opponents of psycho analysis did not permit themselves in those days It was a situation such as actually occurred in the middle ages in which a wrong doer or even a mere political opponent was put in the pillory and exposed to the ill treatment of the mob And perhaps you do not fully realize how high up in our

scow the mob spirit extend and to what lengths peop will go when they feel that they are a part of a crowd and superior to personal responsibility At the beginning of those times I lived more or less alone, and I very soon saw that polemics would do no good, and that com plaints and appeals to worthier minds were useless, since there were no courts before which one could plead one s cause That being so I took another path I made use of applied psycho-analysis for the first time by explaining the behaviour of the crowd as an expression of the same resistance which I had to struggle against in my individual patients I kept off all polemics and influenced my followers as they gradually gathered, to do the same This mode behaviour was satisfactory The ban under which analysis was placed in those days has since been lifted but it has a belief which has been given up Enemies on as a superstition yet a theory which science has abandoned is preserved as a popular belief so today the original communication of psycho-analysis in scientific circles survives in the mocking contempt of the writers and conversationalists You will therefore no longer be surprised at this behaviour

You must not however expect the good news that the struggle is at an end, with the recognition of analysis as a science and as d recognition as a subject for university study There is no question of that the battle is still going on but more peaceful way There is moreover a new factor and that is that in the scientific world a kind of buffer has been formed between analysis and its opponents consisting of people who will allow that there is something in analysis (and even believe n it, subject to the most diverting reservations) but who on the other hand reject other parts of it they are eager to let everyone know What determines their choice is not easy to guess It seems to be a matter of personal sym pathies Some take objection to sexuality others to the unconscious the existence of symbolism seems to be particularly disliked. The circumstance that the structure of psycho-analysis, although unfinished, nevertheless already possesses a unified organization from which one cannot select elements according to one whim, seems not to enter the minds of these eclectics. When I consider these half quarter followers I never get the impression from any of them that their rejections are based on an examination of the material. There are a great many distinguished men who fall into this category They are certainly to be excused on the ground that their time and their interests are devoted to other things to those subjects in fact in the mastery of which they have achieved so much. But that being so would it not be better for them to reserve their judgements instead of taking sides so strongly? In the case of one of these great men I once succeeded in making a rapid conversion. He was a world famous critic who had followed contemporary trends of thought with benevolent understanding and prophetic vision. I only got to know him when he had already passed his eightieth year but he was still fascinating in conversation. You can easily guess to whom I am referring. And it was not I who raised the subject of psycho-analysis He began it by comparing himself in the most modest way with myself saying 'I am only a literary man and you are a man of science and a discoverer But there is one thing I should like to say to you I have never had any sexual feelings for my mother' But there was no need at all for you to have been conscious of it' was my reply such processes are unconscious in grown up people 'Oh so that's your idea' he said, greatly relieved and pressed my hand We went on talking for a few hours longer on the best of terms I heard later that during the few remaining years of his life he repeatedly expressed himself in friendly terms about analysis and liked to make use of what was for him a new word—*repression*

A well-known saying enjoins us to learn from our enemies I must own that I have never been able to manage it but it occurred to me that it might be instructive for you if I were to call up all the reproaches and objections which the opponents of psycho-analysis have levelled at it and then point out all the obvious misrepresentations and logical blunders which they contain. But on second thought I said to myself that it would not be at all interesting but wearisome and disagreeable and would, in fact be precisely what I have taken such pains to avoid all these years You will have to excuse me therefore if I refrain from following up this line of thought any further and spare you the judgements of our so-called scientific opponents After all we are here dealing almost exclusively with people whose sole claim to be heard rests on their impartiality — which they have preserved by keeping away from the facts of psycho-analysis. But I am aware that in other cases you will not let me get away so cheaply You will point out that,

after all there are a great many people to whom my last remark does not apply These people you will say have not kept away from analytical experience they have analysed patients they have perhaps even been analysed themselves they were actually my colleagues for some time and now they have come to other conclusions and formed other theories on the basis of which they have left me and have founded independent schools of psycho analysis You will expect me to give some explanation of the possibility and meaning of these dissenting movements which have occurred so frequently in the history of analysis

Very well then I will try but I shall only do it briefly for it throws less light on nature of
sure tha
Individ [illegible] gy which in America for example is looked on as being equal in importance to our psycho analysis and as running on p rallel lines and is constantly mentioned in the same breath with it In reality Individual Psychology has very little to do with analysis but for certain historical reasons lives a sort of parasitic existence at its expense The qualifications which we have predicated for this group of opponents only apply to the founders of Individual Psychology to a very limited extent The name itself is unsuitable and seems to be a product of embarrassment we cannot assent to any interference with its correct application as meaning the opposite of Group Psychology for the matter of that our own concern is first and foremost the psychology of the human individual I am not going into an objective criticism of Adler s Individual Psychology today for that is no part of my program in these lectures besides which I have already made such an attempt elsewhere and I have little occasion for altering what I there said I will however give you an illustration of the impression it makes by tellin you of a mall incident which occurred to me in my pre analytic years

In the neighbourhood of the little Moravian town in which I was born and which I left as a child of three years old there is a mode t health resort beautifully placed in a settin of green Durin my school years I often spent my holidays there Some twenty years later the illness of a near relative of mine afforded me an opportunity of seeing the place again In a conversation with the doctor in charge of the place who had attended my relative I enquired about his dealings with the—I believe—Slovakian peasants who were his only clientele during the winter He told me that his medical treatment was carried on in the following way In his consulting hours the patients came into his room and formed up in a line. One after another they came forward and told him their complaints One of them might have pains in the back or a stomach ache or a feeling of tiredne s in the legs etc The doctor then examined him and when he had formed his conclusions told him the diagnosis which was in every case the same He translated the word to me and what it amounted to was be witched I was astonished and asked whether the patients made no objection to his saying the same thing to all of his patients Oh no! he answered they are very much pleased it is exactly what they expect Each one as he goes back to his place in the line says to the others by his looks and gestures There s a fellow who knows what s what! At that time I little thou ht in what circumstances I should meet with an analogous situation

For whether a person is a homosexual or a necrophilist or an anxiety ridden hysteric or a shut in ob essional or a raving madman—in every case the Individual Psychologist of the Adlerian persuasion will assign as the motive force of his condition the fact that he wants to assert himself to over compensate for his inferiority to be on top and to move over from the feminine to the masculine line We u ed to hear exactly the same kind of thing when we were young students at the hospital Hysterics we were told produce their symptoms in order to make themselves interesting and to attract attention to themselves It is extraordinary how these old profunditie recur! But even at the time this little bit of psychology did not seem to us to cover the problem of hysteria it left unexplained for instance why people who suffer from it do not make u e of ome means for the attainment of their end Some element of this doctrine of the Individual Psycholog ts must of course be correct though they regard this fragmentary explanation as a complete one The instinct of elf preservation will attempt to turn every situation to its own account the ego will try to get some advantage even out of being ill In psycho analysis we call this the *secondary gain from illness* But indeed when one thinks of the facts of masochism of the unconscious need for punishment and of the neurotic tendency to self injury all of which seem to imply the existence of instinctual impulses which run counter to self preservation

ter comes to question even the general validity of the platitude on which the theoretical structure of Individual Psychology is built. But, to the mass of mankind a theory like this must be exceedingly welcome, which takes no complications into account, which introduces no new and difficult concepts, which knows nothing of the unconscious, which removes at a single blow the problem of sexuality that weighs so heavily on everybody and which confines itself to revealing the devices by means of which people try to make life comfortable. For the mass of mankind are themselves comfort-loving; they require only a single reason to serve as an explanation, they are not grateful to science for its intricacies and they like to have simple answers given to their questions and to feel that their problems are settled once and for all. Once one sees how closely Individual Psychology approximates to the fulfilment of these requirements, one cannot help remembering a couplet from *Wallenstein*:

If the thought were not so damned clever
One might be tempted just to call it stupid.

Specialist criticism, which has been so uncompromisingly opposed to psycho-analysis, has in general handled Individual Psychology with a velvet glove. It is indeed, true that in [illegible]

If that is so, he will also neglect the analysis of the patient's childhood and start on an altogether different technique, and he will have to make up for the absence of the effects of childhood analysis by increasing his own didactic influence and by directly recommending the adoption of certain aims in life. We, for our part, would then say: "That may be a philosophy, but it is no longer analysis." Or another analyst may come to hold the view that the anxiety-experience of birth is the root of all later neurotic disturbances; in that case he may think it proper to restrict analysis to the effects of this one experience and to promise therapeutic success after a three to four months' treatment. You will observe that I have chosen two examples which proceed from diametrically opposed premises. It is an almost universal characteristic of these *dissenting movements* that each of them seizes upon *one fragment* out of the wealth of motives found in psycho-analysis (such, for instance, as the instinct for the power, the ethical conflict, the mother, genitality, etc.) and on the basis of this appropriation *makes itself independent*. If it seems to you that such secessions are commoner today in the history of psycho-analysis than they are in any other movement of thought, I do not know whether I should agree with you. If it be so, we must attribute the responsibility to the close relationship between theory and practice which [illegible]

[illegible] of the Individual Psychologists. If others have behaved far more kindly, the opposition to analysis is largely responsible.

I need not say much about other schools that have split off from us. That such splits have occurred is no argument for or against the truth of psycho-analysis. You have only to think of the strong emotional factors which make it difficult for many people to co-operate with others or to adopt a subordinate position, and of the still greater difficulty which is embodied in the proverb: *Quot capita tot sensus*.* When the differences of opinion had gone beyond a certain limit the best thing to do was to part company and thenceforward to go different ways, especially if the theoretical difference involved an alteration in analytical technique. Let us take for example an analyst who thinks very little of the influence of the patient's past, and looks for the cause of neurosis exclusively in contemporary motives and expectations directed towards the future.

* As many interpretations as heads.—ED.

of intolerance. The only evidence of this disagreeable characteristic was precisely our separation from people who thought differently from ourselves. Apart from that we have taken no steps against them; on the contrary, they are now in clover, they are far better off than before, because in parting company with us they have in most cases got rid of one of the burdens under which we groan—the odium of infantile sexuality, for instance, or the ludicrousness of symbolism—and they are now regarded by the world at large as, at all events, semi-respectable, which we who remain behind cannot even yet claim to be. It was they themselves, moreover, who—excepting for one noteworthy example—effected the separation.

And what more do you ask of us in the name of tolerance? When any one has expressed an opinion that we hold to be fundamentally false, do you wish us to speak to him like this?

Thank you so much for contradicting us You have saved us from the danger of self complacency and have given us an opportunity of proving to the Americans that we really are as broadminded as they could possibly wish We do not believe a word of what you say but that does not matter You are just as right as we are in all probability After all who can ever know who is in the right? In spite of our disagreement you must allow us to put forward your views in our publications And we hope that you on your part will be so kind as to support ours although you disbelieve in them This will obviously be the usage of the future in scientific circles when the misapplication of Einstein s theory of relativity has completely won the day It is true that for the moment we have not gone quite so far as that We have confined ourselves in the old fashioned way to putting forward only our own convictions we expose ourselves to the danger of making mistakes for no one can avoid that and we reject anything that contradicts our views As to the right to change our opinions if we think we have found something better we have made full use of it in psycho analysis

One of the first applications of psycho analysis was that we were able to understand the opposition we had to meet on a

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[illegible] first intention was as you know to understand the disturbances of the human mind because an astonishing experience had shown us that in this case understanding and cure go almost hand in hand and that a practicable path lead from the one to the other And for a long time this was our only intention Then however we came to recognize the close relationship in fact the underlying identity subsisting between pathological and so called normal processes So psycho analysis became *depth psychology* and since nothing that man makes or does can be understood without the aid of psychology the applications of psycho analysis to numerous fields of knowledge and especially to the mental sciences came about automatically forced themselves on our attention and demanded elaboration Unluckily the tasks which we now undertook brought us up against obstacles which lying as they do in the very nat [illegible]

[illegible] those who do possess the knowledge—the experts—do not know anything of analysis and perhaps do not want to know anything The result has been that analysts have entered the lists in such fields as those of mythology the history of civilization ethnology the science of religion etc as amateurs with a more or less adequate equipment often collected in a hurry In those fields they were treated by the specialists who were established there as no better than interlopers and their methods as well as their findings in so far as they attracted any attention at all were to begin with rejected But the position is steadily improving in every field the number of people who study psycho analysis with a view to making use of it in their special researches is growing in the same way that colonists take the place of pioneers Here we may expect a rich harvest of new knowledge Applications of psycho analysis are always confirmations of it as well In regions where scientific work is more remote from practical activity the inevitable differences of opinion will be less embittered

I feel greatly tempted to take you through all the applications of psycho analysis in the field of mental science There are things which every one who has intellectual interests would think worth knowing and to hear no more for a time about abnormalities and illness would give us a well earned relief But I must resist the temptation it would once more take us too far outside the framework of these lectures and to tell you the truth I should not be competent to do it It is true that I took the first step along some of these lines but today I no longer command a view over the whole field and I should have to spend much time in study in order to grasp all that has been added since I made my first attempts Those of you who are disappointed by my refusal can make up for it by reading our journal *Imago* which is devoted to the non medical applications of analysis

There is one subject however that I cannot pass by so easily though this is not because I have any sp[illegible] done much [illegible]

[illegible] of all the activities of analysis I refer to the application of psycho-analysis to education to the up bringing of the next generation I am at least glad to be able to say that my daughter Anna Freud has made this her life work and is in this way making good my

gy neglect of the subj ct. One can e—l see the path that has led to this app' cation of anal ysis. When, during the treatment of an ad lt patient we tried to trace the d term nation of his symptoms w were al ays led back into h early childhood. A knowledge of the later etiological f ctors was ot sufficient either for our understandin of his condit on or to effect a cure. The result was that we were forced to acquaint oursel es wi h the psychological pe culiarities of the years of infa cy and we learned a great many things which could not have been discovered except through analysis and were in a pos tion to t right a number of generally accepted beli fs about childhood We came to see that the firs years of fancy (up t bout the age of fi e) are for a number of reasons f special importance This is in the first place because they contain the first expansion of sexuality which lea es behind decisive determinants for the sexual lif of maturity and in the second place because the impressions of this period come up against an unformed and weak ego upo which they act like traumas Th ego cannot defend i lf against t emotional t rms which they call forth except by repres on, and in this way it acquires in childhood all its predispos tions to subsequent illnesses and disturban es of func tion. W have come to realize that th difficulty of childhood consists in th fact that the child h in a short span of time to m k ts own the acquisitions f cultural dev lopment which has extended ov tens f thousands f years it ha that is to ttain instinctual con trol and social adaptation, r at any rate their first elements It can onl a hieve part of this alteration through its own development a great deal must be forced upon t by ed ca tion. W are ot in th least urprised that the child f en performs its task onl incom plet ly A great many hildren in these early years pas through conditions which ma be compared with euroses and this is certainly true f all those wh develop a manifest illness later on. In ot few cases the neurot c ill ness does not wait till they re grown up but breaks out in childhood and is rc of great tro to parents and doctors

W have had hesitation in pplying ana lytic therapy t such children as eith display unambiguous neurotic symp oms ar on th way to an unf voura e character-development Th anxiety expressed by opponents f analy s that t child might be harmed by th process has turned out to be quite unf unded.

The advantage gained by this procedure is that we have been able to confirm in the living s b ject wh t we have only inferred as thou h from historical documents in the ca e of adults But the advantages gained by the chil dren themselves was most satisfactory It turned out that the child is a mo t fa ourable s bject for analytic therapy ucces es were rad cal and permanent Natural y one has to make exten e alterations in the techn que of tre tment whi h has been developed for ad lts when one s dealing with children The child is psycho ogically a d fferent thing from the adult it does not yet possess a super-ego it cannot make much use of the method of free a ociation and transference pla s a different part with i since its real parents re till there The internal resistances against wh ch we have to fight in the case of adul s are in the case of ch ldren f the most part replaced by ex ternal difficulties If the parents mak them selves in o vehicles for the resista ce th aims of th analysis and even the process of the analysis itself are often endangered. For this ... a cer

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other hand the ine t ble dif rences between child anal sis d dult analy i are dimini hed by the f ct that many of our pat ents ha e till kep so many of the r infantil character tra ts that th nalyst once m re adapting himself t hi patient canno avoid making us of certain parts f the technique of child an lys in their ca e too It is in the nature f things that child nalysis hou d h ve be com the special field of women analysts and this will o doubt contin to be

Th ew that th maj rity of our children pass through a neurotic phase in the course of their devel pment automat cally raises a hy gienic question. It may be a ked whether it would not be d antageous t com to th a d of a child with nalysis even where there is no ign of a disturbance, as a precaut onary measure in the interests f its health just as now days on inoculates healthy children again diphtheria without waiting f r them to fall ill of th disea The di cussion of this question is today only a mat of academic int est, I ca venture t speak about it t you but the greater numbe of our c ntemporaries would rega d the mere idea othing hort of criminal, and when considers the tt ude f most parents t w rds analysis one must a yet, gi e up any hope f its realization. uch

a prophylactic against nervous disease which would probably be very effective presupposes an entirely different structure of society The application of psycho analysis to education must be looked for today in quite a different direction Let us get a clear idea of what the primary business of education is The child has to learn to control its instincts To grant it complete freedom o that it obeys all its impulses without any restriction is impossible It would be a very instructive experiment for child psychologists but it would make life im possible for the parents and would do serious damage to the children themselves as would be een partly at the time and partly during subsequent years The function of education therefore is to inhibit forbid and suppress and it has at all times carried out this function to admiration But we have learnt from analy sis that it is this very suppression of instincts that involves the danger of neurotic illness You will remember that we have gone into the question of how this comes about in some de tail Education has therefore to steer its way between the Scylla of giving the instincts free play and the Charybdis of frustrating them Unless the problem is alto ether insoluble an optimum of education must be discovered which will do the most good and the least harm It is a matter of finding out how much one may forbid at which times and by what methods And then it must further be consid ered that the children have very different con stitutional dispositions so that the same educa tional procedure cannot possibly be equally good for all children A moment s consideration will show us that so far education has fulfilled its function very badly and has done children serious injury If we can find an optimum of education which will carry out its task ideally then we may hope to abolish one of the factors in the aetiology of neurotic illness viz the influence of accidental infantile traumas The other factor the power of a refractory instinc tual constitution can never be got rid of by education When therefore one comes to think of the difficult tasks with which the educator is confronted when one reflects that he has to recognize the characteristic constitution of each child, to guess from small indications what is going on in its unformed mind to give him the right amount of love and at the same time to preserve an effective degree of authority then one cannot help saying to oneself that the only adequate preparation for the profession of educator is a good grounding in psycho anal ysis The best thing would be for him to be analysed himself for after all without per sonal experience one cannot get a grasp of analysis The analysis of teachers and educa tors seems to be a more practicable prophylac tic measure than the analysis of children them selves and there are not such great obstacles against putting it into practice

I will only mention in passing an indirect advantage which analysis may br[illegible] ed[illegible] t[illegible] t[illegible] u have experienced an anal ysis themselves and who have derived much benefit from it among other things an insight into the mistakes in their own upbringing will treat their children with better understanding and will spare them a great deal which they were not spared themselves Parallel with the efforts of the analyst to influence education run other investigations into the cause and prevention of delinquency and criminology Here again I shall only open the door and show you what lies behind it but I shall not take you inside If your interest in psycho analysis is main tained you will be able to learn a great deal that is both new and valuable on these subjects I cannot however leave the theme of educa tion without mentioning one particular point of view It has been said—and no doubt with justice—that every education is partisan it aims at making the child adapt itself to what ever social system is the established one with out consideration of how valuable or how stable that ystem may be If it is argued one is convinced of the shortcomings of our present day social arrangements one cannot think it right to give them the added support of this psycho analytical education of ours We must place before it another and a higher aim one which is emancipated from the social standard that are dominent today I do not feel how ever that this argument is valid It is demand ing more of analysis than its functions can ju tify The physician who is called in to treat a case of pneumonia has no need to consider whether the patient is a good man a suicide or a criminal whether he deserves to remain alive or whether it is for his advantage to do so This other aim which it is sought to place before education would be a partisan one as well and it is not the business of the analyst to decide between parties I am not now consider ing the fact that people will refuse to allow psycho analysis to have any influence at all on education if it confesses to aims which are in

compatible with the existi g soc al order Psy cho-anal tic education will be a suming an unwarranted re pons bil ty if t sets out to make ts pupils into revolutionaries It will have done its ta k if it sends them away as healh and as efficient s pos ble There are enough revo onary elements contained with in itself t ensure that no one br ught up under its influence will in late l fe be on the de of reaction and uppress on. I should go so far as to sa that revolutionary children are not desirable from any point of ew

Ladies and Gentlemen—I shall co clude by saying a few words on the therapeut c aspect t psycho-analysis I discussed the theo et cal side of th s bject fifteen years ago a d I cannot formulate it in an other way today but I will say s mething bo t the pract cal experience which we ha e had w th it dur g th interval. You know f course that p cho-analysis origin ted a a therapeut c procedure it has go e far beyond that but t has never given up ts rigin l fi ld of wo k and it st'll re es upo c nta t with l n cal m te al fo further advances and development. The ac mula on f emp rical data upon which w ba our theories can be obt ined in no other wa Our therapeutic failures a e co st tly setting us new ta ks and the requ ements of eal life re an efficient protection aga st carryin t excess the peculat n wh ch we nevertheless cannot a d in ur w k. I ha e alread in m f rm lect res gi en an ount of the mean by wh ch psycho-anal is h ps the patient and along what li es today we will c ns der to what exte t t ceeds

You re pe h ps aware that I h e ever been therape tic enthusiast and the s no danger f my using this an opportun ty for ..gin the pra es f n lys in this respect. I would rath say too littl than too m h At a t.m wh I wa t ll the only analyst peopl wh w e ppa e tly kindly d sposed to my opinions used to say t m Th t is ll ery ni and cleve but how me a ca that you h. e cured by analys Th w s on of the ma y f rmulas that u ceed d e an th as tim went whos fun tion t w t put the m on em t ov lty on s d Tod y t as out f d t ma y th rs the analyst, like a y othe th rape t t, has his ollecti n f letters f grat t d f om pat ts who ha e been cu ed. And th analo y does not end there Ps ho-analys eally is f rm of th py just a th m thods are It has ts tri umphs its defeats its d fficult es its l m ta tions and its ind cat ons There was a time when people attacked an l s s w th the accusation that it was n t to be taken seriou ly as a therapy because it d d not venture to publ sh any stat stics of its uccesses Si ce then the Inst tute of Ps cho-Analys s in Berlin wh ch was founded by Dr Max Eitingon has published a report of its work duri g the first ten years of its ex tence The proportion of reco eries which ha e been effected gi e us ground n ither for boasting nor for feel ng shamed But uch stat t cs are not instruct ve because th mater l with wh ch they deal s h terogeneous that it would need a very l rge number of cases to pro e a th ng It is better to examine o e s own i di idual experience. As to that I may say that I do not think our suc ces es ca compete with those of Lourdes There a e o m ny more people who believe in the m racles of the Blessed Virgin than i the ex tence of the unc n ci us But if we d s-regard supernatural competit on we must compare psycho-anal s s w th other methods of p ychotherapy Nowad ys one need hardly take into cons derat on orga ic ph s cal treatment of neu otic cond t ons As a psycho- d n

th ret al obj ct on t a ph s cian wh de

haracte of the ca e and the fa ourable or unf ourable n tu e of the c rcum t ces In a tual fact t is the que t on of techn que wh ch rend rs ec sary th specializat n of medical practice So for example t became c s ry to parat urgery and orth paedics

eading and t ke off when one w ts to g f a w lk. As a rule psy ho-analysis e the po ses es th d cto entir ly o not t ll The psycho-therapeutists who cas nally make use f analysi d ot as far as my experience goes sta d on a firm analytical basis they h ot a pted alys s s whole but h ve wat ed t d wn and pe haps remo ed ts ting they cann t be counted s a lyst In my opini th s is to be egretted b t a co-operatio in medi l practic between an analyst and a psycho-th rapeutist who limits him

self to other methods would be alto ether advantageous

Compared with other psycho therapeutic procedures psycho analysis is far and away the most powerful That is quite as it should be since it costs the most trouble and time and one would not make use of it for slight cases in suitable cases one can remove disturbances and bring about alterations which could not be hoped for in pre analytic times But it has also perfectly clearly felt limitations The thera peutic ambitions of many of my followers have led them to be at great pains to remove such hindrances so that all neurotic disturbances might be curable by means of psycho analysis They have attempted to compress the work of analysis into a shorter period to intensify the transference so that it should be superior to any resistance and to combine other methods of influence with analysis in order to obtain a cure These enterprises are no doubt praise worthy but in my opinion they are in vain They also involve the danger of oneself being drawn away from analysis and of drifting into a boundless sea of experimentation The expec tation that we shall be able to cure all neurotic symptoms is I suspect derived from the lay belief that neuroses are entirely superfluous things which have no right whatever to exist As a matter of fact they are serious constitu tionally determined affections which are sel dom restricted to a few outbreaks but make them elves felt as a rule over long periods of life or even throu hout its entire extent Our analytic experience that we can influence them to a far reaching degree if we can get hold of the historic l n -

cid[illegible]

the [illegible] i peutic practice And we are in fact powerless to deal with it but in our theory we ou ht always to bear it in mind In any case the complete in accessibility of the psycho es to analytic ther apy should in view of their close relationship to the neuroses moderate our optimism in regard to the latter The therapeutic efficiency of psycho analysis is limited by a whole series of important factors which can scarcely be dealt with at all With children where one might hope to have the greatest successes there are the external difficulties of the paren t l situation yet after all these are bound up with the very fact of being a child With adults we are primarily concerned with two f ctors the degree of their mental rigidity and the form of their disease with all the deeper seated determinants that lie behind it The for mer of these is often unjustifiably overlooked However great the plasticity of mental life may be and however great the possibility of reviving past states not everything can be brou ht to life again A great many alterations seem final and corre pond to scars left behind by processes which have run their course In other cases one gets an impression of a general rigidity of the whole mind mental processes which one could very well redirect into other channels seem incapable of leaving their old courses But perhaps this is the same as what we have said already but looked at from an other point of view Only too often one seems to ee that the therapeutic process is merely lacking in the necessary motive force to enable it to bring about the alteration Some specific tendency some particular instinctual compo nent is too strong in compari on with the counter forces that we can mobilize against it This is quite generally so in the case of the psychoses We understand them in so far as we know quite well where we ou ht to apply the levers but they are not able to lift the weight In this connection we may hope that in the future our knowled e of the action of hormones—you know of course what they are —will provide us with a means of coping suc cessfully with the quantitative factors involved in these diseases but today we are far from h ving reached that desirable goal I can under stand that the uncertainty prevailing in all these matters is a constant incentive toward perfecting the technique of analysis especially in the matter of the transference The beginner in analy is in particular will be in doubt when he is unsuccessful whether he ou ht to blame the peculiarity of the case or his own un kilful handling of the therapeutic procedure But as I have said already I do not think that there is much to be gained by directing one s energies along these channels

The other limitation to analytical successes is impo ed by the form of the disea e You know already that the field in which analytical ther apy can be applied is that of the transference neuroses phobias hysteria ob es ional neu ro es and besides these such abnormalities of character as have been developed instead of these di eases Everyth ng other than the e such as narcissistic or psychotic conditions is more or less un uitable Now it would be per fectly legitimate to save oneself from failures by carefully excluding such ca es If this pre caution were taken the statistics of analysis

would be very much improved. Yes, but this is not so easy as it seems. Our diagnoses can very often only be made *ex post facto*. They are like the test for witch finding applied by the Scottish king of which I have read in one of Victor Hugo's books. This king declared that he had an infallible method for detecting witches. He put them to simmer in a cauldron of boiling water and then tasted the soup. According to the taste he could say 'that was a witch,' or 'that was not a witch.' The same thing happens with us except that it is we who are the sufferers. We cannot give an opinion about a patient who comes for treatment, or a candidate for training, until we have studied him analytically for some weeks or months. We are, in fact, always buying a pig in a poke. The subject comes to us with undefined, general troubles which do not allow of any certain diagnosis. After a period of probation it may turn out that the case is an unsuitable one. Then if he is a candidate we send him away, or if he is a patient we keep him a little while to see whether we cannot take a more favourable view of him. The patient has his revenge by swelling our list of failures, and the rejected candidate, it may be (if he is paranoid), by writing psycho-analytical books himself. You will observe that our caution has not been of much value to us.

I am afraid these details will have gone beyond the scope of your interests. But I should be even more distressed if you were to think that I intend to diminish your respect for psycho-analysis as a therapeutic procedure. Perhaps I have really set about the business clumsily. I wanted, you see, to achieve the opposite: to excuse the therapeutic limitation of analysis by indicating how unavoidable they are. With the same object in view let me turn to another point, namely the complaint that analytic treatment takes up a disproportionately long time. The answer to that is that psychological changes only come about very slowly: if they occur quickly and suddenly, it is a bad sign. It is true that the treatment of a serious neurosis may easily last several years, but if a successful result is achieved, you must ask ourselves how long the illness itself would otherwise have lasted. It would probably have lasted a decade for every year of treatment, which means that the illness would never have passed off at all, as we often find in untreated cases. In many instances we have reasons for resuming an analysis after an interval of many years: new events in the patient's life have called out in him new pathological reactions, though in the meantime he has been perfectly healthy. The first analysis had not actually brought all his pathological dispositions to the surface, and it was natural that it should have been broken off as soon as it was successful. There are also people who are so seriously afflicted that they have to be kept under analytic care throughout their whole lives and taken back into analysis from time to time, but such people would otherwise be incapable of carrying on their lives at all, and one may be thankful that they can be kept going by means of this intermittent and recurrent treatment. The analysis of characterological disturbances too involves a length[illegible] treat[illegible] [illegible] may be [illegible] of treat[illegible] with this problem. Therapeutic ambition [illegible] make us feel unsatisfied with these results, but after all we have the examples of tuberculosis and lupus before us, which teach us that one can only meet with success if the treatment is adapted to the character of the disease.

I have told you that psycho-analysis began as a therapeutic procedure, but it is not in that light that I wanted to recommend it to your interest, but because of the truths it contains, because of the information it gives us about that which is of the greatest importance to man, namely his own nature, and because of the connections it has shown to exist between the most various of his activities. As a form of therapy it is one among many, though certainly *prima inter pares*.[1] If it had no therapeutic value, it would not have been discovered from clinical material and would not have continued to develop for more than thirty years.

LECTURE 35

A PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, In the last lecture we were occupied with trivial everyday affairs, with putting, as it were, our modest house in order. We will now take a bold step and risk an answer to a question which has repeatedly been asked in [illegible]analytic quarters, namely the question whether psycho-analysis leads to any particular *Weltanschauung*, and if so to what.

Weltanschauung is, I am afraid, a specifically German notion, which it would be difficult to

[1] Chief among equals.—Ed.

translate into a foreign language. If I attempt to give you a definition of the word it can hardly fail to strike you as inept By *Weltanschauung* then I mean an intellectual construction which gives a unified solution of all the problems of our existence in virtue of a comprehensive hypothesis a construction therefore in which no question is left open and in which everything in which we are interested finds a place It is easy to see that the possession of such a *Weltanschauung* is one of the ideal wishes of mankind When one believes in such a thing one feels secure in life one knows what one ought to strive after and how one ought to organize one s emotions and interests to the best purpose

If that is what is meant by a *Weltanschauung* then the question is an easy one for psycho analysis to answer As a specialized science a branch of psychology—depth psychology or psychology of the unconscious—it is quite unsuited to form a *Weltanschauung* of its own it must accept that of science in general The scientific *Weltanschauung* is however markedly at variance with our definition The *unified* nature of the explanation of the universe is it is true accepted by science but only as a program whose fulfilment is postponed to the future Otherwise it is distinguished by negative characteristics by a limitation to what is at any given time knowable and a categorical rejection of certain elements which are alien to it It asserts that there is no other source of knowledge of the universe but the intellectual manipulation of carefully verified observations in fact what is called *research* and that no knowledge can be obtained from revelation intuition or inspiration It appears that this way of looking at things came very near to receiving general acceptance during the last century or two It has been reserved for the present century to raise the objection that such a *Weltanschauung* is both empty and unsatisfying that it overlooks all the spiritual demands of man and all the needs of the human mind

This objection cannot be too strongly repudiated It cannot be supported for a moment for the spirit and the mind are the subject of scientific investigation in exactly the same way as any non human entities Psycho analysis has a peculiar right to speak on behalf of the scientific *Weltanschauung* in this connection because it cannot be accused of neglecting the part occupied by the mind in the universe The contribution of psycho analysis to science consists precisely in having extended research to the region of the mind Certainly without such a psychology science would be very incomplete But if we add to science the investigation of the intellectual and emotional functions of men (and animals) we find that nothing has been altered as regards the general position of science that there are no new sources of knowledge or methods of research Intuition and inspiration would be such if they existed but they can safely be counted as illusions as fulfilments of wishes It is easy to see moreover that the qualities which as we have shown are expected of a *Weltanschauung* have a purely emotional basis Science takes account of the fact that the mind of man creates such demands and is ready to trace their source but it has not the slightest ground for thinking them justified On the contrary it does well to distinguish carefully between illusion (the results of emotional demands of that kind) and knowledge

This does not at all imply that we need push these wishes contemptuously aside or underestimate their value in the lives of human beings We are prepared to take notice of the fulfilments they have achieved for themselves in the creations of art and in the systems of religion and philosophy but we cannot overlook the fact that it would be wrong and highly inexpedient to allow such things to be carried over into the domain of knowledge For in that way one would open the door which gives access to the region of the psychoses whether individual or group psychoses and one would drain off from these tendencies valuable energy which is directed towards reality and which seeks by means of reality to satisfy wishes and needs as far as this is possible

From the point of view of science we must necessarily make use of our critical powers in this direction and not be afraid to reject and deny It is inadmissible to declare that science is one field of human intellectual activity and that religion and philosophy are others at least as valuable and that science has no business to interfere with the other two that they all have an equal claim to truth and that every one is free to choose whence he shall draw his convictions and in what he shall place his belief Such an attitude is considered particularly respectable tolerant broad minded and free from narrow prejudices Unfortunately it is not tenable it shares all the pernicious qualities of an entirely unscientific *Weltanschauung* and in practice comes to much the same thing The

..re fact is that truth cannot be tolerant and ..not admit compromis or lim tat ns, that cient..c research looks on the wh le field of ..m..n acti ty as its wn and m..u t dopt an ..ncom..rom..ingly critical attitude towards any o..e power that eeks to usurp any part of its province.

Of the three forces which can dispute the position f science religion alone a really erous enemy Art is almo t always harmle s and beneficent t does not seek to be anything else bu.. .n illusio S in the ca..e of a few people who re, one might say obsessed by A. t never dares to make any attacks on the realm of reality Philos phy is not opposed to science t beha es itself as f t were a science and to a certain extent t makes use of th sam m thods b t it p rts company with science in that it lings to the illus o that it can produce a complete and coh rent p cture f the universe, thou..h in f ct that p cture must eeds fall to p eces with every new ad ..n e in our knowledge Its methodological erro lies in the fact that it over-estimates the ep..s em logical ..al e of ou logical operat ons a d to a certain extent dmits the ..alid ty of other sources of knowledge such as intuition And often enough one feels that the poet Heine is ot unj tified when he says of the phil opher

With his gh-cap d k night hirt t tters
H b t k p th l p-h le th tructure f
th world

But philos phy has n immediat influence on th great majority f mankind t terests only a small numbe en of the thin upper stratum of intellectuals whil all the rest find it beyond them. In co tradistincti n to phi losophy ligion s a tremend us force which exerts ts power over th st ongest emotions of human beings As we know at ne time t in cluded everything that played any part in the mental life of mankind, that t took th place of sci ce when as y t science h rdly existed and that t built up W eltan h ung of in comparable co ..tency and cohe enc whi h, although t has been sev rely haken has lasted to this day

If on wi..he to form tru estimate of the full grand ur of relig on must keep in mind what it und rtakes t d f men It gi es them information bout th ource and origin f the uni rs t assure them f p o- tection and final happiness amid the changing ci..s tudes of lif and it guides their thoughts and actio s by means of precepts wh ch are backed b the whole force of its authority It fulfils therefore three funct ons In the f rst place it at fies man s des re for knowledge it is here doing the same th .. th t science attempts to accomplish by its own methods and here therefore enters into ri alry wi h it. It is to the second function that it pe forms that r l ..ion no doubt owes the greater part of its influence In so far as rel ..ion bru..hes away men s fear of the dangers and vicis tudes of l fe in so far as it assures them of a happy ending and comforts them in their misf r tunes science cannot compete with it. Science it is true teaches how one can a..o d certain dangers and how one can combat many suf er ings with uccess it would be qu..te untrue to d..ny b..t cience is a powerful a d to human .. them ..ers to ..mance ..ecepts of its third function the pr.. .. prohib t ons, and restrictions religion is fur thest removed from science For sc ence is con tent with discovering and tating the facts It is true th t, from the appl cations of sc ence rules and recommendations for beha ..our may be deduced. In certain circumstances they may be th same as those which are laid down by religion, but even so the reasons for them will be diff rent.

It s not quite clear why reli..ion should combine these three functio s. What has the explanat on of the origin of the un erse to do with the inculcation of certa n eth cal pre cepts? Its assurances of protection and hap- piness are m re clos ly connected with these pr cepts They ar the reward f r the fulfil ment of the commands only h who obeys them can count o cei ing these benefits while puni hment awaits the d s bed ent For the matte of that omething of the same k d applies to ence f r t d cla es that ny one who dis egard ts inf ences is li ble to suffe for it.

One can only under tand this rem kable combination of teaching consolati n and pre cept in reli.. f one subjects it to genetic analys s We m y begin w ..h the most remark abl item of th th e the teaching abo t the origin f the uni erse—for why sh uld a cos- mog y be a regula element of rel gious sys t ms Th doctrine is th t th un ..erse was created by a be g s mil r t man but gr ater in ev ry espect in power w sdom and strength of pass on in fact by an dealized superman.

Where you have animals as creators of the universe you have indications of the influence of Totemism which I shall touch on later at any rate with a brief remark It is interesting to notice that this creator of the universe is always a sin le god even when many gods are believed in Equally interesting is the fact that the creator is nearly always a male although there is no lack of indication of the existence of female deities and many mythologies make the creation of the world begin precisely with a male god triumphing over a female goddess who is degraded into a monster This raises the most fascinating minor problems but we must hurry on The rest of our enquiry is made easy because this God Creator is openly called Father Psycho analysis concludes that he really is the father clothed in the grandeur in which he once appeared to the small child The re li ious man s picture of the creation of the universe is the same as his picture of his own creation

If this is so then it is easy to understand how it is that the comforting promises of protection and the severe ethical commands are found together with the cosmogony For the same individual to whom the child owes its own existence the father (or more correctly the parental function which is composed of the father and the mother) has protected and watched over the weak and helpless child exposed as it is to all the dangers which threaten in the external world in its father s care it has felt itself safe Even the grown man though he may know that he possesses greater strength and though he has greater insight into the dangers of life rightly feels that fundamentally he is just as helpless and unprotected as he

n h ld

e has enjoyed as a child But he has long ago realized that his father is a being with strictly limited powers and by no means endowed with every desirable attribute He therefore looks back to the memory image of the ov rrated father of his childhood exalts it into a deity and brings it into the present and into reality The emotional strength of this memory image and the lasting nature of his need for protection re the two supports of his belief in God

The third main point of the reli ious pro gram its ethical precepts can also be related without any difficulty to the situation of child hood In a famous passage which I have al ready quoted in an earlier lecture the philoso- pher Kant spe ks of the starry heaven above u and the moral law within us as the stronge t evidence for the greatness of God However odd it may sound to put these two side by side—for what can the heavenly bodies have to do with the question whether one man loves another or kills him?—nevertheless it touches on a gre t

(the par

life and

that life ... s also taught it what it may or may not do made it accept certain limitations of its instinctual wishes and told it what con sideration it would be expected to show to wards its parents and brothers and sisters if it wanted to be tolerated and liked as a member of the family circle and later on of more ex tensive groups The child is brought up to know its social duties by means of a system of love rewards and punishments and in this way it is taught that its security in life depends on its parents (and subsequently other people) loving it and being able to believe in its love for them This whole state of affairs is carried over by the grown man unaltered into his re ligion The prohibitions and commands of his parents live on in his breast as his moral con science God rules the world of men with the help of the same system of rewards and punish ments and the degree of protection and happi ness which each individual enjoys depends on his fulfilment of the demands of morality the feeling of security with which he fortifies him self against the dangers both of the external world and of his human environment is founded on his love of God and the consciou ness of God s love for him Finally he has in prayer a direct influence on the divine will and in that way insures for himself a share in the divine omnipotence

I am sure that while you have been li ten in to me a whole host of questions must have come into your minds which you would like to have answered I cannot undertake to do o here and now but I am perfectly certain that none of these questions of detail would hake our thesis that the religious *Weltanschauung* is determined by the situat on th at sub isted in our ch ldhood It is therefore all the more re markable that in spite of its infantile char acter it nevertheless has a forerunner There was without doubt a time when there were no religions and no gods It is known as the *age of anim sm* Even at that time the world was full of spirits in the semblance of men (demons as we call them) and all the objects in the ex

[illegible] world we e the r dwelling place or per [illegible] identical w th them but there was no [illegible] power wh ch had cre ted them all [illegible] ch co tr lled them and to wh ch it was [illegible] to turn for protection a d aid The [illegible] of an m m were u uall host le to man but [illegible] s tho h ma had mo e confidence in him elf in tho e days than Later on. He was n d b n co t nt t rror f these evil spi s but he def nded him elf aga nst them by mea of certa n act ns to wh ch he ascr bed t e po e t dri e them away Nor did he th h mself e t ely powe less i other w s. If he wanted somethin f om nature—rain for t ce—he did not direct a pra er t t weathe god but u ed spell by mean f hich he expected to exert d rect influence over ture he himself made someth wh ch resembled rain I his fight aga st the powe s f the rr undi g world his first we pon w magic, the first fo erunn r of our modern t ch [illegible]

We suppo e that this confidence n magic is deri ed from the o restimati of the indi dual s own intellectual operat ons from the belief in the *om potence of thoughts* which, incidentally we c me across again in our obse onal neu ot es W m y imagine that the men of that tim were particula ly p ud f their qu ti n of peech wh ch mu t ha e been cc mpanied by a g eat f c litat n f th ught. They ttributed magic powe to the spoken w rd. This feature w s later taken ove by relig And God sa d Let th re be light, and th re wa light But the fact f m ct on sh ws th t an mistic man did t ly enti ely on th forc f his own wishes On the contrary h depe ded f r u cess upo the performa f an tion, wh h would use N tur t m t t t If h wanted t to ram h him lf poured t wat f he wanted t timulat th soil to fertility he f f ed t perf rman e f exual inte course in the fi lds

[illegible] k w h w t nacio ly an thi g that has once found psy h l c l exp ess n pe sts You will th ref re t be urprised t hea that a gre t many m nifestat on f a mism ha e lasted up t th p esent day mostly a what are called *perst tion* sid by ide w th and behind reli B t m e than that y can hardly o d coming t th onclusio that ur philosophy has preserved ential tra t f mist modes f th ught ch th overestimation f th magic f words and th bel f that real pro es es in th ext rnal w ld f low th h la d down by our thoughts It is to be sure an an mism w thout magical prac t ces On th ther ha d we sh u d xpect to find that in the s e of animism there mu t al ready ha e been ome k nd of mo ality some rules gov rn ng the interc urse of men with one another But there i no evidence that they w re closely bound up w th an m stic beliefs Probably they were the immediate expression of the distribut n of power and of practical neces ities

It would be very int resting to know what determ ned the transit on from animism to re l g on but you may imagi in what darkness th s earl e t epoch in the ev lut on f the human m d is still shrouded It eems to be a fact that the ea l est form in wh ch rel gion appeared was the rema kable one f totem m the worsh p f an mals in th tra n of wh ch foll wed the first eth cal commands the taboos In a book c lled *To em a d Taboo* I once wo ked out a suggest on in accordance with which th cha ge is to be traced back to an uphea al in the rel t o sh ps in the human fam ly The main achievement of rel gion, as compared w th a im sm lie in the psych c bi ding of the fe r of demons Nevertheless, th ev l sp rit s ill has a place in th rel gious system as a rel c of the previ us age

So m ch for the pre hi tory of the rel gi *Weltanschauung* Let us now turn to consider wh t ha happened since and what is st ll g g on und r our own eyes Th scient fic sp rit st engthened by the observation of nat ral p oces es began in th ours of t me to treat relig n as a hum n matter and to subject it to a crit cal exami at o Th s test it failed to p ss In th first place the accounts f m les rou ed a feeling of urp i and d sbel f ince th y c trad cted everyth g th t ober ob rvati n had taught and bet yed all too lea l the influence of human imaginat n In th next plac ts cc u t of the nature of the [illegible] howed [illegible] bo e [illegible] own t increa g familiarity w th th s of na ture t had lo t ts a th rit The d that the universe came int being thro gh an ct of wh h

Where you have animals as creators of the universe you have indications of the influence of Totemism which I shall touch on later at any rate with a brief remark It is interesting to notice that this creator of the universe is always a single god even when many gods are believed in Equally interesting is the fact that the creator is nearly always a male although there is no lack of indication of the existence of female deities and many mythologies make the creation of the world begin precisely with a male god triumphing over a female goddess who is degraded into a monster This raises the most fascinating minor problems but we must hurry on The rest of our enquiry is made easy because this God Creator is openly called Father Psycho analysis concludes that he really is the father clothed in the grandeur in which he once appeared to the small child The religious man s picture of the creation of the universe is the same as his picture of his own creation

If this is so then it is easy to understand how it is that the comforting promises of protection and the severe ethical commands are found together with the cosmogony For the same individual to whom the child owes its own existence the father (or more correctly the parental function which is composed of the father and the mother) has protected and watched over the weak and helpless child exposed as it is to all the dangers which threaten in the external world in its father s care it has felt itself safe Even the grown man though he may know that he possesses greater strength and though he has greater insight into the dangers of life rightly feels that fundamentally he is just as helpless and unprotected as he was in childhood and that in relation to the external world he is still a child Even now therefore he cannot give up the protection which he has enjoyed as a child But he has long ago realized that his father is a being with strictly limited powers and by no means endowed with every desirable attribute He therefore looks back to the memory image of the overrated father of his childhood exalts it into a deity and brings it into the present and into reality The emotional strength of this memory image and the lasting nature of his need for protection are the two supports of his belief in God

The third main point of the religious program its ethical precepts can also be related without any difficulty to the situation of childhood In a famous passage which I have already quoted in an earlier lecture the philosopher Kant speaks of the starry heaven above us and the moral law within us as the strongest evidence for the greatness of God However odd it may sound to put these two side by side—for what can the heavenly bodies have to do with the question whether one man loves another or kills him?—nevertheless it touches on a great psychological truth The same father (the parental function) who gave the child his life and preserved it from the dangers which that life involves also taught it what it may or may not do made it accept certain limitations of its instinctual wishes and told it what consideration it would be expected to show towards its parents and brothers and sisters if it wanted to be tolerated and liked as a member of the family circle and later on of more extensive groups The child is brought up to know its social duties by means of a system of love rewards and punishments and in this way it is taught that its security in life depends on its parents (and subsequently other people) loving it and being able to believe in its love for them This whole state of affairs is carried over by the grown man unaltered into his religion The prohibitions and commands of his parents live on in his breast as his moral conscience God rules the world of men with the help of the same system of rewards and punishments and the degree of protection and happiness which each individual enjoys depends on his fulfilment of the demands of morality the feeling of security with which he fortifies himself against the dangers both of the external world and of his human environment is founded on his love of God and the consciousness of God s love for him Finally he has in prayer a direct influence on the divine will and in that way insures for himself a share in the divine omnipotence

I am sure that while you have been listening to me a whole host of questions must have come into your minds which you would like to have answered I cannot undertake to do so here and now but I am perfectly certain that none of these questions of detail would shake our thesis that the religious *Weltanschauung* is determined by the situation that subsisted in our childhood It is therefore all the more remarkable that in spite of its infantile character it nevertheless has a forerunner There was without doubt a time when there were no religions and no gods It is known as the *age of animism* Even at that time the world was full of spirits in the semblance of men (demons as we call them) and all the objects in the ex

ng into this conflict I understand we may perhaps arrive at a clearer understanding of our attitude towards the *Weltanschauung*. You will see how easily some of the arguments which are brought forward by the supporters of religion can be disproved though others may succeed in escaping refutation.

The first objection that one hears is to the effect that it is an impertinence on the part of science to take religion as a subject for its investigations since religion is something supreme, something superior to the capacities of the human understanding something which must not be approached with the sophistries of criticism. In other words science is not competent to sit in judgment on religion. No doubt it is quite useful and valuable so long as it is restricted to its own province but religion does not lie in that province and with religion it can have nothing to do. If we are not deterred by this brusque dismissal but enquire on what grounds religion bases its claim to an exceptional position among human concerns the answer we receive if indeed we are honoured with an answer at all, is that religion cannot be measured by human standards since it is of divine origin and has been revealed to us by a spirit which the human mind cannot grasp. It might surely be thought that nothing could be more easily refuted than this argument. It is an obvious *petitio principii* a begging of the question. The point which is being called in question is whether there is a divine spirit and a revelation and it surely cannot be a conclusive reply to say that the question cannot be asked, because the Deity cannot be called in question. What is happening here is the same kind of thing as we meet with occasionally in our analytic work. If an otherwise intelligent patient denies a suggestion on particularly stupid grounds his imperfect logic is evidence of the existence of a particularly strong motive for his making the denial, a motive which can only be of an affective nature and serve to bind an emotion.

Another sort of answer may be given in which a motive of this kind is openly admitted. Religion must not be critically examined, because it is the highest, most precious and noblest thing that the mind of man has brought forth, because it gives expression to the deepest feelings and is the only thing that makes the world bearable and life worthy of humanity. To this we need not reply by disputing this estimate of religion, but rather by drawing attention to another aspect of the matter. We should point out that it is not a question of the scientific spirit encroaching upon the sphere of religion, but of religion encroaching upon the sphere of scientific thought. Whatever value and importance religion may have, it has no right to set any limits to thought and therefore has no right to except itself from the application of thought.

Scientific thought is in its essence no different from the normal process of thinking which we all, believers and unbelievers alike, make use of when we are going about our business in everyday life. It has merely taken a special form in certain respects: it extends its interest to things which have no immediate obvious utility, it endeavours to eliminate personal factors and emotional influences, it carefully examines the trustworthiness of the sense

[illegible]

purposely varied experimentation. It aims at arriving at correspondence with reality, that is to say with what exists outside us and independently of us and, as experience has taught us, is decisive for the fulfilment or frustration of our desires. This correspondence with the real external world we call *truth*. It is the aim of scientific work, even when the practical value of that work does not interest us. When therefore religion claims that it can take the place of science and that because it is beneficent and ennobling it must therefore be true, that claim is, in fact, an encroachment which, in the interests of every one, should be resisted. It is asking a great deal of a man who has learned to regulate his everyday affairs in accordance with the rules of experience and with due regard to reality that he should entrust precisely what affects him most nearly to the care of an authority which claims as its prerogative freedom from all the rules of rational thought. And, as for the protection that religion promises its believers, I hardly think that any of us would be willing even to enter a motor-car if the driver informed us that he drove without allowing himself to be distracted by traffic regulations but in accordance with

[illegible]

both for the individual and for society. Analytic experience has taught us that such prohibitions even though they were originally

look the influence of the comparative study of different religious systems and the impression they give of mutual exclusiveness and intolerance

Fortified by these preliminary efforts the scientific spirit at last summoned up courage to put to the test the most important and the most emotionally significant elements of the religious *Weltanschauung* The truth could have been seen at any time but it was long before any one dared to say it aloud the assertions made by religion that it could give protection and happiness to men if they would only fulfil certain ethical obligations were unworthy of belief It seems not to be true that there is a power in the universe which watches over the well being of every individual with parental care and brings all his concerns to a happy ending On the contrary the destinies of man are incompatible with a universal principle of benevolence or with—what is to some degree contradictory—a universal principle of justice Earthquakes floods and fires do not differentiate between the good and devout man and the sinner and unbeliever And even if we leave inanimate nature out of account and consider the destinies of individual men in so far as they depend on their relations with others of their own kind it is by no means the rule that virtue is rewarded and wickedness punished but it happens often enough that the violent the crafty and the unprincipled seize the desirable goods of the earth for themselves while the pious go empty away Dark unfeeling and unloving powers determine human destiny the system of rewards and punishments which according to religion governs the world seems to have no existence This is another occasion for abandoning a portion of the animism which has found refuge in religion

The last contribution to the criticism of the religious *Weltanschauung* has been m d h

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u issues and needs of childhood into maturity This does not precisely imply a refutation of religion but it is a necessary rounding off of our knowledge about it and at least on one point it actually contradicts it for religion lays claim to a divine origin This claim to be sure is not false if our interpretation of God is accepted

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as to which of them is in possession of the truth in our view the truth of religion may be altogether disregarded Religion is an attempt to get control over the sensory world in which we are placed by means of the wish world which we have developed inside us as a result of biolo ical and psychological necessities But it cannot achieve its end Its doctrines carry with them the stamp of the times in which they originated the ignorant childhood days of the human race Its consolations deserve no trust Experience teaches us that the world i not a nursery The ethical command to which re li ion seeks to lend its weight require some other foundations instead for human ociety cannot do without them and it is dangerous to link up obedience to them with religious belief If one attempts to assign to religion its place in man s evolution it seems not m h

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of course perfectly free to criticise this account of mine and I am prepared to meet you half way What I have said about the gradual crumbling of the rel gious *Weltanschauung* was no doubt an incomplete abridgement of the whole story the order of the separate events was not quite correctly given and the co-operation of various forces towards the awakening of the scientific spirit was not traced I have also left out of account the alterations which occurred in the religious *Weltanschauung* itself both durin the period of its unchallenged authority and afterwards under the influence of awakening criticism Finally I have strictly speaking limited my remarks to one single form of religion that of the Western peoples I have as it were constructed a lay figure for the purposes of a demonstration which I desired to be as rapid and as impressive as possible Let us leave on one side the question of whether my knowledge would in any case have been sufficient to enable me to do it better or more completely I am aware that you can find all that I have said elsewhere and find it better said none of it is new But I am firmly convinced that the most careful elaboration of the material upon which the problems of religion are based would not shake these conclusions

As you know the stru gle between the scientific spirit and the religious *Weltanschauung* is not yet at an end it is still go ng on under our very eyes today However little psycho-analysis may make use as a rule of polemical weapons we will not deny ourselves the pleasure of look

m, mto this conflict. Inc dentally we may per haps arri e at a clearer understanding of our a..t towards the *Weltanschauung* You will ee how ea ly ome of the arguments hich are brought *forward* by the supporters of re.igion can be disproved thou.h others m y ceed in escaping refutation.

The first objectio that one hears is to the ffect that t is an impert nence on th part of scien e to take religion as a s bject for its investigations since r ligion is someth ng su preme something superior to the cap c t es of the human und rstand g somethin which must not be app oached with the soph stries of —

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what grou d ligion bases its la m to an ex ept nal po t n among h man concerns the answer we rec e if indeed we a e h n oured with an answer at all, s that el gi n cannot be meas red by human standards s nce t is of divin origin and ha b n evealed to u by a sp nt which the hum n m d ca not grasp It might u ly be thou ht that othin could be mo e e s ly ref t d tha th s rgu he

cannot be ked b caus the D ty an ot be called *in qu t o Wh t h pp ng he ts* th same kind of thi g s w m et w th occa sionally in our an lyt c wo k If n therw e int llig t p t ent d es a sugg t on o par ticula ly tup d g ound his mp fect logic s den fo th existen e f a p rticularly t ong m t e f h m k g th de ial a mo ti e hich can o ly b of an affecti natu e and n t bind m t on

An the s rt f a wer m y be gi en n h h moti e of th k d s op ly adm tted R l m t n t be crit c lly m ed be caus t is the h gh t most p c u and no blest thing th t the m nd of man has brought f rth becau e t gi es exp s o to th deep est f eli g d s the o ly th g that m kes the ld b bl d lif w rthy of hu man ty T th s we d t eply by d sput g thi est m te f rel gion b t the by drawing tte tion to a oth a pect of th m tter We

should point out that it is not a question of the scientific sp rit encroach ng upon the sphere of rel gion but of religion encroaching upon the phe e of scientific thought Whatever value and importance rel n may ha e it has no right to set any l m ts to thou ht and there f re has no right to except itself from the application of thou.ht.

Scientific thou ht is in its es.ence no d f ferent from the normal process of think ng which we all bel e ers and unbel evers al ke make u.e of when we are going about our busi ness in e eryday life It has merely taken a special form in certain respects it exte ds its interest to th ngs which have no mmediate obv ous utility it endeavours to el mi ate per sonal factors and emot onal influences it care fully examines the trustworthiness of the sense percept ons on wh ch it bases its conclus ons it pro ides itself with new perceptions which are not obta nable by everyday means and isolates the determina ts of these new experiences by p rposely varied experimentation Its aim is to arri e at correspondence with reality that is to say with what exists outside us and inde pendently of us a d as experience has tau ht us is decis e f r the fulfilment or frustrat on of our des res Th s correspondence w th the re l external wo ld we c ll *t uth* It is the a m of sc ent fic work even when the pract cal lu of that work d es not nterest us When th fo e el gio cla ms that it can take the place of sc e c a d that becau e it is benefi cent a d ennobl g it must ther fore be true — man wh h

learned to r gulate h e eryda aff rs n ac co dance with the rules of experience and w th d regard to re lity th t he hould e tru t preci ely what ffects h m m st nea ly to the ar of n a thority wh ch cla ms as its p e g t e f eedom from all the rules of rat onal thought And as for th pr tection that e l g p om se ts b lie ers I h rdly th nk that any of s w ld be w lling e en to enter a moto car f the d er f rmed us that he d ove with t allowing himself to be distracted by t ffic regulati s but in a cordance with th mpulses of n exalted m gin tion

A d d ed the b wh ch rel g on has m pos d up tho ght in the inte ests of its own p ervat on is by no means w tho t d ger b th fo the d d l d for s c ty Ana lyti experien has t ught u that such p o hib t ns even th ugh they were or ginally

confined to some particular field have a tendency to spread and then become the cause of severe inhibitions in people's lives In women a process of this sort can be observed to follow from the prohibition against their occupying themselves even in thought with the sexual side of their nature The biographies of almost all the eminent people of past times show the disastrous results of the inhibition of thought by religion Intellect on the other hand—or rather to call it by a more familiar name reason—is among the forces which may be expected to exert a unifying influence upon men —creatures who can be held together only with the greatest difficulty and whom it is therefore scarcely possible to control Think how impossible human society would be if every one had his own particular multiplication table and his own private units of weight and length Our best hope for the future is that the intellect—the scientific spirit reason—should in time establish a dictatorship over the human mind The very nature of reason is a guarantee that it would not fail to concede to h [illegible]

[illegible] ie exercised by such a domination of reason would prove to be the strongest unifying force among men and would prepare the way for further unifications Whatever like the ban laid upon thought by religion opposes such a development is a danger for the future of mankind

The question may now be asked why religion does not put an end to this losing fight by openly declaring It is a fact that I cannot give you what men commonly call truth to obtain that you must go to science But what I have to give you is incomparably more beautiful more comforting and more ennobling than anything that you could ever get from science And I therefore say to you that it is true in a different and higher sense The answer is easy to find Religion cannot make this admission because if it did it would lose all influence over the mass of mankind The ordinary man knows only one *truth*—truth in the ordinary sense of the word What may be meant by a higher or a highest truth he cannot imagine Truth seems to him as little capable of having degrees as death and the necessary leap from the beautiful to the true is *one* that he cannot make Perhaps you will agree with me in thinking that he is right in this

The struggle therefore is not yet at an end The followers of the religious *Weltanschauung* act in accordance with the old maxim the best defence is attack What they ask is this science that presumes to depreciate our religion which has brought salvation and comfort to millions of men for many thousands of years? What has science for its part so far accomplished? What more can be expected of it? On its own admission it is incapable of comforting or ennobling us We will leave that on one side therefore though it is by no means easy to give up such benefits But what of its teaching? Can it tell us how the world began and what fate is in store for it? Can it even paint for us a coherent picture of the universe and show us where the unexplained phenomena of life fit in and how spiritual forces are able to operate on inert matter? If it could do that we should not refuse it our respect But it has done nothing of the sort not one single problem of this kind has it solved It gives us fragments of alleged knowledge which it cannot harmonize with one another it collects observations of uniformities from the totality of events and dignifies them with the name of *laws* and subjects them to its hazardous interpretations And with what a small degree of certitude does it establish its conclusions! All that it teaches is only provisionally true what is prized today as the highest wisdom is overthrown tomorrow and experimentally replaced by something else The latest error is then given the name of truth And to this truth we are asked to sacrifice our highest good!

Ladies and Gentlemen—in so far as you yourselves are supporters of the scientific *Weltanschauung* I do not think you will be very profoundly shaken by this critic's attack In Imperial Austria an anecdote was once current which I should like to call to mind in this connection On one occasion the old Emperor was receiving a deputation from a political party which he disliked This is no longer ordinary opposition he burst out this is factious opposition In just the same way you will find that the reproaches made against science for not having solved the riddle of the universe are unfairly and spitefully exaggerated Science has had too little time for such a tremendous achievement It is still very young a recently developed human activity Let us bear in mind to mention only a few dates that only about three hundred years have passed since Kepler discovered the laws of planetary movement the life of Newton who split up light into the colours of the spectrum and put forward the theory of gravitation came to end in 1727 that is to say a little more than two hundred years ago and Lavoisier discovered

emgen ..ortly bef re the Fre ch Revolution I may be a very ld man today but the life of — — h t omp n on

coverer of radium was born And if you go back to t beg n s of exact natural science among the Greeks t A chimedes or to Aristarchus of Samo (around 50 B C.) the forerunner of Copern cus or e en to the tentat ve erms of a tron my mo g the Babyl n ns you wul onl be co erin ery mall portion of th pen which a thropology requ res for the evolution of man from hi origi al ape like form, a pe od which certainly embraces more than a hundred thousand years And it must not be f rgotten that the last century has brought with it such a quantity of new discoveries d such a great acc lerat on f scientific progress that we ha e every rea on to look forward w th confide ce to the future f science.

It has to be adm tted that the oth r objections re val d within certain l mit Thus t is true th th path of science is sl w tent t ve a labo us That cannot be den ed or alt ed N and that th gentleme of the oppo i n are d a ed they re spo lt they ha e had an easier time of t wi h their revelat on Progress in scientific work s made in just the ame way as in anal The a alyst brings expec tations h him to his work but h mu t keep them in th backgr und H di co ers s me thing ew b o servati now here a d ow the a d t first t e b ts d not fit togeth H puts forward uppo t ns he brin con c on. to one d, and gi s them up f they a e t confirmed h m t ha e a great deal of pat ence must be p epared fo all pos sibilities and m t n t j mp at co clusions f r fear f thei leadin him to o l k new a d unexpected factors And in the end th whole expenditure of ff rt s ewarded th scattered discoveries fall into place a d h obtain n understanding of a wh l chain of mental even he has fini hed o e p ece of w k a d is ready fo th n xt B t the an lyst s u l ke other scienti wo kers th one respect that he h t d witho t the h lp wh ch ex periment can bring to esea h

But the criticism of s ence which I ha e quoted also contains gre t d al of gg r a ion I s n t true to say that t swings bli dly from one t empt to a o h and h ges en err fo th next. As a rul the man of science works l ke a sculptor with a clay model who pers stentl alters th f rst rou h sketch adds to it and takes away from it until he has obtai ed a at factory degree of s milarity to some object whether seen or imagined And moreover at least in the older and more mature scie ces there is already a sol d *foundat on of* knowledge which is now only mod fied and elaborated and no long r d moli hed The outlook in fact is not so bad in the world of cience

And finally wha is the purpose of all these pa onate di paragements of science? In sp e of its present i completeness and its i he nt difficulties we could not do without it and could not p t n thi g else n its place There is no lim t to the impro ement of which it is capable and th s can certai ly not be said of the re l gious *W lta cha n* The latter is com lete in its essentials if it s an error it must re main one for ever No attempt to minimize the importance of science can alt r the fact that it att mpts to take into account our dependence o the re l extern l world while religion i illusion and it derives its strength from the *fact that it falls in with our insti ctual de res*

I must now go on to m ntion some othe types of *W eltanscha ung* h ch are in opposi tio to the sc ent fic one I do o howe er un ll ngly becau e I know that I am ot com petent to form a judgment upon them I hope the f e that you will bear thi confess n in m d n l ten g to what I ha e to say a d that f ur interest aroused you ll go else whe e fo m re tru tworthy nformation

In th first pla e I o ht at th s point to n me th ario s ph losoph c l sy tems wh ch ha e entured to d w a p ct e of the world s t refl cted n th m ds of th k s whose ey s are as a rule t rn d away fr m t But I have already att mpted to gi e a general ch acteri at o of phil ophy d its methods a d I bel e e I am mo unfitt d than almo t ny o t p s the ind idu l systems und revi w I shall a k y u therefore instead to turn your attent t two ther phenomena which par *ticularly* n th e da s cannot be igno ed

The *W elt ns h ung* to which I shall first refer is it were c unterpart of political an chism, and m y pe haps ha e eman ted f m t No d bt th re have been intellectual h l ts of this kind b f e b t at the present da the theory of relati ity f m d rn ph s cs seems t ha e go e t th heads. It s tru that th sta t ut f om s ence but they suc ce d in fo ing it to cut the ground f om under

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contradictions and obscurities than these earlier holy books

And although practical Marxism has remorselessly swept away all idealistic systems and illusions it has nevertheless developed illusions itself which are no less dubious and unverifiable than their predecessors It hopes in the course of a few generations so to alter men that they will be able to live together in the new order of society almost without friction and that they will do their work voluntarily In the meantime it moves elsewhere the instinctual barriers which are essential in any society it directs outwards the aggressive tendencies which threaten every human community and finds its support in the hostility of the poor against the rich and of the hitherto powerless against the former holders of power But such an alteration in human nature is very improbable The enthusiasm with which the mob follow the Bolshevist lead at present so long as the new order is incomplete and threatened from outside gives no guarantee for the future when it will be fully established and no longer in danger In exactly the same way as religion Bolshevism is obliged to compensate its believers for the sufferings and deprivations of the present life by promising them a better life hereafter in which there will be no unsatisfied needs It is true that this paradise is to be in this world it will be established on earth and will be inaugurated within a measurable time But let us remember that the Jews whose religion knows nothing of a life beyond the grave also expected the coming of the Messiah here on earth and that the Christian Middle Ages constantly believed that the Kingdom of God was at hand

There is no doubt what the answer of Bolshevism to these criticisms will be Until men have changed their nature it will say one must employ the methods which are effective with them today One cannot do without compulsion in their education or a ban upon thinking or the application of force even to the spilling of blood and if one did not awake in them the illusions you speak of one would not be able to bring them to submit to this compulsion And it might politely ask us to say how else it could be done At this point we should be defeated I should know of no advice to give I should admit that the conditions of this experiment would have restrained me and people like me from undertaking it but we are not the only ones concerned There are also men of action unshakable in their convictions impervious to doubt and insensitive to the sufferings of anyone who stands between them and their goal It is owing to such men that the tremendous attempt to institute a new order of society of this kind is actually being carried out in Russia now At a time when great nations are declaring that they expect to find their salvation solely from a steadfast adherence to Christian piety the upheaval in Russia—in spite of all its distressing features—seems to bring a promise of a better future Unfortunately neither our own misgivings nor the fanatical belief of the other side give us any hint of how the experiment will turn out The future will teach us Perhaps it will show that the attempt has been made prematurely and that a fundamental alteration of the social order will have little hope of success until new discoveries are made that will increase our control over the forces of nature and so make easier the satisfaction of our needs It may be that only then will it be possible for a new order of society to emerge which will not only banish the material wants of the masses but at the same time meet the cultural requirements of individual men But even so we shall still have to struggle for an indefinite length of time with the difficulties which the intractable nature of man puts in the way of every kind of social community

Ladies and Gentlemen—Let me in conclusion sum up what I had to say about the relation of psycho analysis to the question of a *Weltanschauung* Psycho analysis is not in my opinion in a position to create a *Weltanschauung* of its own It has no need to do so for it is a branch of science and can subscribe to the scientific *Weltanschauung* The latter however hardly merits such a high sounding name for it does not take everything into its scope it is incomplete and it makes no claim to being comprehensive or to constituting a system Scientific thought is still in its infancy there are very many of the great problems with which it has as yet been unable to cope A *Weltanschauung* based upon science has apart from the emphasis it lays upon the real world essentially negative characteristics such as that it limits itself to truth and rejects illusions Those of our fellow men who are dissatisfied with this state of things and who desire something more for their momentary peace of mind may look for it where they can find it We shall not blame them for doing so but we cannot help them and cannot change our own way of thinking on their account